

The Journal of *Samuel Curwen*, Loyalist

Volume I *Edited by Andrew Oliver*

"He was a man of fair learning, and more than average accomplishment; not at all intolerant of opinions at issue with his own; in religion a Dissenter of the class still prevalent in New England; in his tastes scholarly and refined, not ill read in general literature, prone to social enjoyments, a reasonably good critic of what he saw,—altogether an excellent example of the class of men out of whom the fathers and founders of that great republic sprang . . ."—CHARLES DICKENS, in summing up the character of Samuel Curwen

This unabridged two-volume edition of Samuel Curwen's journal supersedes the only version previously available to historians: a fragmentary and inaccurate mid-nineteenth-century work published by George Atkinson Ward, which nevertheless was celebrated by Charles Dickens.

Andrew Oliver, combining painstaking documentation with an abundance of illustrations, provides a colorful, complete work which ranks as a valuable source of English social history from 1775 to 1784. It was during these years that Curwen, a Salem merchant, after fleeing from the harassment incurred by his loyalist activities, migrated to England and kept this journal. A man small in size, physically timid, mentally brave, and remarkably injudicious, Curwen felt that he was "unhappily though unjustly ranked" as a tory. Thus his observations and thoughts are useful in understanding the attitudes and experiences of the loyalist exiles.

Set primarily in England and sparked throughout with engaging reports on personalities, places, and



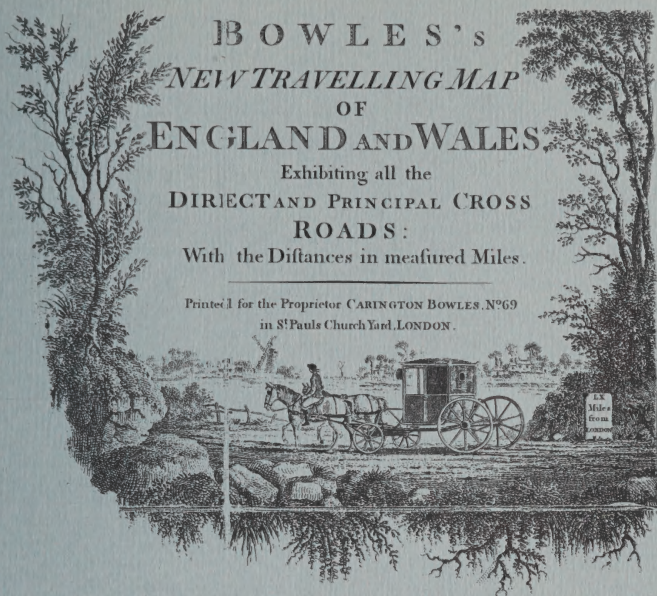
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Overleaf: *Portion of Bowles's map
of England and Wales, 1782.
This map, published in 1782,
shows the routes of Curwen's travels.*





The Journal of Samuel Curwen, Loyalist

VOLUME I

THE JOURNAL OF
Samuel Curwen
L O Y A L I S T



EDITED BY ANDREW OLIVER

PUBLISHED BY

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The Loyalist Papers

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Joshua Fisher's chart of Delaware Bay and River, 1776
Courtesy of the John Carter Brown Library, Brown University

Portion of Benjamin Easburn's plan of Philadelphia, 1776
Courtesy of the John Carter Brown Library

Introduction

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

"Last night," wrote the Reverend William Bentley, Salem's well-known diarist, on 10 April 1802, "departed this life Samuel Curwen, Esqr., aet. 87 . . . He was a merchant in Salem . . . He was indifferent to nothing, seized violently & preserved firmly . . . an excellent Antiquarian . . . a good Classical Latin Scholar, well read in History. Had conversed much with men. Was much of a gentleman, & had a good address. He appeared in our streets, much like a Patriarch. The English tye Wig, the long Scarlet Cloak, the heavy rings, & the golden headed cane, attracted notice after the war, tho' it was the best dress before it, for persons of condition."¹ At his death Curwen was the oldest inhabitant of Salem, having succeeded to that distinction only a year earlier on the death of Jonathan Phelps. But though Phelps was survived by 138 descendants, Curwen died without issue.

He was born 17 December 1715,² son of the Reverend George and Mehitable (Parkman) Curwin (over the years the name was spelled Curwin, Corwin, and Curwen) of Salem. His parents died when he and his brother George were young, but under the fortunate control of Colonel Samuel Browne their patrimony was preserved. His class at Harvard was 1735, the year of the birth of John Adams, who later became a cause of much apprehension to him.

Early in his life, what was perhaps his first love affair ended with the death of the young lady, which produced on him a lasting effect. In 1738 he made his first journey to England, perhaps to relieve what he thought a broken heart. Upon his return to Salem he commenced his business career. When trade became slack in 1745 we find him at the siege of Louisbourg as a captain in the Eighth Massachusetts. A portion of his diary written during this period was published in 1842 in his great-grandnephew George A. Ward's edition of Curwen's journal, but contains not much of interest. While at Louisbourg, in

1. 10 April 1802, in *The Diary of William Bentley, D.D., Pastor of the East Church, Salem, Massachusetts*, 4 vols. (Salem, 1905-1914), 2:423.

2. John Langdon Sibley and Clifford K. Shipton, *Biographical Sketches of Graduates of Harvard University, in Cambridge, Massachusetts* (Cambridge and Boston, 1873—), 9:511-529, from which much of the biographical material is taken. Hereafter cited as *Sibley's Harvard Graduates*.

October 1745, he collapsed one day when attending service in the Citadel Chapel and fell down "in a fit," as it was said, but shortly recovered. This was the fourteenth of the twenty-three narrow escapes from death which he listed in his journal for 4 November 1778. Not long after this event he returned to Salem and resumed business as a merchant, importing goods from England on credit and exporting what he could. Clifford K. Shipton records a venture into a New York lottery which, though it apparently produced no profits, may well have sown the seeds of his later and equally unsuccessful lottery speculations when a refugee in England.

In 1750 he entered into a marriage of convenience (inconvenience, as it developed) with Abigail Russell, nine years his junior, daughter of Daniel Russell, Esq., and sister of Judge Chambers Russell. He then built a house in Salem and became active in the civic and social life of the community. His own descent, his marriage, and his industry provided both social position and a measure of wealth and from thence flowed preferment. Years later, when as an exile in England he petitioned the crown for a continuance of his annual allowance, he drafted a certificate, designed to be signed by Thomas Flucker, late secretary of the province, in which he said of himself:

That Samuel Curwen Esq. late of Salem in the province of Massachusetts Bay, is descended from an ancient and respectable family in said Province. That he has been Deputy Judge of Admiralty and provincial Impost Officer, and for nearly 30 years in the Commission of the peace for the County of Essex, had always maintained a most respectable character . . . and was esteemed a Gentleman of considerable property and fortune.³

A clue to his having held the office of deputy judge of the admiralty, for however short a time, may lie in the fact that his brother-in-law Chambers Russell was judge of the vice admiralty court and also a judge of the superior court of Massachusetts.

His interest in Freemasonry, presumably acquired when an undergraduate at Harvard where he had attended the first meeting of St. John's Lodge, the first Masonic lodge in Boston, was revived when he was in England as a refugee and afforded him some companionship and distraction.

That he was a man of intellectual interests will appear from a perusal of his journal, and is further attested to by his having been one of the organizers of the Social Library and of the Philosophical

3. 29 Oct. 1782, in Curwen, *Journal*.

Library of Salem, a member of the Monday Night Club of Salem, and a donor to Harvard after the burning of Harvard Hall. In later years, when in England, he was helpful in purchasing books for Salem's libraries. Charles Dickens, after reading Ward's edition of Curwen's journal, summed up his character amiably and accurately:

He was a man of fair learning, and more than average accomplishment; not at all intolerant of opinions at issue with his own; in religion a Dissenter of the class still most prevalent in New England; in his tastes scholarly and refined, not ill read in general literature, prone to social enjoyments, a reasonably good critic of what he saw,—altogether an excellent example of the class of men out of whom the fathers and founders of that great republic sprang; and a companion not less pleasant than instructive to pass a few hours with.⁴

Curwen's position as a loyalist is difficult to assess with precision because it was, in a way, ambivalent. Dictionary definitions of loyalist and tory are virtually synonymous: one who adheres to his sovereign or constituted authority, especially in times of revolt. With this in mind, we can try to determine just where Curwen stood.

In support of his being a loyalist, it can be said that family tradition holds he signed the farewell address to Governor Thomas Hutchinson; that he did sign the address welcoming General Thomas Gage; that he was an active, indeed founding, member of the New England Club in London, or "Brompton Row Tory's Club" as it was sometimes called, most of whose members were unquestionably staunch loyalists; that he was one of those who signed the memorial of distressed loyalists from Massachusetts in England seeking relief; that in drafting one of his own petitions for relief (29 October 1782), he said of himself that he "was early distinguished for his attachment to the established constitution of the Province, and its unreserved dependence and subordination to the Authority of the King and the Parliament of Great Britain"; and that he was then and has always since been referred to as a loyalist.

On the other hand, at the very commencement of his journal, where he cites as a reason for his leaving Salem the malevolence of members of the community against those they reproached as enemies to their country by the name of tories, he adds, "amongst which number I am unhappily though unjustly ranked." A short time later (4 May 1775),

4. Charles Dickens, *Household Words*, March 5, 1852, no. 154 (London, 1753), 3:2.

on arriving in Philadelphia, he was "not a little embarrassed" by the greeting he received from his kinsman Samuel Smith: "We will protect you though a tory." Years later (22 May 1783), he casts doubt on what he considered a loyalist when recording that Lord North had presented to Parliament a petition for relief of the "*Refugees* or as they affect to denominate themselves loyalists," among whom he was himself included. He blamed both Britain and America for the troubles, which he considered "a just punishment to them for their folly," and he was one of the few refugees whose sympathy for America grew as the war dragged on.

The fact of the matter is that being socially prominent and financially successful he was consequently a "law and order" man. After the Stamp Act riots in 1765 he wrote:

We who have property to loose and are lovers of peace security and good order have hereby we hope reasonable grounds to expect this Town [Salem] will continue as it has done hitherto in a laudable state of peace and safety notwithstanding the restless and spiteful machinations of some of our more distant neighbours.⁵

Therein, probably, lies the foundation of his loyalism. Add to this that he was a man of strong mind, irritable at times, and always ready to speak his mind thoughtless of the consequences, and it becomes apparent how he got into the predicament in which he found himself and became obliged to turn refugee.

Dickens also said of him, "He does not indeed appear to have been of the heroic stuff of martyrs."⁶ When, as Shipton points out, he "refused to join in the public cry that the Regulars were the aggressors at Lexington and Concord,"⁷ he was threatened with violence and fled, literally, as he believed, to save his life. In another of his many petitions to the crown for relief he wrote of this period that he was "compelled to leave his dwelling by the repeated menaces of the people within a few days after the unhappy rencounter at Lexington, who reproached all persons with the insidious appellation of tories, as they chose to call such who did not openly accuse the King's troops as the aggressors, were for supporting law and order &c., forebearing future violence, among which your petitioner was one,"⁸ and that the only condition of his being allowed to continue safely at Philadelphia, whence he had

5. 15 Oct. 1765, in Curwen Manuscripts, III, Essex Institute, Salem, Mass., as quoted in Sibley's *Harvard Graduates*, 9:55.

6. *Household Words*, 7:2.

7. Sibley's *Harvard Graduates*, 9:516.

8. 29 June 1784, in Curwen, *Journal*.

fled from Salem, was "a public renunciation of his principles, acknowledging his errors, and promising future obedience to the new assumed powers. Loth to be held up to the public in so disgraceful and mortifying a view, and confessing a well known falsehood, he took the only alternative in his power." When his name was not included among those Salem refugees who were proscribed and banished, he feared its absence might cast doubt on his loyalism and thereby endanger his allowance.

Curwen had no great devotion to the king or to the monarchy as such. He was no royalist. He was, for example, scornful of Charles I and seldom passed up an opportunity on January 30 to record his feelings with statements such as: "This being, in Church of England Language Charles Martyrdom 'tis farcically observed as a fast day," or "a ridiculous occasion," or "mock solemnity."⁹ His devotion to his sovereign was not as that of Hutchinson or the Olivers. Judge Peter Olive wrote in his diary as he set out, an exile, from Nantasket for Halifax in 1774, "I bid A Dieu to that shore, which I never wish to tread again till that greatest of social blessings, *a firm established British Government*, precedes or accompanies me thither."¹⁰ Curwen would never have voiced that sentiment. He could hardly wait to return to America. All he required was assurance of his own personal safety; when he received that he returned at once. Yet, though he repudiated the term "tory," he surely thought of himself as a loyalist, and we must recognize him as one though it may not be unfair to say that he was one at least partly for the sake of expediency.

So it was that fearing for his personal safety (perhaps not without cause), as well as from a natural timidity, he determined that he had no choice but to leave New England. Although he tried to persuade his wife to join him, she feared the prospect of a sea voyage more than the violence of the populace or local soldiery. Without her, therefore, on 23 April 1775 he departed by sea from Salem to Philadelphia. There, alas, he found the political climate no less unfavorable. On the advice of friends he soon decided that exile in England was the only course left open to him and he set sail from Philadelphia, reaching London in July 1775. For nine years he remained in England, not returning to Salem until September 1784. It was during these long, lonesome years that he kept the journal now published in its entirety.

Curwen's return to his beloved homeland, unhappy to relate, dis-

9. 30 Jan. 1778, *ibid.*

10. P. O. Hutchinson, ed., *Diary and Letters of Thomas Hutchinson*, 2 vols. (London, 1883-1886), 2:48.

closed—what he had long been warned of by correspondence—the ruin of his personal affairs by his wife and her nephew. So bitter was the pill he had to swallow, not only in respect of his financial ruin but also in the treatment he received from Abigail upon his return, that he again turned refugee and returned to England in June 1785. It is scarcely necessary to delve deeply into the cause or to follow the course of his financial losses and his quarrels with his wife; they are revealed in some detail in the privacy of his journal and in his letters. The journal is, however, silent from the day of his arrival in Salem in September 1784 to the day of his departure the following spring; we must look elsewhere for an account of his reception and life during that trying period.

From the diary of his old friend the Salem lawyer William Pynchon (who had been so instrumental in persuading him to return from England), we learn that on 10 September 1784 news reached Salem that Curwen, with William Cabot, Benjamin Pickman, and others, had sailed for America. A few days later Pynchon recorded that “A ship from London goes up to Boston; look out for S.C.”¹¹ Later still we learn that on 25 September “at 4 P.M., Capt. Ingersoll gets into Boston, with Mr. Curwen on board, Mrs. Curwen hath an hysterick fit on hearing the news.” The following day we are told “Mr. Curwen comes home to his house; Mrs. C. has fits.” Yet of the return of Curwen’s traveling companion Cabot, Pynchon exults: “Mr. W. Cabot returns in the evening, *et gaudia quanta fuere!*”¹² Pynchon records several instances of dining with Curwen and his wife and then in November his diary contains the cryptic note: “Mr. and Mrs. Cur[wen] differ; they sign a contract.”¹³

Curwen’s own account of his return and reception is in a long letter to Judge Jonathan Sewall in December 1785.¹⁴ There may well have been two sides to the story, but it is not hard to see that the couple had to part. Yet we have to reconcile many early entries in his journal, of which the following of 13 January 1776 is typical:

This being my dear wife’s birthday when she enters into her 57th year, I celebrate by treating the family with a Dish of tea and cakes. May it please God to continue her life as long as it shall be a blessing, and afterwards to receive her to the unutterable and inconceivable joy prepared for all the good and virtuous, Amen.

11. 9 Sept. 1784, in Edward Fitch Oliver, ed., *The Diary of William Pynchon of Salem* (Boston, 1890), p. 194.

12. 26 Sept. 1784, *ibid.*, p. 195.

13. 2 Nov. 1784, *ibid.*, p. 199.

14. Curwen to Jonathan Sewall, 14 Dec. 1785, Appendix, below.

with letters written after their separation (see Appendix), of which the following excerpt from his letter to William Pynchon of 25 March 1786 is also typical:

Be it therefore known to you, that scarce 3 months had elapsed since that cursed matrimonial chain had linkt and rivited me in slavery, than I sorely regretted my forlorn condition, and as ardently longed for freedom as a Captive to a Moor on the Barbary Coast; nor did I ever know 12 hours together without a formal wish for a reprieve. Many a time and often have I recollected an old Greek proverb, the meaning of which is—A wife is seen with the greatest pleasure by an husband *in 2 circumstances only*; in the Wedding *and* in the Winding Sheet. Happy had my lot been if the last circumstance had many years since happened to me, as I have only to regret that it did not.

It is not surprising, therefore, that Curwen remained in England again for nine years, returning to Salem in 1794 only after his wife's death. During this period he resumed his journal, but it became that of an old man, concerned with the daily chores of life and chronicling the several favors he was able to do for his friends in America. For the last eight years of his life he lived in Salem, first with his nephew Richard Ward, then with his grandnephew Samuel Curwen Ward, and lastly with a Mr. E. Pope, of whom nothing is known except that his wife had many years before lived with the Curwen family. We can feel gratified that he got some pleasure out of life, even becoming quite a "character" and enjoying considerable popularity. "His powers are vigorous," wrote William Bentley, "his body feeble, but all still see him, tottering & yet constantly passing & conversing in our Streets."¹⁵ Walking and conversing with passengers in the streets was an important part of his life in England during his exile, and it is not surprising to see the custom continue to the end of his days.

In Bentley, Curwen found a kindred spirit and with him he shared the few treasures he had retained. Not long after Curwen returned to Salem, Bentley catalogued his coin collection for Mr. John Winthrop. "Such collections are rare in this Country," Bentley wrote, "& in some parts utterly unknown. This is the largest I have ever seen. The real antiques in silver, are an Athenian City, a Greek City, a Consul, Scipio, Tuba, Julius Caesar, Augustus, Tiberius, Claudius, Adrian, Marcus Antoninus. There are a considerable number of Copper and Mantuans, which the Connoisseur must distinguish. Among the modern is to be found a MARYLAND Coin, *Cecilius C. L'd. Baltimore*.

15. 22 March 1801, in Bentley, *Diary*, 2:367.

A specimen is to be seen of all the Modern Coinage in this Collection.”¹⁶ Clifford K. Shipton describes several portraits owned by Curwen,¹⁷ but the only two that can still be found are illustrated in these volumes, as they were also in Ward’s editions of the journal.

Although his last years in Salem were not unhappy, family dissension did not die with Curwen, as Bentley’s account of his funeral discloses: “Mr. Curwin’s funeral was attended & his pall supported by the six Ministers of the Town, Hopkins, Fisher, Bernard, Prince, Bentley & Spaulding. In the evening a fire consumed a negro Home at the bottom of St. Peter’s street. A negro woman perished in the flames. The will of Mr. Curwin had the same effect as attends wills in general. Some of the relatives would not attend the funeral. Of late we have had several such contentions among the Masons, Gardiners, Hathornes, & now among the Wards as the Curwin name is extinct. It is said that the son of S. C. Ward is to bear up the name Samuel Curwin.”¹⁸ He did “bear up the name” (that is, change his name to) Samuel Curwen and became the progenitor of a line of Curwens still continuing.

THE JOURNAL OF SAMUEL CURWEN ACCORDING TO GEORGE ATKINSON WARD

In 1842, two score years after Curwen’s death, his great-grandnephew George Atkinson Ward published in New York and Boston a portion of Curwen’s journal and correspondence in a volume entitled: *Journal and Letters of the Late Samuel Curwen, Judge of Admiralty, Etc., An American Refugee in England, from 1775 to 1783* . . . An introductory memoir of a couple of dozen pages was followed by 420 pages of journal and correspondence, a supplement of 22 pages of illustrative documents, and 132 pages of biographical sketches of the “Eminent Persons” noted in the journal. A second edition was published in London in 1844, a third and fourth in America in 1845 and 1864, the chief differences being in the addition of new biographical material. Ward’s work was, at most, an epitome and, as will be seen, an unreliable one.

In the preface to the first edition (followed, though somewhat en-

16. 23 Oct. 1795, *ibid.*, 2:163.

17. *Sibley’s Harvard Graduates*, 9:529.

18. 13 April 1802, in Bentley, *Diary*, 2:424.

larged, in the last edition) Ward tells us that the original manuscripts were sent by Curwen to his niece, the editor's grandmother, with the following injunction:

These papers were written partly by way of pastime, and partly with a view to future amusement, should it please the Sovereign Disposer of life to lengthen mine beyond the period of banishment and restore me again to my native country; otherwise may they prove an entertainment to my friends, to whom I commend them, requesting their care to keep them from the inspection of all others, they being negligently written and but for the eye of candor and friendship, without method or order, as memory served, whereby many faults and anachronisms happened (if a technical expression applied to more important events may be used about such insignificant trifles); if they shall afford them the least amusement, my purpose will be answered.

Ward's reliability as an editor is at once suspect. The so-called injunction is nothing more than Ward's combination into one paragraph of Curwen's two notes, one at the beginning of volume 5 of his journal (written on 26 September 1776) and the other at the end of volume 6 (written on 26 July 1777). Ward's volume does not purport to be an interpretive biography of Curwen but only his journal and correspondence. There is not even any explanation that the editor was selective, though that may perhaps be excused. But we should at least be entitled to expect that what was published would be Curwen's diary and letters as he wrote them. The preface to Ward's volume discloses that "Dr. [Jared] Sparks, the distinguished American historian" and "George Folsom, Esq., of the publishing committee of the New-York Historical Society" to whom the "work" was submitted gave a favorable opinion of the value of the journal and correspondence and "confirmed him in the design of giving to the light these interesting relics of a former generation, to which he feared his private regard for the memory of the venerated author might have attached undue importance."

Ward fell easily into the Victorian snare that had entrapped so many biographers of his age. A good example (in another context) of the extent to which fact could be pushed aside by fancy is furnished by the letter Thomas Moore wrote the publisher John Murray as he wrote his biography of Byron:

I am getting on very well, having satisfied myself with respect to the Italian Loves, by omitting the whole of the letter about Angelica (making

a love the less) and transferring the long account of Margrita from the place of its date (where it jars with our Guiccioli Romance) to an earlier period where it chimes in with his dissolute course of life and thus keeps the character of each epoch more consistently.¹⁹

In citing this letter Richard D. Altick comments that "Few passages in the history of biographical writing are more calculated to make the modern scholar's flesh crawl than this bland admission of Moore's that he deleted one 'Italian Love' from Byron's life and moved Byron's account of another back in time for the sake of artistic fitness."

So it was with Ward. In his case there was no scandal to hide; yet nothing must be told that could in any way cast a shadow on his great-uncle's character or habits, and concomitantly only those portions of the journal that would enhance his reputation should be preserved. There is no doubt that Curwen was a man of high principles and honorable behavior, however garrulous, crotchety, or impatient he may have been. If he lingered too long over the punch bowl at meetings of the New England Club and paid dearly for it the next day, it is not surprising that Ward thought such passages unnecessary to print. But he never omits a meeting or dinner with Governor Hutchinson or other prominent New Englanders, however often he passes by the duller and far more frequent cups of tea drunk with Curwen's numberless landladies. Then, too, we notice an almost complete lack of letters to or from Mrs. Curwen in Ward's volume. This he explains in the preface to the 1864 edition by baldly stating that

It was just published with the view of enlightening the public as to the wanderings and trials of the exiled Loyalists abroad, and not to exhibit their domestic relations. Mr. and Mrs. Curwen were in constant correspondence during their long separation; but as their letters contained nothing of interest to the general reader which was not to be found in others of similar dates, written with more care, they were excluded.

How far this statement falls short of the fact will become apparent.

It must also be borne in mind that Ward's edition came to light when tories—or loyalists, as they preferred to be called—were not held in high repute in America. The success of the Revolution—or rebellion—was still too fresh in the minds of Americans, that is, those who won the War of Independence. The losers had become refugees

19. Howard Mumford Jones, *The Harp that Once*— (New York, n.d. [ca. 1937]), p. 352, as quoted in Richard D. Altick, *Lives and Letters: A History of Literary Biography in England and America* (New York, 1965), p. 203.

exiled for life, or repentant sinners allowed to return and reclaim what had been left of their inheritance. It was scarcely earlier than the publication in 1956 of volume 9 of *Sibley's Harvard Graduates* that it was boldly declared that there was indeed a hitherto unpublished loyalist side to the story. As Shipton then wrote in his preface to that volume (and it is almost as true today), "The correspondence of Thomas Hutchinson . . . still lies in manuscript, while that of his chief critics has been available in print for many years."²⁰

Ward, too, was faced with this dilemma and tried by sifting and improving the relatively short and simple annals of his great-uncle to add a luster to the loyalist cause that perhaps did not exist for Curwen. At the same time, by the same process, he deprived us of the detailed account of the monotony, the loneliness, and the hardship which the refugees, at least those with little money (and they were most), endured as a result of their loyalty to their king and his cause or, as perhaps in Curwen's case, their unwillingness to risk remaining in their own land during the rebellion. But in result Ward's volume is not reliable for factual detail and it becomes the duty of the editor of this new edition to point out the pitfalls of Ward's epitome. Anyone choosing to make the comparison himself between Ward's version and the present one will find some pleasure in imagining why in each instance Ward took such liberties with his source material.

He improved Curwen's grammar and spelling and he omitted passages he must have thought irrelevant to his purpose (though without indicating the omission) or beneath the dignity of his esteemed relative. He paid little heed to the accuracy of dates. To add spice to an entry he would search before and after the given date and even into correspondence of the time and then combine the whole conglomeration under a date chosen at random. This means, then, that to one seeking to find when a particular meeting or event took place, or where a certain refugee was at a given time, Ward's volume is untrustworthy, and yet for over a century it has been used as a source for such information. In several instances, Ward includes as part of a journal entry matter the source of which has not been discovered. Not to belabor the subject but as a perfect example of his method there is given below in two parallel columns the opening paragraph of Ward's version (on the left) and Curwen's (on the right). Italicized in the left column are the words Ward changed or added. Italicized in the right column are the words Ward omitted.

20. *Sibley's Harvard Graduates*, 9:xiii.

Philadelphia, May 4, 1775.

Since the late unhappy affairs at Concord *and Lexington* finding the spirit of the people to rise on every fresh alarm, (which has been almost hourly,) and their tempers to *get* more and more soured and malevolent against *all modest men* whom they see fit to reproach as enemies of their country by the name of Tories, among *whom* I am unhappily (although unjustly) ranked; *and unable to bear their undeserved reproaches and menaces hourly denounced against myself and others*, I think it a duty I owe myself to *withdraw for a while from the storm which to my foreboding mind is approaching*. Having in vain endeavoured to persuade my wife to accompany me, her apprehension of danger . . .

Since the late unhappy affair at Concord, finding the spirit of the people to rise on every fresh alarm which has been almost hourly, and their tempers to grow more and more sour and malevolent against *those* whom they see fit to reproach as enemies to their Country by the name of Tories, amongst which number I am unhappily though unjustly ranked, *now given by the furious partisans, who constitute almost the whole body of the people, to all moderate men*, I think it a duty I owe myself to *seek some secure asylum, if to be found in America*; having in vain persuaded my wife to accompany me *with my effects*, her apprehension of danger . . .

And then at the very end of the paragraph, which continues with discrepancies such as those above, Ward adds gratuitously, from a source not yet found, "Hoping to find an asylum amongst quakers and Dutchmen, who I presume from former experience have too great a regard for ease and property to sacrifice either at this time of doubtful disputation on the altar of an unknown goddess, or rather doubtful divinity." If not taken from some letter not now available to us, this sentence may simply have been added by Ward to emphasize for us the disappointment Curwen suffered when he found the "quakers and Dutchmen" of Philadelphia no better than other "furious partisans." This is a fair sample of Ward's method.

Curwen's description of his sea voyage in 1775, a splendid account of both the nautical and the human side of an eighteenth-century ocean passage is wholly omitted, as are the accounts of many of his excursions about the countryside. Also missing are entries describing a boxing match, bull-baiting, card tricks, acrobatics, and the varied

questions posed at meetings of debating societies he attended, some dealing with the American colonies. With Victorian modesty no mention is made of Curwen's entertaining, and on his part innocent, encounter with London's "filles du joy," "common baggage," or "Impures," as he alternately terms them. With the same delicacy Castleton, described by Curwen as "situated near the mouth of what is called the Devil's Arse a peak," finds itself merely "near the mouth of the Devil's Peak." The unfortunate "King Edmund the 2d," who Curwen confides was "killed on a vault by a red hot spit thrust into his fundament," in Ward's language was simply "murdered at Berkeley Castle," and needless to say no mention is made of the lecture at "Dr. Graham's temple of health" where Curwen and, to his dismay, members of the opposite sex were treated to "luscious descriptions of the facts of generation in both sexes." Almost every page, upon examination, reveals instances of Ward's omissions and emendations, some for reasons political, social, or for the sake of modesty, others, especially those dealing with Curwen's daily life, the weather, his health, diet, church-going and endless walking trips probably because Ward did not think them of interest.

In a loose sort of way and with understandable, if unforgivable, motives, Ward was rewriting a small fragment of history, and it is now time that Curwen was allowed to tell his own story in his own words. What he was trying to tell us he records himself, suddenly, on 15 October 1778 in the midst of a weather report:

From time to time till it shall please God to restore me to you, my friends, and my native Country, if ever, I shall write you as often as opportunity shall offer, on a subject of no concern or importance to the public, though I flatter myself not altogether indifferent to you or them, meaning myself and my small circle of action of which however trifling and unconcerning to Strangers, and surely they must be so, they may not fail of being acceptable to one connected by such tender ties as we are. I shall make no apology, for I'm sure none will be thought needful for incorrectness of style or order; intending to put things just as they shall arise, or as fancy, convenience, health, or judgment shall direct, permit or suggest. You may expect a miscellany of what occurs in reading, conversation or rambling, or from suggestions of my own mind, reflections moral and humerous, a general sign of weather, whats natural and moral, descriptions, news political or civil, anecdotes, tales, epitaphs, epigrams, in prose, or rhyme in short whatever may prove instructive or amusing, though by very far the greatest part will be a series of dull insipid naratives, but candid and undissembled friendship views failings and weakness of a friend in a favorable light.

And again on 14 October 1782 he wrote, "Began an account of my effect[s] which I propose to make compleat, extending to every article however minute and valueless, proposing to put it on file to be inspected by my friends when I shall be dead and gone, that they may know the precise condition of their old friend at this period."

Such was his purpose, and we are the friends for whom, perhaps not wholly unknowingly, he was writing.

THE JOURNAL AND THE LETTER BOOKS

Curwen's journal is contained in thirteen small volumes (the first three now bound together), with pages approximately 8 x 6½ inches in size. The first ten and a fraction of the eleventh cover the years of his exile from 1775 to 1784. The letter books comprise seven comparable volumes. Although some of the letters are now reproduced in part or in whole in the notes or the Appendix, it is with Curwen's journal that we are primarily concerned, and only that part of it from 1775 to June 1785. He wrote in a small, crowded, crabbed hand, and in the long, lonely days he entertained himself by rereading what he had written and correcting it, interlining a word here and there or cramping a correction or comment into what little margin he had left himself. In the first six volumes he wrote across the whole page, averaging some twenty-five to thirty lines a page. In these volumes there was a margin of a fraction of an inch in which he inserted his marginalia. Commencing with volume 7 in July 1777, each page is divided into two columns, that on the left being devoted exclusively to daily activity—that is, his journal—and that on the right being his paralipomena of miscellaneous intelligence. On 8 April 1783, in volume 10, the diarist returns to a single column for each page. The portion of the journal now published, from April 1775 to June 1785, is written on approximately 1,472 pages of which 664 contain the double columns, only the left hand one of which is reproduced in these volumes.

At the commencement of volume 7, which introduces the double column, Curwen wrote a sort of index or headnote which (with page numbers omitted) reads as follows:

Opinions, speeches & sentiments respecting Am. War & its connections, civil, naval and Military, Parliamentary & out of doors & present State of public affairs.

Observations respecting the religious, political, civil & commercial state of G.B.

Anecdotes of & relating to remarkable characters.
Instances of extraordinary fertility of Earth & fecundity of Animals.
Instances of Longevity & other remarkable circumstances relating to the human species.
Moral, philosophical & religious observations & remarks &c. &c.
Facts & remarks relative to Ireland & other States & powers in Europe &c.
Tales, Bon mots & repartees &c. &c.
Epitaphs, serious, humorous & satirical, peculiar &c.
Origin of Customs, words &c.

Similar indices of such miscellaneous matter appear at the beginning of volumes 8 and 9. Much of this matter is pure gossip—old wives' tales—and some of it is clearly copied from guidebooks or newspapers of the day. Samples of the single and double columned pages are illustrated.

What is so significant about Curwen's journal is that he never missed the opportunity to mention where and when he met his many American friends, fellow-refugees, and other acquaintances. He spoke to all who would listen and recorded what he said and the response, if any were allowed. He had an insatiable curiosity and with his broad education he met every new person, situation, or invention as a challenge to be brought to heel and properly recorded in his journal. And though we judge him only by his own record, it is apparent that despite his shortcomings he must have been a charming companion and conversationalist. Time and time again his friends and acquaintances, young and old, returned to take tea or ramble over the countryside with him. So it is that even Ward's unreliable version of the journal has long been used as a sort of calendar or check list of the activities and whereabouts of the loyalist refugees. Now perhaps the record, in its fascinating, lifelike detail, can be set straight.

In the preface to Ward's edition it is stated that the manuscript journals were given by Curwen to his niece Mehetable, daughter of his brother George and wife of Richard Ward. The gift must have included the letter books because they appear always to have been kept together. The grandsons of Richard and Mehetable Ward were George Atkinson Ward, the first editor of the journal, and his brother Samuel Curwen Ward, who in 1802 changed his name at his great-granduncle's request to Samuel Curwen. The journal and letter books were in the family's possession when Ward published the four editions from 1842 to 1864. In due course they passed to George Rea Curwen, son of the Samuel Curwen who had dropped the name Ward, and

were bequeathed by him to the Essex Institute at his death, without issue, in 1900. His will describes them as "the Diary and Letter Books of Judge Samuel Curwen of Salem which were kept by him in England during the Revolutionary War, between the years 1775 and 1783. They are in eighteen volumes bound in vellum."²¹ George Curwen must have assumed that the contents of the manuscript volumes were as published in his uncle's editions of the journal. He had probably never examined the manuscripts carefully and he obviously did not realize that in fact the diary ran into the year 1794 and the letter books to the year 1800. The eighteen vellum bound volumes (the first of which includes, bound together, volumes 1-3 of the journal) are now owned by the Essex Institute.

It was a happy historical coincidence that Curwen's great-great-grandnephew so clearly inherited his predecessor's strong antiquarian interests. With the bequest of the manuscript journal and letter books were included an extraordinary collection of portraits, furniture, and other antiquities. In his annual report for the Institute for the year ending May 7, 1900, the president, Robert S. Rantoul, wrote of Curwen's legacy: "I treat this bequest exceptionally because it is certain that the Institute never had at any one time before so interesting a gift, and because I suppose it to be very unlikely that it can ever again receive a donation of so extraordinary a kind."²²

EDITORIAL METHOD

These two volumes include (with the exceptions noted) the entire text of Curwen's manuscript journal commencing with the opening undated entry in volume 1, which was obviously written on or after 4 May 1775, and ending with the entry dated 10 June 1785 in volume 11, which recorded his departure again for England. As mentioned above, in the first six volumes of the journal Curwen wrote across the page and then, later, frequently interlined words or sentences or added additional matter, sometimes of considerable length, in the narrow margins of the pages. Often he lacked the space to write legibly what he wished to add, and where illegible these marginalia have been silently omitted. There has also been omitted, from the middle of the

21. *The Essex Institute Historical Collections* (Salem, Mass., July 1900), 35:252-253.

22. *Annual Report of The Essex Institute for the Year ending May 7, 1900* (Salem, Mass., 1900), p. 12.

entry of 22 January 1777, nine pages of gravestone inscription and, after the entry of 26 September 1784, two pages of Latin epigrams. In the case of the double columned pages, commencing with volume 7 (July 1777), running to volume 10 (8 April 1783), only the left hand column containing true diary material has been included.

With but few exceptions, all abbreviations have now been expanded. This has usually been a simple matter where the word can be taken in its context. Curwen invariably used the thorn in place of an initial "th." Hence "ynk" has been rendered "think" or "thank" as the context required. Exceptions to the general rule of expanding are, of course, the words "Mr." and "Mrs." (Curwen not infrequently wrote out Misses or Mistress), titles such as "Capt.," "Col.," "Gov.," and the like, and the points of the compass. The latter appear frequently at the opening of a day's entry as part of the weather report, sometimes as initials, often written in full. These have been arbitrarily contracted to "N.," "E.," "S.," "W.," "N.E.," "N.N.W.," "N.Wly.," "S.Ely.," and so forth.

Curwen sometimes referred to his friends by using simply one or more initials. Where the initials appear for the first time or after the lapse of many entries, the balance of the name is added within brackets, if from the context it appears clear. But it is not always clear to whom Curwen referred and in doubtful cases the reader must draw his own conclusion.

Curwen was not only a hypochondriac, he actually suffered from illness of one kind or another most of the time. Early in the journal he describes his health problems and medical dosages in a straightforward manner. Then, early in 1779, as the entries increase, he resorts to the device, when dealing with clinical details (and some are startling), of spelling the words backwards. "Took a dose of salts" becomes "Koot a esod fo stlas." The same with the effect of the dose, which is always recorded. But the problem of exact reversal becomes at times too much for him and so we find "with" reversed as "thiw." To the extent decipherable this heterography has been preserved.

A lover of sermons, Curwen went to meeting, mostly to dissenting meeting houses, two or three times a week and often twice on Sunday, almost always recording the name of the preacher and quoting by memory the text, with its citation. The citations are now reproduced without expansion, as "2 Cor. V 15," and no effort has been made to correct, or to point out errors in the quoted Biblical texts. Where they differ from the King James Version, it is not always possible to tell

whether Curwen's memory was faulty or whether he or the preacher was following some dissenter's version of the Bible.

His spelling—free, inconsistent, and at times simply phonetic—has been preserved: sett for set, walkt for walked, feild almost invariably for field. Where an abbreviation has been expanded, Curwen's usual spelling has been followed: "hon'r." becomes "honour."

Capitalization, as always in manuscripts of this period, presents a problem. All sentences now commence with capital letters. Beyond that point Curwen's own loose practice of capitalization has been followed. Where there is doubt about a particular letter or word, modern usage has been adopted. This means that in many instances place names, honorific titles, and the like are not capitalized and in other instances capitals are used where we would not expect them today. In laying down his own rules in this respect, Wilmarth S. Lewis, editor of the Yale edition of *The Correspondence of Horace Walpole*, observed: "What is amusing and 'flavoursome' in small doses becomes wearisome in large, and it injects an air of quaintness to a text which was not apparent to the correspondents themselves."²³ This is indeed true, but Curwen was not writing for publication; rather, he wrote in what he considered the strictest privacy, for his friends, and it has seemed of some worth to reproduce in print as nearly as mechanically practicable just what he wrote. He was an educated man, "a good Classical Latin Scholar, well read in History," as Bentley said, and there is some interest in observing his writing peculiarities and in distinguishing between customary usage or personal desire for emphasis. At the risk of being "wearisome," therefore, the diarist's practice, with the above exceptions, has been followed. For practical reasons all superscripts have been brought down to the line.

Punctuation presents a familiar difficulty. Commas, dashes, and semicolons were used freely; periods rarely. Here some liberty has been taken. Long sections have been broken up into sentences and paragraphs where such division is plainly applicable, and commas or semicolons added where strong need is felt, but only where there is no possibility of doing violence to his meaning. Otherwise an effort has been made to preserve, often in long, curiously punctuated sentences, Curwen's rapid, almost breathless style. Ambiguous punctuation has been allowed to stand and no effort made to force a meaning

23. Wilmarth S. Lewis, ed., *The Correspondence of Horace Walpole* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1937—), 1:xxxvi.

out of a sentence that may appear unintelligible. On the other hand, obvious slips of the pen, unintentional repetition of a word, and the like have been silently corrected.

Unfortunately Curwen's hand is at times so illegible that words cannot be deciphered with certainty. Sometimes he himself left a blank, perhaps intending to supply the missing word or phrase later. This has been indicated by a dash, as "Walkt with Mr. ———." Where a word or words cannot be deciphered, brackets are used, with an indication of how much matter is missing, as "Walkt with Mr. [1 word]." When a word is not clear but a good guess can be made, it is supplied within brackets, "Walkt with Mr. [Browne?]." Where a word has obviously been omitted in error, the likeliest word has been supplied within brackets, "Went [with] Mr. Brown to London."

Where reasonably possible Americans mentioned by Curwen have been briefly identified in footnotes. The simple biographical and statistical data with respect to such persons has been drawn, without indication of source, from one or more of the several editions of *The Journal* published by George A. Ward, and from the *Dictionary of American Biography*, *Sibley's Harvard Graduates*, E. Alfred Jones, *The Loyalists of Massachusetts . . .* (London, 1930), Lorenzo Sabine, *Biographical Sketches of Loyalists of the American Revolution* (Boston, 1864), James H. Stark, *The Loyalists of Massachusetts* (Boston, 1907), Fitch Edward Oliver, ed., *The Diary of William Pynchon of Salem* (Boston, 1890), Fitch Edward Oliver, ed., *The Diaries of Benjamin Lynde and of Benjamin Lynde, Jr.* (Boston, 1880).

The text of the letters or excerpts of letters that are printed either in the footnotes or in the Appendix is taken from Curwen's letter books, not the recipient's copy, and may, indeed very likely will, vary from the recipient's copy. Letters are mentioned, or reproduced in whole or in part, in footnotes keyed to the place where mentioned in the text of the journal. If not specifically mentioned, they are noted at the end of the day's entry for every date for which a letter appears in the letter books, in the latter instance often with but a brief note that a letter was written to a specified person, and with excerpts or other explanation of content only if considered of sufficient interest.

Many of the loyalist refugees are characterized in the footnotes that accompany the journal as "addressers" of Hutchinson or of Gage, a title they earned for the following reasons. When it became known in May 1774 that Thomas Hutchinson was to retire as governor and go to England and that his successor was to be the recently arrived

Thomas Gage, a large group of "merchants and traders of the town of Boston" and a similar group of the inhabitants of Marblehead and a number of "Barristers and attorneys-at-law in the Province of Massachusetts Bay" signed and presented to Hutchinson formal addresses testifying to their respect and esteem and their gratitude for his signal services to the province. In June 1774 comparable addresses of welcome to General Gage were signed by a large group of loyalists; and a year later an even larger number of persons signed an address entitled "Loyal Address from the Gentlemen and Principal Inhabitants of Boston to Governor Gage on his departure for England, October 6, 1775." The signers of these various addresses were, needless to say, held in opprobrium by the Whigs, rebels, patriots, by whatever name called, and under threat of punishment several "addressers" were importuned to sign recantations.

There also appear frequent references in the journal and footnotes to the banishment or proscription of the loyalist refugees. These terms are derived from the so-called "Proscription and banishment act of 1778" passed by Massachusetts and other similar acts in other states pursuant to which specified individuals were banished or proscribed as enemies of their country and their estates and properties confiscated. In some instances refugees who returned to America were able to petition for and to receive a partial or total return of their properties.

paid my last respects to Mr Debonalt & rec'd a letter to me
 from my Son, say^g Sum^o of 200 lb^s. From from I & my discharg^d
 my board for the week to Mr. Seaward & her discharg^d
 her Uncle & her respecting her children & left my edg^d
Saturday 13 breakfasted at L^d. B. Smiths, dined at Mr.
 Delabiah websters, Mr. Stanton presented me with a
 open letter of recommendation to William G. & Co
 Birmingham, rec^d Mr. Wood & Lady's letter to Mr.
 & Debonalt in London, rec^d from the hosp^l. of Newington
 & last papers from the publishers all the present weeks
 (Phil^l. answer papers Mr. Lee & W^o. taking leave & writing me a
 say^g with my fellow passenger Mr. Webster for Relation
 went on board the Schooner with looking from the wh^l
 fell down into the stream the tide having run in & bef^o
 the turn got down as far as Chester 20 m. dist from
 ynce in the night to Penn's head as he called on the
 Jersey side, just below deep water point. Sunday 14
 the Captⁿ. & W^o my self being short of fresh stock
 was rowed ashore from whence we strolled 2 or 3 m.
 to the Country in order to buy provisions, calling of
 hawks were after all our trouble & fatigue at the place
 was uncomfortably hot & close we could purchase only
 14 fowls & one gal^l of milk & 2 bar^s Red Corn in the
 Col^l.

A single-column page of the Journal. This page is in volume 1 and includes the entry for 13 May 1775.

Overleaf: The Journal and the Letter Books. The six volumes piled at the left are letter books A, B, C, D, E, and G; book F, inscribed "Began 28 March 1786," lies separately. Leaning against these are ten volumes of the journal; that on the left comprises volumes 1-3 bound together, and to the right are volumes 4-11 and 13. Volume 12 lies open at entries for the end of July and the beginning of August 1786.

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A black and white photograph of a thick, old book with a dark cover, resting on a wooden surface. The book's spine and edges are worn. In the background, other books are visible on a shelf. The image is tilted slightly to the right.

12. The house his father
 13. The house his father
 14. The house his father
 15. The house his father
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 18. The house his father
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Sam. C. Brown
Journal 1838

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Acknowledgments

I am indebted to many for their assistance in preparing these volumes for publication and it is not easy adequately to acknowledge the help given.

Clifford K. Shipton, long the director of the American Antiquarian Society, first suggested to me that I undertake the task and has stood by me faithfully ever since. It was but a short step to obtain the enthusiastic consent of Dean A. Fales, Jr., the director of the Essex Institute, which owns the manuscript, and the help of its librarian, David R. Proper, in obtaining xerox copies of both the journal and the letter books from which to transcribe the text. It was no one's fault but mine that I never mastered the typewriter, and so every page of Curwen's record, written in his own crabbed abbreviated writing, had first to be deciphered under a magnifying glass and then transcribed on sheets of yellow foolscap, the pages ultimately forming a stack over three feet high. These pages were in turn fed impatiently, I hope gracefully, into the willing and expert hands of my secretaries from time to time and thus reduced to typescript. For the patience and skill of these individuals, Miss Lydia A. Borth, Mrs. Rita Dawson, and Mrs. Emily P. Hedden, I am indeed grateful.

By the time the transcription was completed, Mr. Shipton had been succeeded by Marcus A. McCorison as director of the American Antiquarian Society, and Mr. Fales by David B. Little as director of the Essex Institute, the successors continuing the aid and comfort of their forerunners. To Robert A. East, executive director of the Program for Loyalist Studies and Publications, and to his associate director, James E. Mooney, I owe the happy, though partly coincidental, connection between the publication of these volumes and the Loyalist Papers project.

For editorial guidance I fell early under the shadow of the wing of the incomparable Sibley editor, Mr. Shipton, whose knowledge of the age of Curwen in America cannot be surpassed. For aid in arranging for the publication I owe a debt to Lyman H. Butterfield, editor-in-chief of the Adams Papers, to David B. Little, and to the experience and understanding of the pilots of the Harvard University Press, Mark Carroll, its director; David Horne, its associate director; and Max Hall, its editor for the social sciences.

The Charlotte Palmer Phillips Foundation generously and in keeping with its scholarly tradition advanced funds for the early costs of the project. Marion V. Brewington, when assistant director of the Peabody Museum of Salem, supplied information relating to eighteenth-century ships and ship captains. Nicholas B. Wainwright, director of the Pennsylvania Historical Society, led me through the obscure and narrow streets of Philadelphia's early waterfront, reading for me signposts that had long become undecipherable. The late William O. Hubbard, a youthful scholar and friend, supplied me with an elusive reference to Count Falkenstein. Sarah Elizabeth Freeman, curator of numismatics of the John Work Garrett Library of the Johns Hopkins University, knew more than I would otherwise have discovered of the Voltaire-Washington metal mentioned by Curwen in April 1778. Wilmarth Sheldon Lewis opened the doors of the Lewis Walpole Library to me and gave his usual generous advice and assistance and the resources of the library for certain illustrations.

Miss Elizabeth Suttell read my manuscript for the Press with microscopic vision, discovering each questionable date or doubtful reference and offering numerous opportunities for improving my annotations.

Last to be mentioned but first in my consideration and deserving of gratitude is my patient and devoted wife who for five or six years put up with alarums and excursions, delays and frustrations, due to my continual efforts to decipher Curwen's hand, and listened through the long winter nights and the short summer evenings to his tale with the understanding and fortitude with which he told it. Had Curwen had her at his side he would probably never have left Salem for England and certainly not alone; without her by my side these volumes would never have been completed.

The Journal of Samuel Curwen, Loyalist

VOLUME I

JOURNAL OF *Samuel Curwen*

1775

Since the late unhappy affair at Concord, finding the spirit of the people to rise on every fresh alarm which has been almost hourly, and their tempers to grow more and more sour and malevolent against those whom they see fit to reproach as enemies to their Country, by the name of Tories, amongst which number I am unhappily though unjustly ranked, now given by the furious partisans, who constitute almost the whole body of the people, to all moderate men, I think it a duty I owe myself to seek some secure asylum, if to be found in America; having in vain persuaded my wife to accompany me with my effects, her apprehension of danger from an incensed soldiery, a people licentious and enthousiastically mad and broke loose from all restraints of Law and religion, were less terrible to her than a short passage on the ocean, and being moreover encouraged by her, I leave my late peaceable habitation, Town, friends and Country in search of personal security of those rights, which by the laws of God and man I ought to have enjoyed undisturbed there.

Accordingly I bespoke a passage in the Scooner *Lively* Capt. Holton Johnson¹ bound to Philadelphia which after 12 days passage I arrived at, having embarked at Beverly Mill St. Wharff Sunday P.M. April 23, and landed at Philadelphia Thursday morning May 4 at a place called Ton Alley wharff. The particulars of my passage follow. After receiving on board my fellow passengers which were the Captain's wife, daughter and wife's sister, Andrew Cabot² and his wife and child, Andrew Dodge³ and Samuel Checkley⁴ his clerk, and one

1. Captain Holton (sometimes Holden) Johnson (1720-?) was in command of the schooner *Lively* for many years; several of her logbooks are now in the Essex Institute. "He is a man of fine constitution and usually goes to bed intoxicated." Bentley, *Diary*, 2:204.

2. Andrew Cabot (1750-1791), merchant of Beverly, son of Joseph Cabot, grandson of the first John Cabot, married Lydia Daye. In 1779 he was one of the principal owners of the privateer *Pilgrim*.

3. Andrew Dodge, merchant of Beverly.

4. Samuel Checkley, possibly the son of the Rev. Samuel Checkley (1696-1769), minister of the New South Church, Boston.

[Do]ugherty. We loosened from the wharff about 8 o'clock in the Evening, the wind being contrary, the weather foul but the tide favourable, and past down to just within the bar and lying the night all in a cluster the time not being sufficient to stow away the passenger's baggage, mine consisting only of a bed, one blanket, coverlet and 1 pair sheets and a bolster and one trunk. The night was dark and drisly wind at E. and N.E. but moderate.

Monday April 24. About 5 o'clock A.M. we broke ground and 8 passed the bar, wind as before but moderate, from 7 to 9 o'clock very pleasant. Wind variable from N.E. by N. to Ely. At 10 passed Baker's Island. P. caught several cod. Distance run this day 12 leagues.

Tuesday 25. Cloudy but moderate winds variable from S.E. to E. At 6 o'clock P.M. Cape Ann bore N.N.W. 7 leagues distant, Scituate N.W. 5 leagues. Caught several cod, a fog came on, Cape Codd bore W.N.W. 4 leagues distant.

Wednesday 26. Moderate, cross sea from N. Sun sett clear. Abner shot a penguin.⁵ Latitude by observation 39.56.

Thursday 27. Brisk gale wind W.N.W. Ran 40 leagues the last 24 hours. Rigg'd out our flying jib boom and bent the jib.

Friday 28. Saw a ship standing to East and 2 sail to South. Brisk gale, after, it lulled and was cloudy and calm. Vessell rolled very much in the night which made all our passengers except myself very seasick. Roasted the penguin for supper. The taste was strong and blubbery.

Saturday 29. Wind variable from Wly. to S. by E. Latitude by observation 38.38. Let out reefs, wind moderate, which were in the last 24 hours, our vessell being hardly in balast and floored with rum and Mr. Cabot's household goods.

Sunday 30. [Clear, saw?] four penguins. Sounded, 30 fathoms.

Monday May 1. Moderate wind N.N.W. to S. W. Sounded at 22 fathoms, hasy. Saw 2 or 3 penguins and a schooner standing in the East.

5. The true penguin does not get as far north as Cape Cod. Curwen's penguin was undoubtedly the Great Auk, now extinct.

About 11 o'clock discovered Land at 5 leagues distant which proved the Jersey shore below Cap May. Let out [*1 word*] in our pilot being a lad named Anson Shillinger about 16 years at 5 o'clock P.M., passing the overfalls sands and by Cape May, anchored 12 leagues up the bay. The wind coming about to the N.W. brought on in a violent tempest of thunder and lightning attended with such cataracts of rain as exceeded any storm my eyes ever beheld the whole hemisphere appearing for 5 hours to be in one unceasing unintermitted blaze. Beginning at 8 it lasted till 1 o'clock.

Tuesday 2. We passed Bombay Hook, distant 21 miles, where we lay 6 hours, having spent the whole day in running 10 leagues.

Wednesday 3. We tided it up as far as Chester leaving Reedy Island (supposed half the distance between the Capes and City) at 4 o'clock P.M. on

Thursday 4. At 4 o'clock we anchored just of[f] Ton Alley¹ wharff. Some vessells lying there, soon removed leaving us a berth which at 6 o'clock we took, being just the 12th day since our departure from Beverley wharff. Capt. Goodhue² on notice of my arrival was kind enough to come on board and having made my kinsman and correspondent Mr. Samuel Smith³ acquainted therewith he was pleased to come aboard our vessell. His first salutation, we will protect you though a tory, not a little embarrassed me, but soon recovering my surprize we fell into a friendly conversation and he taking me after dressing myself being then in my sea clothes along with him to his house, I dined with his Family and Mr. Sproat⁴ the Minister, suffering in the course of truth some mortifications both before and at dinner. Taking leave without any explicit invitation from him or Family to make his house my home during my residence in the City (which however was not part of my plan) I went down to the Vessell

1. Tun (Ton) Alley Wharf, also known as Flower's Wharf and later known as India Wharf, was the berth in Philadelphia of the East Indiamen. See J. Thomas Scharf and Thompson Westcott, *History of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia 1884), 3:2157.

2. Benjamin Goodhue (1748–1814), Harvard 1766; elected representative from Massachusetts to the first United States Congress in 1789 and senator in 1796. He was an author of the early revenue laws and one of the owners of the schooner *Sturdy Beggar*.

3. Samuel Smith, Philadelphia merchant, father of Jonathan B. Smith.

4. James Sproat (1722–1793), Yale 1741, succeeded Gilbert Tennent at the Second Presbyterian Church in Philadelphia in 1768. He died with many of his immediate family in the yellow fever epidemic of 1783.

uncertain of my lodging for the night but by good fortune meeting a Young Man named Glover whom I had seen some months before at my own house he, on my application accompanied me to several houses all of which were full or for particular reasons would not take in a lodger. So many refused as made me fearful whether like Cain I had not a discouraging mark on me or a strong feature of Toryism, the whole City seeming to be deep in congressional principles and inveterate against Hutchinsonian Addressers. Happily at length we arrived at one Mrs. Swords a young Widow Lady of very pleasing aspect and manners with whom I found quarters being in Chestnut Street on the left hand going up from the River between 2nd and 3rd Streets and rendered more agreeable by Mr. S. Waterhouse's⁵ company whose lodging this also was.

Friday 5 May. Mr. Smith having found out my lodging came early to enquire into the reason of my not making his house my quarters which I excused as well as I could though lamely enough notwithstanding a very plausible and just and obvious one offered itself. Bad as it was he readily accepted it and so a very disagreeable interview ended. His treatment however on the whole was kind enough for which I acknowledge my obligation to himself and family.

Since the advice from Massachusetts of the unhappy affairs at Lexington and Concord, this whole Country appears determined to assume the military character. The City throwing off her pacific aspect is forming military companies, a plan being laid for thirty three some of which are already full or nearly, and the rest filling apace to be taken from the several Wards each furnishing a company as the inhabitants shall be disposed promiscuously to enter. Gentlemen, Merchants, tradesmen, old, young, English, Irish, German and Dutch etc. are [drilling?] and stand shoulder to shoulder forming so many *patriotic bands* to oppose like the invincible Macedonian phalanx the progress and increase of parliamentary authority in America.

The Quakers not to be behind in manifesting their aversion have made application to the City Committee to know if they would or could consistently dispense with the established regulation in raising

5. Samuel Waterhouse (1728-?), collector of customs for Boston 1772; went to Philadelphia soon after the battle of Lexington and to Halifax in July 1776. In London in 1779 he was a loyalist addresser to the King. He was described as "the most notorious scribbler, satirist, and libeller in the service of the conspirators against the liberties of America." Lorenzo Sabine, *Biographical Sketches of Loyalists of the American Revolution* (Boston, 1864), 2:403.

Overleaf: Joshua Fisher's chart of Delaware Bay and River, 1776. This chart, first published at Philadelphia and later in London, shows quite clearly the navigational hazards at the entrance of Delaware Bay and up the River so vividly described by Curwen in his journal for May 1-3 and 13-22, 1775.

We the Subscribers,

having perused the ancient Draught of
DELAWARE BAY,

do recommend it as a very exact Performance: & will greatly contribute to
the safe Navigation in the said Bay.
as the several Draughts heretofore made are very imperfect, and no
dependance to be had on them.

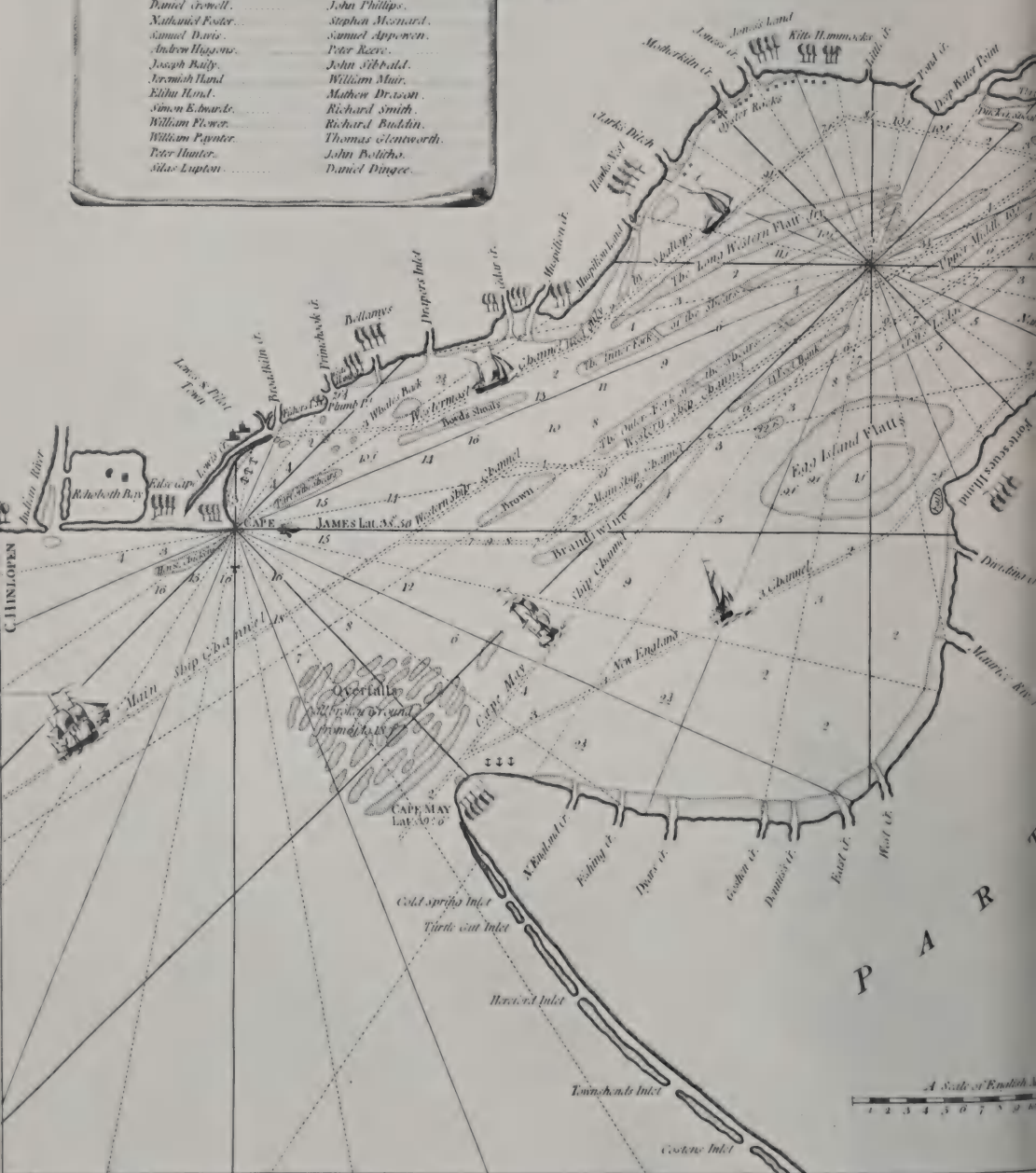
Pilots.

Nehemiah Frost.
Abraham Witham.
Samuel Rowland.
Samuel Rowland, Junr.
Luke Shield.
William Rowland, Junr.
Henry Fisher.
Thomas Hunt.
Samuel E. Howell.
Ruben Swaine.
Daniel Howell.
Nathaniel Foster.
Samuel Davis.
Andrew Huggins.
Joseph Bully.
Nehemiah Hunt.
Elihu Hunt.
Simon Edwards.
William Flower.
William Paynter.
Peter Hunter.
Silas Lupton.

Masters of Vessels.

Joseph Arthur.
William Heaton.
Cornelius Kollock.
Charles Dungee.
Alexander Sage.
Nathan Solley.
Oswell Eve.
Charles Lyon.
John Easton.
Robt Ellis Junr.
John Phillips.
Stephen Mosnard.
Samuel Appowen.
Peter Rezer.
John S. Hubbard.
William Muir.
Mathew Drason.
Richard Smith.
Richard Buddin.
Thomas Gwentworth.
John Bolitho.
Daniel Dungee.

PART OF DELAWARE



DELAWARE BAY AND RIVER.

Faithfully copied

From that Published at Philadelphia.

 Bv

JOSHUA FISHER.

Together with the Tide Table from the
CAPIES to PHILADELPHIA.

*and the SET of the TIDE on the
Several Quarters of the FLOOD and EBB.*

TIDE-TABLE.

Moon	$\left. \begin{array}{l} S.E. \text{ by } E. \\ S.E. \\ S.S.E. \\ S. \text{ by } E. \\ S. \\ S.W. \\ S.W. \end{array} \right\}$	$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{makes Full Sea at} \end{array} \right\}$	$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{Cape May.} \\ \text{Cape James.} \\ \text{Bombay Hook.} \\ \text{Rocky Island.} \\ \text{New castle.} \\ \text{Chester.} \\ \text{Philadelphia.} \end{array} \right\}$
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Setting of the Tide within the Bay, near the Capes.

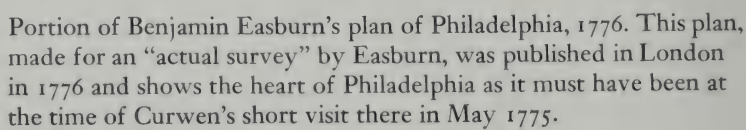
First Quarter Flood, W.V.V.

Second to last Quarter. A.V.W.

First Quarter Ebb. E.S.E.

Second to last Quarter. S.S.F.

The Soundings are taken at Low Water, those marked f are Feet, S those without are Fathoms.
At Spring Tide the Flow is from 6 to 7 Feet. Neap Tides from 44 to 54, but varied by the Winds.



Companies, by suffering them to make up three Companies of friends only, promiscuously out of any of the wards; glad to accept them, the committee readily consented and the Companies on this plan are now filling, many having before entered into the former ones, so perverted is the love of liberty and so great the dread of ministerial designs to enflame the Continent, that the most powerful of all prejudices and habits, even long fixed and rooted ones now give way and are controuled by the former.

The first Company composed of young Gentlemen only, of all nations and sects who on the earliest arrival of the melancholy advice from Massachusetts took fire and formed themselves to the number of sixty gave rise to the present association and were complimented by the Committee with the appellation of Cadets which they thinking would be invidious declined. Others humorously bestowed the Title of the Silk stocking Company being remarked for wearing them universally throughout the Company but a humerous Young Lady viewing their exercise one morning (for the Ladies young and old are become such warm patriots as to attend at the State Street Yard every Day in Morning Noon and Evening) has given them the Character of the Ladys Light Infantry which proves a more lasting name than either of the two former. The whole are twice or thrice a day exercising. Some have made a surprizing progress and all a laudable one in the manual exercise and evolution.⁶

The House this day having received a message from the Governor with Lord North's conciliatory plan has on a full debate rejected it being resolved to adhere to the Union. Mr. Joseph Lee⁷ this evening hearing I was in the City came to see me.⁸

6. The success of these martial exercises is indicated in John Adams' letter to his wife 10 June 1775: "Two days ago, we saw a very wonderful Phenomenon in this City—a field Day, on which three Battalions of Soldiers were reviewed, making full two thousand men. Battallion men, Light Infantry, Grenadiers, Rifle Men, Light Horse, Artillery Men, with a fine train, all in Uniform, going through the manual Exercise and the Maneuvers, with remarkable Dexterity. All this has been accomplished in this City, since the 19th of April. So suddenly a formation of an Army never took Place anywhere." L. H. Butterfield and others, eds., *Adams Family Correspondence* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1963—), 1: 213–214. In his letter to Nathan Goodale of 15 May 1775, Curwen states that the two Quaker companies were commanded by Samuel Marshall and Thomas Mifflin.

7. Joseph Lee (1711–1802), Harvard 1729, merchant, judge of the Court of Common Pleas for Middlesex, Massachusetts. Though a loyalist he remained in Boston during the siege; he was named a mandamus councillor but resigned.

8. Curwen wrote to his wife, 6 May: "Dr. Franklin arrived last night which was announced by ringing of bells, to the great joy of the City. I cant but promise myself some good, as his knowledge and experience and weight must have an influence in the approaching Congress who will, I doubt not, attend to his judgment; he is, tis

Saturday 6. Fair wind wly. Saw Pelatiah Webster⁹ who at Capt. B. Goodhue's instance treats me very decently. Having had several intimations that my residence here would be unpleasant if allowed at all, when it shall be known that I am what is called an addresser besides solicited to sign a recantation which may contain more than in conscience I can own or subscribe and after all uncertain whether it will answer the purpose, or should it barely to live under the character of reproach and ignominy which the outrageous fury of party may throw on me, for party strength is daily increasing here as it unhappily is all over America, I have consulted the few friends I think it worthwhile to advise with and on the result am determined to proceed to London in the Scooner in which I came here having on Mr. Smith's Credit and by his assistance procured 200 barrels flour to freight in said Scooner.

Sunday 7. Fair and pleasant. Went with Mr. J. B. Smith¹⁰ to Arch Street Meeting.¹¹ The preacher Mr. Sproat entertained us with a truly American patriotism sermon, pathetically lamenting the evils we were suffering from wicked tyrannical Ministers of State, exhorted us manfully to oppose them, and very justly observed our sins to be the procuring Cause of divine judgment honestly told us (which I think the truth) the Lord's Day was more often disregarded and neglected in the City than any place that he ever saw, heard or read of, and I was of the preacher's mind. About 2 o'clock my Friend took a walk down to a wharff where I saw a large collection of people waiting to hear the news from London; Capt. Robinson having just come to anchor, bringing no news but that the restraining bill respecting New England and the other respecting the Southern Colonies were passed. In the P.M. heard a young preacher not remarkable as a good or bad Speaker or Composer. After service drank a dish of balm tea at J. B. Smith's house and afterwards took a turn round the upper part of the

said, but with what truth I know not, to return back again soon, at Lord Chatham's influence, who tells him he must be in the spot at the opening the next session of parliament."

9. Pelatiah Webster (1726-1795), Yale 1746; married Mrs. Ruth Kellogg of Suffield, Conn., and had four daughters and one son. He became a political economist and published political and economic works. In April 1777, bound for Boston with a cargo of flour and iron, he was captured by the British and held prisoner in Newport for several weeks.

10. Jonathan Bayard Smith (1742-1812), College of New Jersey 1760, colonel of militia, member of the Continental Congress, 1777-1778, trustee of the University of Pennsylvania and the College of New Jersey.

11. The Arch Street Meeting was the Second Presbyterian Church.

City and looked into the Barracks from thence departed for my lodgings where meeting a Mr. Haton my fellow lodger by agreement attended him to a Moravian Lecture preached by a German, in the English language wherein the seemingly, for ought I know, pious earnest painstaking Labourer endeavoured to impress this undeniable truth on us his hearers that though Faith without works is dead being alone, yet works is not the meritorious cause of our Salvation. He also warmly insisted that saving faith includes works, but the most pleasing part of the whole exercise was an excellent small organ finely touched.¹²

Monday 8. Cloudy cold and unpleasant morning. At midnight cleared up.¹³

Tuesday 9. Fair, pleasant. Spent the A.M. with Thomas Smith¹⁴ in walking about the City, dined at Stephen Collins,¹⁵ passed the Evening at Mr. Joseph Reed's¹⁶ in company with Colonel Washington¹⁷ a fine figure, and of a most easy and agreeable address. Mr. R. H. Lee,¹⁸ and Colonel Harrison,¹⁹ three of the Virginia Delegates, Dr. Shippen,²⁰ Thomas Smith, Mrs. Deberdt,²¹ Mr. and Mrs. Reed where I staid till 12 o'clock, the conversation being chiefly on the most feasible and prudent method of stopping up the Channel of Delaware to pre-

12. A half-page note to his "dearest wife" promising more later.

13. Half-page notes of greeting to John Timmins (see Aug. 1775, n. 26, below) and William Pynchon (see Introduction, above)

14. Thomas Smith (1748-1809), half-brother of Provost William Smith of the College of Philadelphia, member of the Pennsylvania Convention of 1776, delegate to the Continental Congress, 1780-1782. In 1791 he succeeded William Bradford on the Pennsylvania Supreme Court.

15. Stephen Collins, merchant of Boston.

16. Joseph Reed (1741-1785), College of New Jersey 1757, adjutant general of the Continental Army in 1777 and later president of the state of Pennsylvania.

17. Only a few weeks later, on 15 June, on motion of John Adams, Washington was elected commander-in-chief of the Continental Army, assuming his command at Cambridge on 15 July over the provincial forces that were besieging the British in Boston.

18. Richard Henry Lee (1732-1794), delegate from Virginia to the Continental Congress in 1774, introduced the resolution proposing the Declaration of Independence on 17 June 1776 and was a signer of the Declaration.

19. Colonel Benjamin Harrison (1726-1791), delegate from Virginia to the Continental Congress of 1775, signer of the Declaration of Independence, governor of Virginia for three terms, and father of William Henry Harrison.

20. Dr. William Shippen (1736-1808), member of the faculty of the Pennsylvania Medical College, director of hospitals, later court-martialed for misapplying hospital stores. He was at one time Washington's physician.

21. Widow of Denny's Deberdt (d. 1770), the colonial agent for Massachusetts and Delaware, whose daughter Esther married Joseph Reed.

vent the coming up of any large King's ships to the City. I could not perceive the least disposition to accommodate matters or even risk. The two North Carolina Delegates²² this day arrived and put up at our Lodging.

Wednesday 10. Fair and pleasant. Early this A.M. a great number of persons rode out 8 or 10 miles hearing the Eastern Delegates were on their approach when about 11 o'clock the cavalcade appeared from afar (I being at that time by accident in Fore street near the upper end). First appeared 2 or 300 Gentlemen on horseback preceded by the new chosen city Military Officers 2 and 2 with drawn swords followed by J[ohn] H[ancock] and S[amuel] A[dams] in a Phaeton and pair the former looking as if his journey and high living, or his solicitude to support the dignity of his character as the first man in the Massachusetts, had impaired his health. Next came J[ohn] A[dams] and Mr. C[ushing] in a single horse chaise, behind followed R[obert] T[reat] P[aine]²³ and after him the N. York, at least some of the many Delegates from the Provinces, the Connecticut, and the rear brought up by 100 Carriages, the street crowded by innumerable throngs of people of all ages, sex and rank, the procession marching with a slow solemn pace on their Entrance. All the bells were set to ringing and chiming and every mark of respect that could be, was, expressed, not much I presume to the secret liking of their fellow Delegates from the other Colonies which doubtless they chose to digest as easily as they could as their complaints would be unavailing and might have produced heart burnings they thought it their interest to suppress.

Thursday 11. Fine and pleasant. Colonel Caswell one of the North Carolina Delegates and a lodger were inoculated for the small pox. Thanks to a kind providence for relieving me from the dread of infection of that terribel distemper. Mr. Lee again repeated his advice of my going to L[ondon]. Dined with Mr. J. B. Smith, rode out with

22. Colonel Richard Caswell (1729-1789), delegate from North Carolina to the Continental Congress of 1775 and later governor of North Carolina for two terms. Joseph Hewes (1730-1779), the other North Carolina delegate, was a signer of the Declaration of Independence and a staunch supporter of John Paul Jones.

23. In December 1774 the Provincial Congress sitting in Cambridge elected as delegates to the Continental Congress of 1775: John Hancock (1737-1793), who became president of the Congress; Samuel Adams (1722-1803), the patriot leader of the Sons of Liberty; John Adams (1735-1826), the Braintree lawyer who became the second President of the United States; Robert Treat Paine (1731-1814), who was long a power in Massachusetts. All were signers of the Declaration of Independence.

him to his farm 6 miles from Town. Drank tea with Mr. Lee and Startin,²⁴ and returned home.

Friday 12. Pleasant. Dined with Mr. J. B. Smith. Sent my Bedding and trunk aboard the Scooner. Received a letter to Mr. Neat of London from Mr. St. Collins, paid my last respects to Mrs. Deberdt and received a letter to her son. Received Invoice of 200 barrels Flour from S[amuel] S[mith] & Sons, discharged my board for the week to Mrs. Swords and her directions to her Uncle Ewen respecting her children and left my address.

Saturday 13. Breakfasted at J. B. Smith's, dined at Mr. Pelatiah Websters. Mr. Startin presented me with an open letter of recommendation to Wilkinson & Co. of Birmingham, received Mr. Reed and Ladys letters to their Brother D[ennis] Deberdt²⁵ in London, received from the post office Rivingtons 2 last papers and from the publishers all the present weeks Philadelphia news papers. Mr. Lee and Webster taking leave and wishing me a good voyage with my fellow passenger Mr. Webster's son Pelatiah went on board the Scooner which loosing from the Wharff fell down into the stream the tide favouring us and before the turn got down as far as Chester 20 miles distant from thence in the night to Penn's neck as tis called on the Jersey side and just below deep water point.²⁶

Sunday 14. The Captain, P[elatiah] W[ebster] and myself being short of fresh stock was rowed ashore from whence we strolled 2 or 3 miles to the Country in order to buy provisions, calling at several hutts where after all our trouble and fatigue as the weather was uncomfortably hot and close we could purchase only 19 fowls and one gallon of milk and 2 barrels Indian Corn in the cob. The land we passed over was light and hard, without stones, no barns, the houses small and built of loggs, the Inhabitants to all appearances poor, improvements few, the fences log and zig zag or what we call Virginia fence. Returning on board not pleased with our fare or success, about 2 o'clock we weighed anchor and fell down with the tide to Reedy Island. Wind almost ahead, but fresh breeze we passed by Wilmington and

24. Charles Startin, merchant of Boston, New York, and Salem, came to America from Birmingham, England, and was married in 1771 to Sarah Clark, sister of Mrs. John Singleton Copley. He died in 1799 by drowning.

25. Dennis Deberdt, son of Dennys Deberdt and brother of Mrs. Joseph Reed.

26. A short note this day to the Rev. William McGilchrist (see Aug. 1775, n. 28, below) advising of his decision to go to London.

New Castle lying on the banks of the river and in sight, but Salem lying on the Jersey shore we could see only the entrance to. Anchored just above Reedy Island the tide and wind both now against us. However till the turn of the tide it was very pleasant sailing. Remained all night at anchor, the weather looked threatening and the wind right ahead, being at N. and N.E.

Monday 15. Removed our birth higher up between the Island and the main. The Captain and Mr. Webster was rowed ashore to purchase some few necessaries we are in want of and also a cord of wood of which we are short. The latter was got and nothing else except a draft of milk punch furnished by an old <Dane> Sweede of which all the West Coast is inhabited. Capt. Olson in a Ship laden with Wheat bound to Falmouth came to anchor about $\frac{1}{2}$ mile below us. The boat returning with the cord wood [consisting of fir?] to a little place called Penn's Manor consisting of about a dozen houses and lying just behind Reedy Island where the Captain, Mr. Webster and myself dined. Walking along I light on a house where entering prevailed on the good woman whose name was Mansen to spare me an earthen porringer and pewter spoon, the Captain not having provided the necessary vessells for our comfort though on my engaging he promised to lay in whatever should be wanted. Our return back to the Scooner was favoured by a fair wind, strong tide and smooth water. Passed the remainder of the P.M. in reading, the men in rigging out the foretop mast and yards and setting the shrouds. Wind continued ahead, grows cloudy and a stormy appearance. The men expressed a desire to go ashore which at my instance the Captain granted. The Mate Isaac Verry my Townsman in a Surtout Which with a pair of new bought linen trousers and very fashionable hat and clean shirt made a spruce appearance among the country lasses to divert themselves with whom was their intention after a hard days labour and lively they made out the frolic remaining till 3 o'clock the next morning. I observed the colour of the water from some distance beyond and without the Capes up to Philadelphia has a muddy appearance though it is scarce brackish so low as Bombay Hook which is 25 leagues below the City.

Tuesday 16. Lay at anchor all day, weather looks greazy and threatening a storm. The Brigantine departed yesterday P.M. and the Ship this morning at 4 o'clock. No vessell except a Brigantine from Bom-

bay Hook has hove in sight these 30 hours. A large circle appeared round the moon last night. About 12 o'clock this day 9 Vessells hove in sight bound up the river one of which is Captain Waterman in a topsail Scooner from Nantucket who brought me a letter from Mr. Nathan Goodale²⁷ acquainting me that he with his and Mr. Pynchon's and Mrs. Orne's²⁸ family were 4 days since arrived there, to which I wrote a long letter in answer and sent it up to the City by a pilot boat to be delivered to Captain Waterman. We are informed that the Inhabitants of Nantucket refuse the offer of Administration being resolved to suffer with their countrymen. Captain, Mr. Wr. and the Pilot²⁹ a most lewd and prophane fellow were rowed ashore and there abode till very late in the Evening.

Wednesday 17. Wind and weather continues. Fell down with the tide to Bombay Hook Where we lay all day, rainy about 7 o'clock P.M., Wind changed to E. and blew very fresh. A light brigantine from the City bound to New London passed by, informing us that 16 transports were arrived at Boston.

Thursday 18. At 6 o'clock in the Morning, Wind at N. by E., broke ground and departed for Cape Hinlopen. A ship bound to London laden with Wheat and flour which she had taken in since we left the City having just passed by us, determined our Captain and pilot to leave our present safe moorings and berth to proceed, which accord-

27. Nathan Goodale (1741-1806), Harvard 1759, of Salem; addresser of Hutchinson and Gage; later clerk of the United States Court in Massachusetts; elected a representative to the General Court in 1781. His arrival in Nantucket with his family is recorded on 5 May 1775, in the *Diary of Kezia Coffin*, of Nantucket, Nantucket Historical Society, Nantucket, Mass. To Goodale Curwen sent a warm reply (three and a half pages) full of concern for his wife and a description of Philadelphia, adding: "This City is a place of as great expence as London to a stranger. Its complexion is wholly American, warm friends to congressional measures, at least no man here seems hardy enough to express his doubts of the propriety and feasibility of their project. Mr. Lee leads a recluse life; the inhabitants dont seem pleased that New Englanders make this their City of refuge. The new established post, in lieu of the old eastern one which is stopped, admit no letter to pass but those franked, the contents of which must be known to one of the Committee to be entitled to that benefit."

28. Elizabeth Orne, daughter of William Pynchon, wife of Timothy Orne, Harvard 1768, merchant of Salem, an addresser of Gage who narrowly escaped tarring and feathering.

29. As late as 1827 pilots of the Delaware River were suspect. Edmund M. Blunt, *American Coast Pilot* (New York, 1827) provides a chart showing the hazardous entry between the Capes of Delaware, Henlopen, and May, issuing a caution (p. 111): "Vessels off the Delaware, upon hoisting a jack at the fore-top-mast head will be immediately furnished with a pilot. None, however, are to be depended upon, unless they have branches, and a certificate from the Board of Wardens of Philadelphia."

ingly we did, the tide being almost spent, the weather cloudy, attended by a light small drizzling rain. Arrived to our anchoring ground 2 miles within the Cape.³⁰

Friday 19. Broke ground and came to anchor in the road about three miles from the Light House point; wind at E.N.E., right ahead, and very fresh wind (which made an high sea) blowing directly in from Sea the road as open and exposed as the back of Bakers Island; the weather rainy.

Saturd. 20. Still at anchor; excessive rough sea; the Vessel plunging almost Bowsprit in; very fresh gale and rainy; dismissed the Pilot, our condition is exceeding distressful. Wind continues right ahead, very boisterous sea.

Sunday 21. Wind and sea continues. 7 or 8 sail came down the bay and stood out to the Southward, 3 pilot boats attending them. The ship lying by us lost her anchor, put out a signal of distress, on which a pilot boat went alongside and assisted her to sweep for it and found it. We examined ours, but found all safe; no prospect of change of weather or wind which renders our prospect very gloomy; 7 o'clock the clouds at West seem not quite so watery, now and then a gleam of hope succeeded by the most discouraging appearances. Wind somewhat variable the appearance of its shifting to the Westward. Had a very comfortable night's rest.

Monday 22. At 6 o'clock we left our birth and set sail with the wind at S.E. by S., the Light House bearing S. by W., and in 1½ hour were 8 miles distant from Cape Hinlopen bearing W. by S. Cape May N.N.W., the Ship departing from her moorings with us; moderate swell, the weather cloudy and the air damp, our going, at the rate of 2½ Knots; we being at this instant just without the overfalls sands which are the outermost in Delaware Bay. In the morning we had a small squall of wind attended with Thunder and Lightning from the S.W. but it soon after returned to the E. At 6 o'clock Evening had another squall of wind with Thunder and Lightning, which obliged us to hand in our flying jib and topsail and double reef our mainsail; run this night 25 leagues. Wind wore S.S.W., westerly to N.W.

30. A brief letter this day to Andrew Cabot, with messages for various friends.

Tuesday 23. Calm, all day. Saw a little distance from the Vessel a large shoal of porpoises, a Scooner with 2 topsails a Sloop 3 leagues astern, a Ship on our starboard quarter we lying E.Sly. supposed to be of our Company, our way $1\frac{1}{2}$ Knot.

Wednesday 24. Little or no wind. Our head lay S.E. by E. Scooner, ship in sight being near us though very foggy. A small swell from the N.E. At midnight wind breezed up at N.E. by E.; by the log we run $2\frac{1}{2}$ Knots, struck a porpoise but left it for want of a gaff, saw another very large scole of them; Wind freshens up, a swell from E., took in topsail and flying jib, the sea rises very high. Our Course in the Evening and night was E. and E. by S. from $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 Knots.

Thursday 25. Excessive high head beat sea, with large white capps. Wind at N.E. very fresh, sun appears with many light clouds, sky looks wild. A Sailor's life, in my opinion is not a condition to be envied. Our prospect uncomfortable.

Friday 26. Unexpected clear fine day, very serene sky, no clouds; Took an animal of the Jelly kind floating on the surface of the sea by the sailors called a Carvel or Portuguese Man of War. Tis almost hemispherical, the apex resembles the lower part of an heart and is filled with Air, which it can contract or dilate; sometimes it appears erect, at others lying on one side, and seems to be supported by long threads or fibers of 4 feet in length of the same kind of substance as the body, edged with a fine pink, purple or mazerine colour, some of a lighter and other deeper tint and if touched by the finger gives pain like an electric shock. It appears to have sensitive motion. We lay becalmed till 4 o'clock P.M. then a moderate breeze from S.W. arose which enlivened our hopes and continued all night to waft us at the rate of $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 4 Knots to the E. by N. being our direct course.

Saturday 27. Fair clear sky. Wind at W.S.W. Our course continues as last night, easterly swell greatly abated. At 4 o'clock saw a sloop on our Larboard quarter we standing to the E.Nly., at the rate of 4 Knots, and she to the E.Sly. closehauled at 6 o'clock she passed us about 1 mile distant, at 7 o'clock lost sight of her. About 10 o'clock wind Lulled, Latitude by observation 38.18 .

Sunday 28. Very moderate at 6 o'clock in the morning saw 3 sail of Vessells on deck, and 2 more were seen aloft; at 8 o'clock very warm,

sky filled with light clouds, almost calm; wind W.S.W. Stood E.Sly, to speak to a Scooner supposed to be from Salem, standing S.S.E. but she avoided speaking with us though we hoisted signals; at 6 o'clock altered our course to E.N.E., rate of sailing $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 Knots. 4 Sail of Vessells in sight; sea very smooth, small swell from westward.

Mond. 29. Wind from S. by E. to E. by S. moderate and pleasant morning. I arose at 5 o'clock our Course for 1 hour N.E. by N. light breeze $1\frac{1}{2}$ Knots. Observed the pilot fish at our Bow, this being the 3rd day of his attending us, our Course for 6 hours E.N.E., from 1 to 2 Knots. No Vessell in sight. Latitude by observation 38.48 Longitude 66.50, distance run last 24 hours 47 miles, our head now lying E.N.E.

Tuesday 30. Fine morning, rose at 5 o'clock. Wind as yesterday. Saw a substance floating on the water of a russet colour like a piece of gauze rumpled 5 or 6 yards in length, thought by the mate to be the spawn of some fish. At 5 or 6 leagues distance we saw 3 sail. Course run last 24 hours was 39 miles N.N.E. Latitude by observation 39. Longitude 66. Very smooth sea.

Wednesday 31. Fine moderate weather, smooth sea, Course N.E. by E. 2 Knots. We heard a terrible noise and saw a bright appearance judged to be a violent gust which awakened and roused us at 3 o'clock in the morning; after a small space the Master, Mate and Crew agreed it to be either a number of whales rutting or the current rise as 'tis called occasioned by the gulf stream but the Otter Sloop of War which brought us too at 9 o'clock next morning informing us they had seen 3 or 4 whales last night convinced us it was the former. They informed us all was then quiet, but the inhabitants daily moving out of Boston; the Provincial forces amounting to 14 or 15,000 were waiting the determination of Continental Congress and that 45 transports with the 3 Generals had arrived the day before he sailed which was 7 days since, and that a great fire had happened at Boston beginning at the stores lined out for barracks on the Dock, and had consumed all from thence to King street.³¹ She detained us near 2 hours in order to take letters for G[reat] B[ritain] of which put on board the number of 30 or 40 bringing us to by firing a league to windward; Spoke with the

31. The fire occurred 17 May, commencing at a barrack on Treat's Wharf and burning twenty-seven stores. General Gage had offended the engine men by appointing new captains to the engine companies, and the engines were consequently badly served.

Ship Diana Daniel Clarke from New York bound to Bristol out since Saturday last who told us a 60 gun ship was arrived there from Boston. Very soon after a 4 knot breeze at S.W. sprung up, on which we lay our course, all sails out, night cloudy, sea extream bright and in our wake like the sparkling brilliancy of the finest diamond.

Thursday June 1. Moderate but cloudy wind and course as before, rate of sailing 4 Knots. At 7 o'clock saw the ship; at 9 saw a plank on the surface, filled with barnacles, at 11 o'clock saw a turtle, at 12 a large scole of porpoises, killed one with a harpoon but left it. Fine breeze. Wind at S.W., run 5 Knots. Saw a Ship standing to the Northward. At 4 another sail, seized with a violent headack, spoke with the Ship, she heaving too, was from Glasgow bound to New York, laden with passengers, men women and children. Night moderate but cloudy.

Friday June 2. Rough sea, Course E.N.E. rate of sailing 4, 5, 6 Knots, cloudy wind S.Wly. At 12 o'clock looks squally, at 2 a water-spout broke about $\frac{1}{4}$ mile astern of us, the wind died away, we lowered all sails it was coming down on us being stopped in its course by a fresh Southerly cloud which driving on it mysteriously, broke it and raising a commotion in the Sea like as if the elements were at warr, had it not been impeded it would have reached us and sunk us to the Bottom of the Abyss many thousand tons of water falling, the cloud backing round on us fell in Cataracts on our Decks. 4 or 5 Violent showers succeeded till 5 o'clock another dreadful one appeared to the windward but through Gods mercy did not approach us. The heavens till 6 o'clock appeared wild and squally. Distance run for the last 24 hours 132 miles course E. by N. and E.N.E. All night very squally and rainy but no steady wind, our head lay on all points, made little or no way ahead.

Saturday 3. Morning excessive squally, attended with violent heavy showers of rain, and very rough sea. Made but little way under a double reefed mainsail, and a bitt of the jib. At 12 the wind came round to the N.W., and about 3 cleared away very pleasant, sea somewhat abated. Course E. by N., $4\frac{1}{2}$ Knots. At 5 o'clock set the foresail, shook reefs out of mainsail. I was very poorly all day, By meer act of providence the Mate discovered a trunnel hole in one of the knees of the deck under the Master's cabbin on the starboard quarter left open,

by which the water poured into the Vessell very fast whilst she lay on that tack, stopped by a man, being hoisted down outside driving in a pine trunnel. Discovered a large log on the water, 20 feet in length, filled with barnacles. Longitude 59.10. No observation.

Sunday June 4. Moderate, lay becalmed, with her head sometimes E.N.E., S.E., S. by E. At 12 o'clock saw a turtle, had a fine chance and hove the harpoon, but mist the mark. Tried the current by a pot let down 20 fathom, supported by a rope with a plank on the Surface, found it to set S.Ely. 1 Knot. At 5 a 2 Knot breeze arose at E.S.E., course N.Ely. though the greatest part of the night N.E. and N.E. by E.

Monday June 5. Fine morning, smooth sea. Wind E.S.E., Moderate, course N.E. by E. $4\frac{1}{2}$ Knots. Saw a Brigantine under our weather bow, standing W. and S.Wly. Poorly this Sunday and this day at this very hour being precisely $\frac{3}{4}$ after 3 o'clock P.M. I judge we are precisely in the Latitude of my native place Salem in N[ew] E[ngland], Longitude 57. Looks very blowy, wild and stormy weather appearance. Took 2 reefs in mainsail and Topsail, having 2 hours before handed jib, flying jib and foresails. At 6 o'clock stood to S.W., run all night under reefed foresail only, terrible high sea and storm wind at E.N.E., and E.

Tuesday 6. Violent gale continued from 12 o'clock in the morning to 12 midnight, course S.S.E. We lost overboard poor Gunner, by a very high sea, saw a sail to E.

Wednesday 7. Wind at N.W., violent, lasted 15 hours. Cross sea excessive high which made the vessel toss and plunge roughtorn in, clear weather except a few scattering clouds, sea continues up. The men on deck saw a large remarkable motion, at 8 o'clock, ran all night under a double reef foresail $3\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 Knots.

Thursday 8. Foggy, water changed from warm to cold, a proof of soundings. Wind W. course N.E. by E. run 2 Knots, at 11 o'clock cleared up very pleasant, smoother sea. Wind breezed up to 3 Knots, continued pleasant all night, run from 3 to 5 Knots.

Friday 9. Fine pleasant morning. Wind S.W. Sounded at 8 with a line of 100 fathoms found no bottom. Smooth sea, clear sky, 5 Knot

gale. Last night at 10 o'clock struck a porpoise but lost it, saw a black fish within 10 yards from Vessell. At 2 o'clock P.M. a 6 or 7 Knot gale sprung up, looks very squally, the air extream chilly. Gale continued all night at 4 o'clock took 2 Reefs in mainsail.

Saturday 10. At 4 o'clock in the morning struck the grand bank, very high wind at S. and S. by W., sea high, rainy and had 40 fathom. Threw out a fishing line but caught nothing. Excessive foggy, $\frac{1}{2}$ past 7 wind abated, swell continued. Saw several sholes of porpoises, but they came not nearby. The run for the 3 past days 81, 86, 95 miles. At 8 o'clock sounded and had 47 fathoms, caught 4 Codd. At 11 o'clock wind came round to N.W., a very fresh gale, cleared away, sea rose; run from 7 to 9 Knots, at 5 took in flying Jib, forestaysail, double reefed the mainsail, and Foresail, at 7 stowed the mainsail, foggy, at 11 o'clock P.M. cleared up, the vessell wallowed and plunged extreamly.

Sunday 11. Clear, very cold, sea continues up. Hove too and caught 50 Cod, and nine hagdens¹ with a hook and line. The men at day break saw 4 or 5 schooners, but could not speak with them. Run last night from $3\frac{1}{2}$ to 4 Knots, at 10 o'clock set Sail, the sea in great measure allayed. By 2 o'clock fine and pleasant. Lay too and caught 80 Cod of which I took 24 and 1 holybote. Spoke with a french Snow from Tiberoon lying too under a maintopsail and fishing with 8 or 10 Lines out under a weather cloth fore and aft, and in $\frac{1}{2}$ an hour which we laid in view, saw but one Cod taken. Saw another topsail Vessell to Northward 4 or 5 Leagues distance we took to be French. About 4 o'clock set our sails and left the fishing ground.

Monday 12. About 5 o'clock in the morning I suppose [it] was were out of soundings, the sea growing smoother and the air less chilly. At 7 o'clock it began to cloud, wind at S., breeze freshened up, handed our flying Jib and topsail, sea begins to grow rough. Near $4\frac{1}{2}$ saw 4 Whales, one blew within 20 yards of us. Storm begins to rage, rain, almost all our crockery were broke by the vessells rolling and pitching. At 6 o'clock P.M. wind begins to abate, all sails handed except the foresail double reefed, way the Vessell makes 5 or 6 Knots. Uncommonly cold Air, at 11 o'clock at night the wind shifting to N.W. becomes impetuous, attended with violent rain. The new storm raises the sea very high, cold continues.

1. Hagden, the shearwater (*Puffinus anglorum*), not to be confused with the common Puffin (*Fratercula arctica*). Catching such sea-birds with hook and line is not at all uncommon.

Tuesday 13. Cold storm continues till 2 o'clock it begins to abate, Moon fades at 5 o'clock P.M. No change in wind or weather, Vessell under a double reefed topsail goes 6 Knots. Course E. by S., and all night at the rate of 4 to 5 Knots.

Wednesday 14. Wind remains in same quarter, cold and cloudy as before, rough sea, Vessell rolls and pitches very much. At 8 o'clock A.M., took reefs out of foresail and hoisted jib. In the morning ate chocolate and fried holybote for breakfast. Laid in the Cabbin almost the whole of the 2 preceding days in order to keep myself comfortable, the air being too cold and chilly even in the great cabbin to be endured. At 10 o'clock A.M. the clouds grow thinner, weather clears up. Latitude by observation 40.27. Vessell goes 5 to 6 or 7 Knots. A very fresh breeze, sea rough, the men on deck see a large Scole of blackfish.

Thursday 15. Thick lowry weather, wind S.E. by E., shifted about 2 o'clock in the morning. Course S. by E. rate $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 4 Knots. Breakfast on fried holybote and chocolate, eat no dinner, til 2 o'clock P.M. Saw a large thrasher, so called, the whales enemy, rise out of the water many times his whole length, which was at least 7 feet. Very cloudy. The Master took an imperfect observation by which he judged our Latitude 45. Last days run 90 miles. Shaved, the sea being smoother. Prospect uncomfortable by reasons of a contrary wind being at E. Saw a ship to the E. Cold rains and chilly Air, course N.E., rate 2 to 3 Knots, under double reefed foresail.

Friday 16. Storm of wind and rain, rough sea, lay too 6 hours, then set double mainsail, topsail and balooned jib. Wind came round to N. Run E. 4 Knots, gained last 24 hours 30 miles Longitude.

Saturday June 17. A very fresh fog, breezy, high sea, run 5 and 6 Knots all night, and till 12 o'clock midnight; at which time standing in the Companion way, I received large wave full in my face and all over my body. Breakfast chocolate and fried holybote. Weather cloudy and rainy; saw a sail on weather quarter standing to S.W. In P.M. Foggy, cloudy and unpleasant; wind continued favorable but sea rough; took reefs out of mainsail, run last night from 5 to 6 and 8 Knots.

Sunday 18. Cloudy and dark weather. Sea not so rough, but a long heavy swell from S.W. Wind and course as yesterday, favourable.

Run 4 to 6 Knots, at 10 hove the log, run 6 Knots, topsail set; hove the log this day often, the Fog, to use the Mate Mr. Verry's expression scales off, but cloudy still and at 5 o'clock P.M. saw a large stock of timber almost 12 feet in length, floating, filled with barnacles. From 10 to 12 small rain.

Monday 19. Weather Moderate, a lazy swell from S.W., all sails but flying jib set; at 5 o'clock in the morning her way 5 Knots; clouds look hard, and likely for a fair day. Chocolate and pancakes for breakfast, about 11 o'clock cleared up, very pleasant, but swell continues. At dinner in the Cabbin I espied a sail astern 2 Leagues distant, standing to starboard and afterwards the men discovered 2 more one standing on our starboard quarter and the other right ahead. Run last 24 hours 117 miles, Longitude 29.11.10, Latitude 47.46 about and 50 miles distant from Lizard, being 25 days since we left the Capes of Delaware, having runs 1998 miles. Very pleasant night and smooth sea.

Tuesday 20. Fine moderate morning; smooth sea, wind continues favourable. Saw some Vessells on our lea bow about 5 Leagues which was yesterday ahead. Heavy dew in the Night; morning foggy and cloudy, cleared off somewhat about 9 o'clock; by observation in Latitude 47.43. Dined on Seapye made of fowle, drank Mr. Verry's customary health Vizt. a fair wind, and the continuance of it, a hot sun, and a smooth Sea. Vessell goes from 4 to 7 Knots, through this day. The sky overcast like the 3 preceding with thin light clouds; the Air charged with a warm moist vapour. One of the Company having observed what a fine pleasant day it was, and how happy we were to have a smooth sea and a fair wind, I could not help reflecting in my own mind, though I did not think it prudent to express a sentiment of dissatisfaction that with regard to myself the highest enjoyment I could boast of at sea amidst the brightest prospects was a meer abatement from great anxiety and misery, my nights are almost sleepless, 2 hours in night measuring the whole of my repose the remaining 22 employed though vainly in wishing my self safe on Land, and running over the infinite variety of dangers I am momentarily exposed to beyond the common casualties of Life on shore. God is the Supreme director of man and natural causes. To him I commend myself, and may he dispose of us in what way and manner soever, and at ever period seems fitting to his infinite wisdom, and the great purposes of his Providence, and may I without murmuring submit to all the allotment of the wise

and righteous Governor of the world. Saw the same Vessell at sun down 2 Leagues astern, which in the morning we saw on our Lea Bow. Saw 2 whales blow, $\frac{1}{2}$ miles to windward of us. A ship on our windward quarter 3 Leagues distant, smooth sea during night, and brisk gale and great run.

Wednesday 21. Rose at 3 o'clock in the morning, saw Sun rise at E.N.E., brisk gale, smooth sea, sternmost ship 3 Leagues ahead, and on the same Course with us, and from maintop mast Finly saw the Scooner and Brigantine were right astern, 5 Leagues. At 8 o'clock sun breaks out, very moderate, pleasant colour, rate of sailing 6 to 7 Knots. For a variety I put on a clean shirt and stockins. At 12 lost sight of Ship, she outsailing us; run for last 24 hours 146 miles. Gave Pharoah our dirty Cook and Cabbin boy 2 pair dirty stockins. At 10 o'clock saw 5 or 6 fish of the bigness and shape of a Large Salmon jump out of the water. Weather continued moderate and smooth sea all night.

Thursday 22. Rose at 6 o'clock, pleasant morning, rate of sailing last 24 hours near 6 Knots. Wind breezed up at N.W. from whence came a considerable swell, which made the Vessell toss and tumble very much. At 9 o'clock fog rose, the Master however took an observation imperfectly, Latitude 48. Run for last 24 hours 140 miles. At 11 o'clock wind arose which increased the swell to a troublesome height that continued all night. Rate of sailing from 7 to 8 Knots; foggy all P.M. and night.

Friday 23. Fog continued, high sea, very fresh gale, sailed the last 24 hours 183 miles, by much the longest run we have yet made. Observation 49.47, in Latitude of St. Mary Scilly. Altered our Course from E.N.E. to E. by N.; very troublesome sea, I was sick part of the day. Saw many porpoises, but they were shy and did not come nigh the Vessell. Saw 2 gulls and several hagdens. The general state of the Air, weather and wind ever since we left the banks, 12 days since are much as presently, they're high winds, rough sea, cloudy damp and foggy Air. The day before yesterday the Master, Mate, Mr. Webster and I agreed that we should in turn cater for the day and mine beginning yesterday I ordered Chocolate and pancakes (an admired dish) for breakfast cold ham and boiled fowle with rice broth for dinner and boiled rice for supper. Capt. Johnson this day provides Chocolate and pandoudle for breakfast, a flour pudding and boiled Corn beef for

dinner, and boiled rice for supper. Altered our course at 12 o'clock from E.N. to E.S.E., by jibing the Mainsail, 2 hours before double reefed, which made our sails winged, and at same time handed jib and flying jib. In jibing Foresail the gye broke; no further damage ensued.

Saturday 24. Smart gale from N.W. raises the sea; very cold and uncomfortable; handed mainsail and sounded but found no bottom. Men on deck saw a sail to Southward. A very fresh breeze with flying clouds. A Gull lit on our Foremast top. Very rough sea, cold air. The North Light appeared in the evening. Wind at N.W. and N.

Sunday 25. Fair weather with flying clouds, cold and uncomfortable. Did not go on deck neither this nor the preceding day. High and rough sea; vessell tosses and tumbles excessively. Wind came round to N.N.E., at 6 o'clock in the morning; Latitude yesterday 49.21, this day 49.35. Run last 24 hours E.S.E. 128 miles. We gather in upon Scilly 14 miles and I fear, to show the expertness of our Navigators shall in a short time be on the rocks unless providence interfere to save us by sending an E.N.E. or more Ely. wind. Our Master, Mate and every hand on board totally unacquainted with this navigation and the indraught of St. George Channel which they scorn determined to make no allowance for. May God save us from the effects of their obstinacy and rashness. Every day affording proofs of a particular providence interposing to prevent the evil consequences of human ignorance, self concert and rash folly. At 8 o'clock sounded, no bottom found.

Monday 26. Fair and pleasant being the first since the 13 Instant; very moderate breeze at W.N.W. and N. Sounded 3 times this day and could find no bottom. Reckoning up to 39 miles our degree of Longitude, all sails out, on deck all the time between sun rising and setting. Saw one hagden. Moderate breeze all night, cloudy.

Tuesday June 27. Brisk breeze at W.S.W. and S.W., run S.E. by E. 5 Knots, sounded at 6 o'clock, 80 fathom, fine sand with specks and broken shells. Like good news from a far Country it was a most joyful Sound. May God send in many a more favourable wind and safe passage by these dreaded Islands and rocks of Scilly. Mounts bay and the Lizard, distant from thence from 12 to 15 Leagues Nly. Sun out now and then, blowy. A brisk gale with rain came on about 12

o'clock, double reefed mainsail and foresail. Saw a large ship lying to W.N. close haul on the wind at S.S.W., we standing S.E. by S., about 2 Leagues distant. Stood for her and put colours half mast high. Spoke with her, she informed us she was the Peggy from Liverpool out 9 Days bound to Virginia. Said Parliament was up, more ships and troops were going over to America. Latitude by observation 49.21. I am this moment Vizt. 5 o'clock P.M. set down at the table in the Cabbin looking through the windows to view the sea which in appearance for its roughness and white capps, the wind for its blasting and chilliness the sky for its wildness and squalliness, and the clouds for their lead charged threatning aspect resemble a stormy December day in New England. The Masters reckoning this day out within 1 Degree of Longitude or 39 miles and we 40 Leagues west of Scilly Light, the information of the Master of Liverpool Vessell, being 35 miles short of our intended port, round the South Fore land and at anchor in the Downs. At 3 o'clock under a two reefed mainsail and Foresail, alternately squalls of rain and wind and sunshine.

Wednesday 28. Wind S.W. by W., 8 o'clock in the morning sounded 77 fathom, coarse brown gravel. Saw a Ship under our weather bow, and a Snow or Brigantine on our windward quarter. Sounded, 63 Fathom, brown sand and broken shells. Latitude 49.9, course S.E. by E.; E.S.E.; E. by S.E. Wind S.W. by W., small showers. P.M. saw 4 sail, one a dutch snow bound down channel, at 8 o'clock, sounded 58 Fathom, specks like bran. At 10 o'clock P.M. spoke with a French Snow from Ushant, out at 10 o'clock in the morning, told us the Lizard bore N.E. by N. 10 Leagues distant. Smooth sea, moderate wind and pleasant Night. I was ill all day and the preceeding with a nervous headach, took no sustenance till 5 o'clock P.M., which was a kind of wine Caudle, made of the yolks of 2 Eggs, beat up with a large spoonful of brown sugar with $\frac{1}{2}$ glass wine $2\frac{1}{2}$ glasses of boiling water and one pounded milk bisket. Rose at 1 o'clock very hungry and eat boiled bacon and bread which really refreshed and invigorated me.

Thursday 29. Fine pleasant day, clear sun and warm breeze but very moderate. Wind S. by E. 4 or 5 Vessells in sight. Rose at 4 o'clock. Abner Parrot thought he descried Land and called out, the Mate also did but it was uncertain yet, at 12 o'clock discovered Eddy-stone Light House bearing N.N.E. 4 or 5 Leagues distant and a little after saw Land plainly, for the first time. Run 2 Knots. Wind S.S.W.,

Latitude 50.1. At 4 o'clock P.M. discovered Ramhead and Plymouth land; saw Land near the Start point.

Friday 30 June. Clear calm morning; distant from Bolthead 2 Leagues. We soon came abreast of the seawall bearing a little E. of N. being the Southern most part of Land on G. Brittain. Shore very high, and breakers lying off, sagged on and off as the tide carried us, lay within a few miles of these points all day being calm. A boat from Salcomb just within the seawall, came on board would have carried Mr. Webster and myself on shore, to Kingsbridge, a market town 3 miles up a little river and distant from Dartmouth 12 miles for which they modestly demanded only 2 guineas apiece, but I would not muster up courage (though very desirous of getting on Land and strongly persuaded besides) to trust my poor carcass in a whale boat four Leagues from Land. Continued calm all night.

Saturday July 1. Sagged into the offing in the night, 2 Leagues distant, not one breath of Air on the face of the water, in sight of the Bolthead seawall, Start and Torbay head, all day. 10 Vessells in sight, and no prospect of removing from our enchanted station. Dartmouth Land in view also. At 10 o'clock wind sprung up though moderately at first, at W. and N.W., till it arose to a 5 Knot gale. At 4 o'clock P.M. discovered Portland, and at 8 passed it. Fair wind all night.

Sunday 2. At 1 o'clock in the morning discovered Isle of Wight; at 5 o'clock Fogg came on, and shut in the land. Wind rose to 7 Knots, the Dutch dogger which has accompanied us for these 60 hours run under the Land, to avoid force of the tide and 2 hours afterwards stood off. At 7 o'clock it cleared up so as to discover the improvement and 2 steeples which at 9 o'clock we passed. The sun appears dimly being very much obscured by thick foggy and watery clouds, which looks like dirty weather brewing, the water rough, supposed to arise from tides setting down channel and against the wind. A large Ship astern with studding and all sails out.

Monday 3. Morning Foggy. At 6 o'clock began to clear away, and the wind to breeze up fresh at W., being 1 League distant from a high head land near the Town of Hastings which we took for Dungeness, but sometime after speaking with a ship bound down Channel were informed of our mistake, and very soon a boat coming on board from

under Dungeness distant 4 or 5 Leagues took our letters to carry to Dover with our orders for a quarter of Lamb, 1 Loaf bread, some turnips and cherries, and put off, leaving one hand on board to pilot the Scooner into Dover for one Guinea, where at 11 o'clock we arrived off against bringing the things and a river pilot.

Mr. Webster and myself being tired of the sea asked to go ashore and take the Coach for London, which after dressing and taking a few necessaries we did, paying these conscionable fellows 7/6 for 3 miles. On our arrival the greedy customs House waiters carrying us into a small lodge tumbled our bundles carelessly over and acquainting us of their great Lenity in not carrying us to the Court House which would be both a delay and charge demanded a gratuity, which amounting by our generous calculation to 1 shilling and the boys 6 pence each left us to pursue our own course to an Inn called the Sloop and Cutter kept by the Stage Coach Driver, where dining on Mutton chop and currant pye, soon departed for Dover castle, attended by a young Man, our Hostess's nephew.

On our arrival there, the old Gunner a Robert Lull undertook to accompany us through; in the first place to one of the Square towers, in height 134 steps; from whence is a most extensive view of the Sea, and in a clear Air the French Shore, and the most agreeable prospects into the Country under good improvements, the Town of Dover seeming almost underfoot. The Highest Steeple appeared scarce as high as the foot of the hill; and the Cliff behind the tower much inferior in height to the Castle hanging over the Town. From the South East Angle I took out 2 small flint stones, and by way of memento scratched my name on the leads, was next conducted to Julius Caesar's house, old and in ruins, through which you pass to the Cliff; on the plain of it is a battery of 24 pounders, one is of brass, 24 feet in length, called Queen Elizabeth's pocket piece, given her by the then distressed States of Holland at the time of their emancipation from the thralldom of the Spanish yoke; in gratitude for her assistance; it is curiously ornamented with the arms of England and Scotland, the ensigns of Victory and Liberty, and the makers name Ian Tolshays von Utrecht 1544. It carries 12 lb. shot 7 miles and its weight is 6 Tons. The Cliff on which it stands is 125 yards nearly perpendicular, the well, said to have been dug by Julius Caesar, is in depth 375 feet; the water is most excellent, but now is kept inclosed in under lock and key. Stones having been thrown down, it was a full $\frac{1}{2}$ minute before the report was heard by us, and then as loud as the report of a pistol. The next was a view of the

Warden's rooms, which the good woman who is the Housekeeper kindly invited us into being very desirous of doing her part towards gratifying us and receiving her 1/; last of all our old Gunner admitted us into another curiosity keeper's hands who showed us the original key of the castle supposed to be 1800 years old being indeed big and clumsy enough to be of that age for it was at least 20 inches in length and weighed 3 or 4 pounds. He had also in keeping the Sword of State consisting of a rough wooden handle 12 inches in length and the blade 5 feet long.

The Town of Dover lies for the most part under the high and steep cliffs, and in the form of an halfmoon, the Houses being for the most part low and very few of any elegance. It has 2 jettys or piers of wood, soon to be taken away and in their place to be hard stone in great quantities already on the spot and in cutting and fitting, these defend it from the South winds to which it is exposed, lying quite open to the Channel of which it is the very lowest point. Behind these is an artificial bason defended by Quay and Wharves of Stone capable of holding 200 Sail of small Vessells none being then above 130 or 140 tons but the much greater part from 20 to 60 tons, chiefly rigged in the Cutter fashion, sloops and shallops all concerned in the smuggling business from France, of this traffic a great deal is carried on here. Without the bason but within the jetty heads the water is deep enough to float much larger Vessells.

Returning from the Castle we stopped into the Coffee house, read the news, drank a dish of Tea, and took a walk with a Mr. James Teal a new Acquaintance picked up at Custom House who carried us to his House having not long since removed from Canterbury, to enjoy the benefit of the Sea Air, to which he has been for many years accustomed having been engaged in the Seafaring both in the Indies and on the Continent of America. He is a son of the widow of the late Governor Belcher,¹ he engaged my word to convey intelligence of him and his present residence to his Mother, complaining that his letters for some years since, both to and from New England have miscarried.

We are now waiting only for the setting out of the Coach for Canterbury which is to depart from hence at 1 o'clock midnight, in our way to London which we expect to arrive at, no accident intervening, by tomorrow at this hour being 7 o'clock in the Evening. Bright daylight at 9 o'clock.

1. Governor Jonathan Belcher (1682-1757) married in 1748 as his second wife, Mary Louisa Emilia Teal, who died in Milton in 1778.

Tuesday 4. Being called at the hour, we arose, and entered our Vehicle, taking in a Lady and her young Daughter, and a person who, in the course of 2 hours, assumed almost as many different characters as there are quarters in that space of time but in reality he proved by his own acknowledgement to be a smugler of french lace etc. He pretended first to have gone into France to be at the Coronation at Rheims; knowing that by Edict no French, a few of the Nobility excepted, was allowed to appear; that multitudes of English were expected, though a small number only were present, that 10000 beds were empty, that the King was a small built unpersonable body.

Took a relay of horses at Canterbury, 16 miles distant, passing through a few Villages, and many finely improved spots and 2 heaths. From thence with fresh horses to Sittingham our next stage, and with Another Coach and Horses, after breakfast, we proceeded, being joyned by 2 more Female Companions who sufficiently crowded us by their bulk, taking up at least $\frac{2}{3}$ of the whole Coach. They were Deptford ladies in the Smugling trade, who had just arrived from the Downs, having been on board the India Man lately arrived from China and by them we were entertained with narratives of their exploits in outwitting the Customs officers, between whom and our Male Smugler we were let in to some mysterious circumstances relating to government officers and smugglers dexterity.

From the last we arrived at Dartford the usual dining stage but it being only 2 hours since our breakfast we declined dining and contented ourselves with taking a draft of water, a bottle of Port wine and some excellent bread and cheese, having passed through Chatham Town, Rochester City and Stroud all of which are close laid together so as to make to appearance one long City or Town. Taking fresh horses we departed thence, and in 2 hours entered London, passing through blackheath, several Villages, the Borough of Southwark, and over London bridge agreeing with our Coachman were carried to the N[ew] E[ngland] Coffee House² in Threadneedle Street where we arrived at 7 o'clock P.M. and lodged there the night.

Wednesday July 5. Breakfast; Soon after, my Country and Townsman Benj. Pickman³ appeared in the Coffee House room, which re-

2. The New England Coffee House was at 61 Threadneedle Street and was frequented by American refugees. For an account of it and other coffeeshouses mentioned hereafter see Bryant Lillywhite, *London Coffee Houses* (London, 1963), where they are separately mentioned by number. This one is No. 878.

3. Benjamin Pickman (1740-1819), Harvard 1759, merchant of Salem, colonel of the militia, addresser of Gage, loyalist refugee to England, returning to Salem after the peace.

joyced me being glad at heart to see a face I had been acquainted with with whom, my young Companion, and myself, took a walk, chosing for our route over Blackfryars bridge and through St. George's Fields, and to Westminster, over the Bridge. It being term time we are turned aside into the Hall, all the Courts being then sitting, taking each in their turn, we saw at the Chancery Sir Thomas Sewell Master of the Rolls, the atone Judge, at the common pleas Judge Blackstone and Sargent Glynn, and at the King's bench Lord Mansfield and Mrs. Sargent Wedderburne. The former Seargent I hear speak considerably but the confusion being great I could but imperfectly hear. From the Hall we departed directing ourselves through parliament street, by Charing Cross and down the Strand till we arrived at St. Clements Coffee House just behind the Church where we dined.

Thursday 6. Going up the Strand I called at Ben Martins optical Shop and bought a pair of silver bound and spring Spectacles. Being invited Mr. Webster and myself

Friday 7. took coach and rode to Mr. Bromfields at Islington to dine, which after some difficulty we found and returned by coach back again. An elderly Gentleman without any one thing being said that could lead him to think I ever had been in London before, addressing me said "things were greatly altered since I had been here," which though surprising me did not excite my curiosity at that time to inquire into the reason of his making that observation. Returned to my lodging.⁴

Saturday 8. Passed the day in company with Benjamin Pickman in walking about &c.

Sunday 9. In the morning went to Old jury meeting House, saw there Gov. H[utchinson], son and Daughter.⁵ He invited me to come

4. A short letter to William Pynchon, warning of ruin and destruction if the war continued and reporting, "There is an army of N. Englanders here."

5. Thomas Hutchinson (1711-1780), Harvard 1727, merchant of Boston, last governor of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, loyalist refugee to England where he died. The governor's son referred to was Elisha (1745-1824), who married Mary, daughter of Colonel George Watson. The governor's daughter mentioned was Margaret (Peggy), who died unmarried in 1777 aged twenty-four. Hutchinson in his diary mentions this meeting with Curwen and adds: "He gave my son E. a letter from Sam. Checkley at Philadelphia, full of Liberty, and declaring his being ready to expose his little all in the service of his country; but says nothing what business he was upon, which makes us think it probable he is engaged as a Writer or Sub-Clerk in the service of the Congress, or of the Boston Delegates." Hutchinson, ed., *Diary*, 1:485.

and see him. Mr. Is[aac] Smith⁶ and Mr. Deberdt sat in same pew with me. A Lancashire preacher gave us a most excellent sermon from 46 Psalm 2d Verse, "Therefore will we not fear, though the Earth &c." In the Evening I departed from my lodging in order to worship at Henry 7 Chappell, being disappointed, no Service is there performed but in the morning. I returned and in my way home stopped in at the Chappell in Banqueting House Whitehall, and heard another excellent discourse from 6 Galatians 14 "but God forbid that I should glory, save in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, by whom the world is crucified to me and I unto the world," delivered by a Dr. Newton one of the monthly preachers. The Paintings on the roof appear to me to be most masterly, the expression just and the colours lively. From Church I returned home.

Monday July 10. Took a coach in Great Church Street in company with a Mr. Burton, a fellow Lodger, Capt. Johnson and Mr. W[est]-ster, and one more, for blackheath, in order to see the King review; in our way the throng of Coaches &c. was so great that we left our coach for a while designing to press forward on foot which we found impracticable and in endeavoring to regain it had like to have been crushed to death many times but through Gods great Goodness we did at length accomplish it without harm which on cool consideration appears to me to be very little short of a miracle, and makes me, even now, to shudder at the thought of it having a disadvantageous stand, though on the top of a Coach, for which I paid a shilling.

The affair proved very unentertaining to me; returning on foot to Greenwich distant about one mile we went down to the Hospital, going through the Square and Hall and apartments and being informed by our Formal Conductor who undertook in the true narrative style to inform us of the stories of the paintings &c. We departed with design to take boat, but the Clouds gathering up thick we hired a coach and stowing ourselves safe in it took our departure, and in one hour were landed at the Exchange. Afterwards with the same company taking another coach proceeded for Sadler's Wells⁷ but the

6. The Rev. Isaac Smith (1749-1829), Harvard 1767, a loyalist and dissenting minister, refugee to England, later returning to New England where he became librarian at Harvard College, 1789-1791, and subsequently preceptor of Dummer Academy.

7. Sadler's Wells (earlier known as Miles's Music House) at Islington was one of London's famous places of entertainment. It appears as Nos. 1826 and 1906 in Lillywhite, *Coffee Houses*.

House being too crowded and the Entertainment begun, we retook our money at the box returning the tickets, and went forward to Bagnidge Wells (through cold bath fields,) a very pretty herb garden with convenient alcoves, boxes for the separate companies, where entertaining ourselves with a survey of these pretty gardens, drinking tea, and viewing the multitudes there we returned back having met my Countryman John Boylston⁸ who for the first time vouchsafed to speak to me, which now he did very freely and socially, though I had before seen him twice or thrice at Coffee House unnoticed. I am since informed 'tis his trim (Memo. I am told he is a most furious Whig of the New England stamp).

Returning through the same fields we came up to a large mob of ragged spectators viewing with wondrous delight a couple of hardy blackguards trying their abilities at boxing which they dealt to each other very freely and smartly till tired with the mortifying sight I persuaded my company to depart but not before they saw the Victory obtained by one who had received 2 blows to one not returning any but with advantage. Though the boxers closed now and then the Spectators soon separated them and no foul play was allowed to either. They were both in their buffs down to the Waist and such blows received and gave as I should have thought were heavy enough to put end to their being.

This semi-tragedy over we departed not a little to my content and continuing our course through Hockley in the hole, Grays Inn lane and by Lincoln's Inn we at length arrived at the Robbin hood Society⁹ this mental and bodily sport is provided in a 2 pair of Stairs room up a dark alley in Wych Street, the company then and afterwards collected was in number about 50 persons admitted by a ticket for which we paid 6d. having the privilege of drinking as much porter besides as each person shall be pleased to call for. At length the president being often called, appeared and took the Chair. A pause ensuing, he then arose, stroaking his Chin gravely and solemnly informed us that the Question in the book was whether Honour and glory is a more commendable quality in a Military officer than the love of order. This Motley Society meets every Monday Evening and continues about

8. John Boylston (1709-1795), merchant of Boston, loyalist refugee to England where he died at Bath.

9. The Robin Hood Society, established as a debating society in 1613, is No. 1885 in Lillywhite, *Coffee Houses*, and is there stated to be in "Butchers Row near Temple Bar." The discrepancy in address is explained by the fact that Wych Street is a continuation of Buchers Row.

2½ hours. The Question proposed and put into the books is the first in course to be debated on. The president, according to custom, asked repeatedly if any one in Company owned the Question, none answered, he then enquired, if any one would appear as its Foster or deputy Father. None choose to undertake the defence of it. He then declared anyone was at liberty to propose.

My companion Mr. Burton stood up and proposed wether the last petition and remonstrance to the throne from the common Council had a tendency to effect a reconciliation between Great Britain and her Colonies, which was not objected to; the president then stood up and presenting it in various Views a Gentleman observed that it was the custom for nurses to frighten their children by offering to their imagination descriptions of raw head and bloody bones, Now says he, this remonstrance is represented as a monster of a most ugly and deformed body. I therefore move that it should be read in this Society that all may see its ghastly features and be better able to judge of those remarks that may be made and indeed the disputants be enabled to be more particular and precise in making them. The president enquired if any had it about him but not any one appearing to produce one, a Young Man Whose name was Fisher clerk to an Attorney a close attendant and constant speaker here, arose went out and soon returned with a copy, which being read, the proposer stood up and opened The Entertainment for there was no dispute, none inclining to vindicate the conduct of the common council, for which he was applauded by a loud clap. A long interval following, none but the president spoke, for a long while and he going to put a vote when the said Fisher arose made a long but elegant and pertinent speech; the Question was then put and without one dissentient voted that said petition and remonstrance and address had a tendency to effect a reconciliation between Great Brittain and her colonies very great to our friends satisfaction.

From thence we retired to the New York Coffee House, drank an eighteen penny bowl of very indifferent punch and departed for our lodgings at ½ past 11 o'clock.

Tuesday July 11. At 9 o'clock walked about the City with B[enjamin] P[ickman], who after, accompanied me to Governor Hutchinson, whom I waited on for the first time and was very kindly received and invited to dine the next Saturday on salt Fish. Followed him through Cavendish, Berkeley, and Grosvenour Squares a great length of Country road and after being deluged by several showers

and almost poisoned by the stench of horses Dung collected in huge hills along the road side at last and jaded enough to Highgate Where we dined and departed to Sadlers Wells passing the Evening in the entertainments of music, Singing, Dancing, tumbling and rope dancing, all of which were performed in a masterly and agreeable manner to those whom such feats amuse and gratify, from thence to New England Coffee House. After some small stay there to my Lodgings thoroughly fatigued.¹⁰

Wednesday July 12. Went on board Scooner Lively, lying at Hously down upper Chair; paid the impudent waiters for breach of duty as I conscientiously considered it, 4/ and a villainous waterman 1/ for what he had not a right to demand but 3d. and a porter for taking my trunk on his shoulder at Irongate and carrying it to Broad Street $\frac{1}{2}$ a reasonable fare. Bought a Case of silver knives and forks, 1 pair of hand spectacles and pair of new glasses for old spectacles, the two last at B. Martin's in The Strand. Supped at New England Coffee House on Salmon and punch.

Thursday 13. Went with B. Pickman to see Pantheon in Oxford Street Which for elegance exceeds whatever I had yet seen by many degrees, its beauties are inexpressible. In going thither we passed through Field Lane Street so called being a very long narrow passage, and dark filled with shops of half worn stolen goods, being often invited by many into their dismal recesses to buy, the sight filled me with horror and affright on no consideration to be complied with, from thence emerging into the open free air of Holborn Hill we proceeded to Smithfield and were shown the very spot, and still kept in memory, that John Rogers the first martyr in Queen Mary's reign was burnt on, it is paved circularly with a design to preserve the remembrance thereof. Passing through this and St. Bartholomew and Christ Church Hospital we continued our Walk up to the Strand where at John Donaldsons shop I stopped in and bought Cornaro's sure method of attaining a long and healthful life.¹¹ By invitation I spent the Evening at Mr. Deberdt's supper and drinking patriotick healths till 1 o'clock.

10. A brief letter to Samuel Smith & Sons, Philadelphia, advising of the drop in flour prices to "14/ and dull."

11. Lewis Cornaro, *Discourses on a Sober and Temperate Life*, translated from the Italian original (London, 1768). By allowing himself but twelve ounces of food daily, Cornaro lived to more than one hundred years.

Friday July 14. This day I had the pleasure to see Coxes Museum by an admission Ticket, it is the most exquisite mass of jewelry with [1 word] the various pieces are [1 word] the description is in a small pamphlet I bought for 6d at the Museum, but by far beyond the stretch of the most lively fancy to conceive without a real sight of it. Saw also the 2 Elephants in the Queen's stables, on the back of one I sat he having been made to lye down for that purpose; they are very docile and tractible, of the height of 7 feet, and of the most clumsy and uncouth figure; they manage their trunks with great dexterity as men do their hands and are as useful and serviceable, taking up so small a thing as a sixpence as quickly and readily as any one could. From whence walking down the Mall we entered the palace and standing under the piazzas saw the Lord Maior and Aldermen and Common Council in Their Gowns pass through them to attend the King in the presence Chamber at St. James Palace some of whom made but an uncouth appearance, this being to deliver the 2nd petition and remonstrance. In the Evening went to Foot's theatre in the hay market, the first entertainment was a piece of 3 Acts the 2d was the Devil to pay but so much below the performance at Drury lane when first acted near 40 years since that I came away not much gratified.

Saturday July 15. B.P. and I designing to attend the trial of the famous Mrs. Rudd at the Old Bailey who with her 2 associates D. and N. Perreau have figured so much lately in the London papers for their forgeries which being put off to the next sessions we proceeded to visit Mrs. Savage¹² our Salem Gauger's wife, lately come from America, and now at her Brothers at the Sign of the two Blue Posts Holborn, from thence to Red Lyon Square, to visit Mr. Joseph Grinnell and from thence to Governor H[utchinsons] where we dined on salt fish; after which B.P. departed for Clapham Governor H., Mr. J. G[reene]¹³ and myself on foot walked through Piccadilly, Monmouth street and Holborn. Mr. G. struck off to his lodgings, Governor H. walked back and I kept on till I arrived home. Meeting a boy in Holborn I agreed with him for 4 Images at 2d. apiece in case he would carry them to my Lodgings which he did, having at first demanded 6d. apiece but at length fell as above mentioned and accompanied me 2 miles into the bargain.

12. Probably the wife of Samuel Phillips Savage, collector, of Salem.

13. Joseph Greene (1706-1780), Harvard 1726, the humorist of his generation, a distiller known facetiously as "Stillier Josey." He was an addresser of Hutchinson and a refugee to England in 1775, never to return.

Sunday 16. Attended worship in Henry 7ths Chappell, the most exquisitely decorated in the gothic Style of any building of the age in England. No admittance into the Choir the Church being now repairing. In P.M. was at Old Jury Meeting House, heard the stated preacher Mr. White from "prove all things, hold fast that which is good," a thin audience. With my 2 shipmates was at Evening Service at Magdalen hospital, admitted by ticket, an Institution for the recovery of penitent prostitutes, this service established for the contribution sake, 'tis generally profitable. Mr. Doby preached from 103 Ps. 10 Verse *he hath not dealt with us after our sins, nor &c.*

Monday 17. Walked out with Captain R. Russell¹⁴ my wife's Brother to several places on business. Drank tea with Mr. Is[aac] Smith at New Loyd's Coffee House from where we took a turn through Moorfields passing by multitudes of sellers of fruit, old books, pamphlets, musty books and old Iron on open stands and tables in the fields uncovered and undefended from the weather, ragged and saucy Jacks and Jills. At length reached Whitfields tabernacle filled not to say crowded with hearers a miscellaneous motley company attending to the earnest exhortations of the painstaking preacher whose subject was Moses his fetching water out the rock; soon tired of our Entertainment, we left this scene of religious mumery and departed for Mr. Smith's lodgings where I spent an agreeable evening; and in my return home at 11 o'clock between St. Paul's Church and Bow Church had like to have had my pocket picked of my handkerchief but for the precaution of pinning it in. A fellow hastily passing by, rubbed hard against me and dove in but in vain the handkerchief not Choosing at that time to change its Master.

Tuesday July 18. B.P. and I walking up St. James Street on a designed visit to Governor H. met him and Mr. Nicholls¹⁵ where entering the house of the former stayed about ½ hour. Taking our leave accompanied the latter to his lodgings at the Gentleman's Hotel (at the rate of 5/ the night) in Norfolk Street in order to examine his packet of letters for one he brought for said B.P., who leav-

14. Captain Richard Russell, brother of Curwen's wife and of Judge Chambers Russell and son of the Hon. Daniel Russell of Charleston.

15. The Rev. Robert Boucher Nicholls (or Nichols) (1749-1814), of Boston, was called to Christ Church, Salem, as assistant to Mr. McGilchrist in 1771, where he officiated until 1774. He sailed from Boston in mid-June 1775 for England.

ing me departed for a friend's house where by invitation he was to dine.

I proceeded homeward but the time for dining being over I stepped into a pastry Cook's shop and took 2 Cheese cakes and 2 tarts at the expence of 4d. by the strength of which I reached home at 6 o'clock. Mr. Burton, Captain J[ohnson] and myself taking coach in Great Church Street drove to Newington baths and from thence at 1 in the afternoon footed it to Vauxhall Gardens; where paying each the customary sum of 1/ we entered a most enchanting spot, consisting of fine graveled walks, shrubberies, covered alcoves and boxes, all lighted by Lamps properly disposed round about the Orchestra or open music gallery; before it were placed under the trees in a regular order, tables covered and spread with glasses, decanters, plates, etc., for the entertainment of the Company. After the music was ended, to one of them our company consisting of 5 mates retired, to a repast of 3 plates of beef and ham of the thickness of a table knife covered with parsley, a tea board spread with 6 heart cakes, 2 custards, 2 cheese cakes as big as the palm of ones hand, one cranberry pye as large as a common plate and at least $\frac{1}{2}$ of Inch thick, for which with a pot of pates and one bottle of port wine we paid each 2/ and retired. I was not a little mortified at the sight of so many pitiable votaries to Venus as appeared before our eyes in the walks, some solitary, some in company of persons of pleasure Whose mistaken happiness consists in lustful gratification; many of these devoted roulakes appeared in as genteel dresses as any of the Company and of as agreeable an aspect. Very polite company frequent this resort I seeing coronets on some of the Coaches. There is in one of the open retreats at a little distance from a walk a most finished peice of statuary of Handel, sitting on an Harp in a loose dress, beside the music, is at some distance from the Orchestra a peice designed to represent a Cascade, the Company is notified, by a bell, on which they all hurry thither.

Wednesday July 19. Went in the morning to Guildhall where was sitting Justice Nares. Being admitted by the doorkeeper to a very convenient stand on the hustings, at the back of the Councillor's seat, I stood during the Justices address and recapitulation of the Cause to the Jury, but the confusion by reason of the multitude with which the hall was filled being so great I very imperfectly heard him. After the Jury retired I heard the Seargent read another declaration of a cause between a Mr. Pardo contractor with the English army in

Germany 1759 Defendant, 3 Germans by the name of Holsing & Co. were plaintiffs for £5000 damages being a loss sustained by the latter for breach of contract in not supplying the latter with waggons within one month from 29 April for conveying to the English army at the several places in the contract specified. By the Defendants neglect the hay, oats etc. were lost and destroyed by the enemy, 640 waggons only being provided and 2700 wanted, the contractor having it in his power to procure them, and one month beyond the time agreed on, and the Destruction having intervened, but the confusion and noise continuing rendered my attention to troublesome and almost vain. The Cause appearing to be very perplexed and lengthy I took myself away after hearing Sergeant Davy open it in a very agreeable regular and natural manner. I observed the Judge was forced to leave his seat and stoop forward in order to hear; he took notes of every material circumstance, as did every Sergeant and Counsellor, Jury and many of the Auditors which obliged the pleader to repeat, and the witness also making it so much the more tedious. His evidence was in the German tongue interpreted by one appointed and sworn for that purpose, who also gave the witness his oath.

From thence took a turn into another apartment where I saw Lord Mansfield, on the bench who was speaking, and as well as I could judge at the distance I was, his manner not altogether unlike the late Judge Dudley¹⁶ of Massachusetts though somewhat less severe, but the crowd and noise being too great to approach and hear, I retired home going through Blackwall Hall Court, the stores where the broad clothes are lodged before dressed, died and packed for exportation.

After dinner B.P. came and invited me to go on board an India Ship just returned from Bombay in company with Mr. Whitelock and a Mr. Yates the 3rd Mate whom we met in Bishopgate street from whence we walked forward to Whitechappel and taking Coach arrived at the Turnpike about $\frac{1}{4}$ mile distant from Blackwall stairs where passing on foot through crouds of soliciting Watermen, took boat under the guidance of our Conductor and soon was on board the Thames laden with some bale goods and pepper in Bush, being entertained with Tea and Arrack punch, after which we were shown about the ship (for the first fortnight of the arrival of the Ship from India, China &c.); for the multitudes of people of every sex age and occu-

16. Paul Dudley (1675-1751), Harvard 1690, son of Governor Joseph Dudley and from 1745 until his death Chief Justice of the Superior Court of Judicature of the Province of Massachusetts Bay.

pation who come for the sake of amusement curiosity entertainment and Lewdness resemble Taverns, Inns, shops and Brothels. Retreating to the first mates cabbin by invitation, (being large and commodious,) continued to drink Arrack punch and Cape Wine and had the sight of a red parrot with green wings called a Snipe and 2 or 3 Cages filled with a beautiful bird but small of the size of a sparrow, having a delightful note, and is called Avide Vite. We took our leave accompanied ashore by a Mr. Fox one of the mates.

On our return we stopped in and by Mr. Whitelock were introduced to Mr. Hughes who very hospitably received and welcomed us, passing a most agreeable evening and till 12 o'clock with the old man.

Thursday July 20. Accompanied by B.P. I went out in order to attend a lecture at Sadler's Wells, but was disappointed. Turning into St. Swithin at morning prayer, joyned in worship, our congregation consisting of five persons only beside the Reader. From thence we proceeded to Grays inn garden, where walking for some time under the Shady trees retired to a covert into which a Girl came and joined us but soon forsaking it tripped to a bench and pulling out a book appeared to be reading. My companion's curiosity being raised he went to join her, she, perceiving it arose and took it into a more distant walk, but soon appeared to be reading. Her behaviour raising a suspicion in me that she was distempered in mind, inclined me to leave her but my companion's curiosity still increasing, approached her which, she having avoided, this discouraging his further attempt to my content departed the Gardens, returning by way of cock lane some years since much talked of for the appearance of a pretended Ghost. My curiosity led me to enquire out the house wherein such a scene of impossibility had been laid, inclining to view the room, but the house was shut up, having been for some time left, though inhabited since by 2 succeeding tenants; the lane is long narrow and dark, not unfit for such a design. After our return we heard of the report in the city of the destruction of fifty of our provincials by the Grenadiers, lately propagated.

From new Lloyds Coffee House we took coach to Governor H. who not being at home, his son said his Father mentioned no such advice having been received from America by the Cerberus lately arrived at Portsmouth. We concluded it false. On our return back in Fleet Street a poor woman running across the street was rode over by

the Coach preceeding ours, and I fear died of the wounds and bruises received thereby. The very instant this melancholy event happened I was observing that the crouds of people, Coaches, carts and waggons etc. continually passing repassing, meeting and jostling would so effectively frighten my wife, that should she take Coach at the Exchange to go to Charing Cross, she would never make a 2d attempt, when we were alarmed by the poor woman's cries and screeches, the sudden stoppage of the Carriage and gathering of the people together. From thence we went together to J. Lanes house passing Evening there in company with B.P., S[amuel] Q[uincy],¹⁷ I[saac] S[mith] and D[avid] G[reen].¹⁸

Friday 21. Went with Mr. Smith &c. to Leicester House to view Lever's Collection¹⁹ of birds, beasts, insects, reptiles, &c., in high preservation in their natural colours, attitudes, &c., some Roman Antiquities, foreign dresses, utensils, arms of defense both antient and modern, a large collection of monstrous births such as two heads, 2 bodies &c. &c. a live Lynx, the birds supposed to be the largest collection in Europe for the sight of which paid 5/3. In our way stopt at the Scandinavian Ambassador's Chappel and staid during the service. Dined at Stock Exchange Coffee House, went in the Evening by boat to Ranelagh from Temple stairs it being the last night for the season, there appeared a numerous company of well dressed genteel people amongst others the Duke of Gloucester and French Ambassador. The company is entertained with tea and bread and butter, as much as you please to call for without further charge or expence, the boxes being all supplied and waiters at hand, the description in the Ambulator Letters. Returned by water to Blackfryar's bridge, got home and abed at 1 o'clock.

Saturday July 22. Wrote letters to Mr. Goodale, Mr. Thomas Barnard,²⁰ and my wife. Spent the day at Hampstead in company with

17. Samuel Quincy (1735–1789), Harvard 1754, engaged with Robert Treat Paine on the trial of Captain Preston following the Boston Massacre. He was an addresser of Hutchinson and refugee to England. He died at sea as did two of his brothers.

18. David Green of Boston (1749–1812), an addresser of Hutchinson and refugee to England, returning to Boston in 1789 where he became a distinguished merchant and president of the Union Insurance Company.

19. Sir Ashton Lever (1729–1788) formed his collection of objects of natural history known as the Leverian (or, as he termed it, the Holophuscian) Museum, displayed in two galleries in Leicester House and open every day from ten o'clock till four. Henry B. Wheatley, *London Past and Present*, 3 vols. (London, 1891), 2:381.

20. The Rev. Thomas Barnard, Jr. (1716–1776), Harvard 1732, of Salem; addresser

Isaac Smith, J. Quincy, D. Greene and P. Webster. Dined at long room on sole at 1/ each etc. Cyder 1/ the bottle. Walked home by way of White conduit House, at which all the company except myself drank tea.

Sunday 23. Walked on foot to Dr. Prices Meeting House at Hackney in the Fields so called, and was entertained most delightfully with a discourse delivered by him from 6 Math. 12 verse: "for thine is the Kingdom and the power and the glory for ever Amen," with great meaning and devotion; after service walked forward to Honiston on an invitation by Mr. Whitelock at whose house we dined; having with him taken a strole through the fields into a gentlemen's rookery and John Marm's dilightful gardens, plucking apples, fine cherrys, and courants had a glass of most excellent Madeira Wine. Spent the P.M. at Mr. Whitelock's house and after tea in company with 5 Gentlemen and 3 Ladies walked back through Spital Fields, passing the remainder of Evening at Mr. Crosley's, whose wife was sister to Mr. Whitelock —being invited to take a dinner at his House and pass an Evening at Quadrille when and as it should suit my convenience, she being very fond of that game.

Monday 24. Walked as customary and bought the Ambulator and H. coachguide. Dined at Mrs. Gilbert Harrisons with Mr. B. Captain C. and wife, and Mrs. Harrisons brother from whence returned home to Lodging.

Tuesday 25. Went to British Museum at Montague house being too late for the 1st Company were by direction told to attend at the 2d admission of 11 o'clock. Had the good fortune to be admitted with-

of Hutchinson but signed the retraction; minister of the North Church at Salem; helped prevent an outburst when Colonel Leslie and his Regulars tried to force the North River Bridge in Feb. 1775. Curwen wrote two letters to Barnard dated 21 July, of casual intelligence, including: "Last Sunday in my return from Whitehill Chappell where I had been at worship, I stopt in at St. Andrews Holborn finding the communion distributing to 3 men and 6 women, they contributing the whole 9, the number attendant. In my walk last Wednesday I stopt into St. Swithen's Church morning prayers, myself, B. Pickman, 3 men and 2 women, the reader, Curate and Doorkeeper composed the Congregation. At the old Jewry Meeting House our congregation reputable for its appearance in dress did not exceed one hundred. The old Jewry preacher who is here called presbyterian and all of that denomination are on a broader, and I think, a more generous and Christian plan of divinity than those are that go by the name of independents such as the Pinners Hall Divines and their associates who are on a narrower scale. The style of the preacher in London of our way is more just and correct than ones in New England."

out tickets some who had given in their names neglecting to appear. Amongst a vast collection of ancient books, and manuscripts our Guide was on my enquiry pleased to show me the first version of the Bible published by authority and on vellum, turning to the 91st Psalm 5th verse instead of *Thou shalt not be afraid of the terror by night, nor the arrow &c.* I saw the following Verse *Thou shalt not fear the bugs and vermin by night.* Dined at Crown Ordinary on recommendation; found it an ordinary House literally; returned home.²¹

Wednesday July 26. Went to the tower by myself, not finding any to accompany me, saw Wild beasts. Received my bed and bedding unexpectedly from Scooner through mistake, not legally importable being foreign feathers and I despairing of receiving them had determined to send them to Philadelphia to be put into my correspondents hands for security till an opportunity might offer to send them home.

Thursday July 27. Dined at Mr. Sayres²² by invitation being in Oxford Street, to which I went by Coach. Our Company was 4 Gentlemen and Lady Frances Sherard, only Daughter of the late Earl of Harborough, first course Turbot and boiled Fowle, 2d course smoked Rabbits and an Haunch of Venison, Desert of Tarts etc. followed by fruit of sundry kinds, stilton cheese, porter, Madeira, red port and champain in great plenty. We were brought home in Mr. Sayres Coach.

Friday July 28. Went on board the Scooner Lively, dined, by Whitelock's kind invitation at the grocer's Company Feast, at their hall in the Poultry; 2 Tables each 60 feet in length obliquely spread with all the variety of fish, meat, poultry and fruit of the season; such as Turbot, Venison, Turkey, poults &c. &c., pyramids of Ice Covered Blamange, and every kind of dry and sweet meats etc., for drinking porter, Carcavilla, redport, Madeira, old hock and pyrmont water etc. The music was playing during the dinner; when that and the healths were over, the Secretary of the Company withdrawing soon after,

21. A long letter this day to William Pynchon describing a visit to Westminster Hall and the Guildhall and seeing Lord Mansfield "whose piercing eyes denotes a penetration and comprehension peculiarly his," and commenting on the trials of cases he witnessed.

22. Stephen Sayres, banker and sometimes sheriff of London, an American adventurer and mischief-maker. He was at one time secretary to Arthur Lee and tried to sell the Dutch wild lands in America. He was married to a lady of great fortune.

returned into the room with the officers in their habits, preceeded by 20 Musicians 2 and 2, who going round the middle Table, halted behind the chair of the new elected Master and put a Tiara on his head; another officer following, held a large golden Cup, filled with wine, in his hand, who thereupon drank to him, and delivered it, who taking it, drank to the prosperity of the Company, on which a loud clap ensued. The same ceremony was used to the new made Wardens; the music consisting of French horns, bassoons and Fifes. The golden cupps were in height 18 Inches, and contained at least 2 quarts. There is in the Hall a full length portrait of Sir John Ladbroke, and over it 2 carved Griffins, half beast half bird. There is behind the hall a very neat small garden, to which if the weather permits the Company retires to walk, smoke and sing, the Evening being generally passed in high jollity and Festive mirth; after tea and coffee is served, which the Company go into the chamber to take, the new Master was pleased to invite me to Tea, and offered me a ticket for old hock or anything I should be pleased to call for, which I thankfully declined. Having fully charged, I thought it best to retire home, lest I might be tempted to greater excess.

Saturday 29. Dined by invitation with Gov. H. in company with Joseph Greene and Mr. Maudit,²³ to whom I was introduced, and Mr. Ward Boylston,²⁴ the latter gave us a very entertaining narrative of his march through Syria, Palestine and Egypt.

Sunday 30 July. Was at Salters Hall Meeting House and heard Mr. Taylor of Hackney preach from *13 Luke 29th They shall come from the East and from the West and from the North and from the South and shall sit down in the Kingdom of God*, the preacher observing the leading idea in the text that the Kingdom of God or the future state of blessedness was composed of persons from every sect and profession, from thence took occasion to recommend the duty of universal charity to his hearers. In P.M. went from Mr. Isaac Smith's lodgings to Dr. Fordyce's Meeting House in Monkwell Street; his text was in *119 Psalm 127.28 verse "Therefore I love thy commandments above gold; yea, above fine gold. Wherefore I esteem all thy*

23. Jasper Maudit, provincial agent in London for Massachusetts, 1762-1765, woolen merchant, and dissenter.

24. Ward Nicholas Boylston (1749-1828), son of Benjamin Hallowell; changed his name in 1770. He went abroad in 1773 and was a traveler and merchant in London until 1800, when he returned to Boston, founding the Boylston Medical Library.

precepts concerning all things to be right." The discourse was delivered with great energy and pathos, abounding with flowers of rhetoric, metaphor and with uncommon theatric gesture, equal if not beyond Mr. Whitefeild. After service invited into the Vestry room where was hanging up the original License of Charles 2 to Mr. Doolittle for this present House. From thence we were invited to a Mr. Kennedy's to drink tea with Dr. Fordyce, passing an hour in very agreeable conversation with him and the company. Taking our leave we proceeded to Lincoln's Inn say Temple Gardens full of Company taking a turn round and through the many Courts and Squares of this and Sargents Inn adjoining and contiguous, we departed for Mr. Smiths where I spent the remainder of the Evening.

Monday 31. Went in company with Messrs. I. Smith, N. Balch, J. Greene Esq. and Berry, Colborn Barrell,²⁵ a Mr. Peacock, a Glass Dealer in Fleetmarket Street, our Guide and young Oliver, to the [1 word] Flintglass house over blackfryar's bridge where we saw a drinking glass formed, compleatly made, ink bottles and smelling bottles, from which place returning we proceeded through a paved ally so called on this Side the Bridge to a glass grinder and polisher, whom we saw work. Dined at Kingshead Jury Lane, the glass grinder worked in a loft up 50 or 60 stairs. From dinner we repaired to St. Paul's and leaving my Company I ascended to the top of the Cupola and from thence home sufficiently jostled. I have heard it thrice today reported that Lord North has shot himself, and the reason assigned, I disbelieve it, considering it as the lye of the day, calculated to answer some political or commercial purpose.

Tuesday August 1. Being early out on an errand was taken in a shower and sheltering myself in Somerset Coffee House¹ called for a dish of tea and bread and butter for breakfast. Bought of [Rocky?] Davis of Holborn, the New Testament in Greek and English, 2 vol. Afterwards attended Mr. Herries lectures on the sublime in Essex House, Essex Street, Strand, which by no means came up to my expectation, the performers quotations excellent in their several view, and his remarks for ought I know, pertinent, his moral only just and

25. Colborn Barrell (1735–?), merchant at Boston, left in 1774 for London by way of Philadelphia and South Carolina. He was an addresser of Hutchinson and Gage and returned to New England after the peace.

1. Somerset Coffee House, also known as "the Somerset," was at 166 Strand and was at times frequented by James Boswell. It is No. 1229 in Lillywhite, *Coffee Houses*.

useful however. In my way to my lodgings I stept in to the Coffee House where for the first time I saw Mr. Deberdt since his return from the Country, after an absence of 12 days.

Wednesday August 2. At morning prayers in St. Bennet Finks Church.² Dined with B. Pickman at Mr. Hughes the Druggist, from thence to see the Cornmarket in Mouse Lane, and in the Evening to Foots theatre, haymarket, the King and Queen present, the first sight I had of them or either except a glance of the King at Blackheath review, the Comedy was of 3 Acts called the Patron, the entertainment following was a farce called Cross purposes; Foots performance in my opinion low and indifferent. After it was over Joseph Hooper,³ B.P. and I stepped into Burton's ale House in Cheapside.⁴

Thursday August 3. Breakfasted with B.P. on board Scooner Lively by invitation of the Master. Loitering with him as far as Oxford Street we dined at Castle's Inn on pigeon pye plentifully and cheerfully for 8½ d. each, proceeded on to Tyburn, which we had the good luck to leave, taking our course along Hyde Park wall till we arrived at the Turnpike between that and the Green Park. At the Gate of the former stands a noble House built by the present Lord Chancellor Apsley, since his father's death Earl Bathurst, on ground taken out of the park and given him by the King for that purpose. Going across the latter we fell into the Mall in St. James, seeing numbers collected near the palace, it excited my curiosity to enquire the reason, finding it to be an expectation of seeing their Majesties return from the Drawing room delayed our progress a short time. When they appeared his Majesty first in his Chair adorned with a Crown atop, he was reading a paper, that he held so near his face as to prevent a distinct sight of it; in lieu of which I saw the whitest hand my eyes ever beheld, with a very large rose diamond ring on his little finger appearing almost as large as a common seal. The queen soon appeared in a Chair carried by two porters, more richly decorated than the King's and with a Crown set

2. Robert Finke "newbuilt" the parish church of St. Benet in 1679 from Wren's design, and it was subsequently known as St. Benet Finke. It was torn down in 1842-1844 to make way for the new Royal Exchange. Wheatley, *London Past and Present*, 1:157, 2:41.

3. Joseph Hooper (1743-1812), Harvard 1763, merchant of Marblehead, addresser of Hutchinson, refugee to England in 1775 where he became a paper manufacturer and never returned.

4. Probably what was known as Burton's Coffee House at 102 Cheapside. No. 209 in Lillywhite, *Coffee Houses*.

on the center of the top. Of her I had the fullest and fairest sight, being very near, as she passed by with a smile on her Countenance, her looks in my eye betray a Constitution somewhat on the decline, and no wonder, having in her 30th year born 10 Children, her dress was a light lemon colored flowered silk on light cream colored ground, his Majesty in white, a very light cloth with a Silver button, he appeared neglectful of the Crouds that formed two lines through which he passed; the Queen observed, smiled, and bowed.

Leaving the park we proceeded Cityward calling in at Alexander Donaldsons Bookseller near the corner of St. Pauls Churchyard and drank tea myself having been before invited. I sorely regretted my freedom in introducing my ill behaving companion. Spent the Evening aboard Captain Johnson's Scooner.

Friday 4. Dined at John Lanes in company with B.P., P. Hughes,⁵ Geo. Grave, Isaac Smith, a Mr. Standon, Mrs. Lane, 2 Mrs. Leggs and Thomas Lane⁶ the Father to whom the son introduced me. Went with I. Smith to Banhill Burying Ground to see Chambers Russell's⁷ Mausoleum but was disappointed after searching for at least an hour, from thence with him I repaired to Mr. Ward Boylestones lodgings who very civilly received me and showed us several curiosities, natural and artificial, he had brought from Egypt; the holy Land; Italy &c.; among many others the locust supposed food of the Baptist one pod of which he presented to me.

Saturday 5. In company with B. Pickman by invitation breakfasted at Mr. Boylston's on tea; after which he entertained us with the views of modern Rome. Taking our leave I again revisited Banhill burying ground with B. Pickman who having before seen it, carried me to the spot; where instead of a Mausoleum, is only a single stone of 3 feet in heighth, as plain as the commonest there, with this, and this only, inscription, Chambers Russell Esqr. of Lincoln in New England died 23 November 1766. Dined at Governor Hutchinson's by invitation the day before being at his house with B.P. to introduce Joseph Hooper, he being already engaged. Our company consisted of B.P.,

5. Peter Hughes of Boston, an addresser of Hutchinson and a protester against the Whigs.

6. Thomas Lane and his son John were members of the mercantile house of Lane, Son & Fraser which carried on a substantial American business.

7. Judge Chambers Russell (1713-1766), Harvard 1731, brother-in-law of Curwen, a judge of the Superior Court of Massachusetts, 1752-1761, and also a judge of the vice admiralty court; he died in London.

Joseph Taylor,⁸ Isaac Smith, Mr. Silsbee,⁹ the Governor and Family. Mr. Maudit and Mr. Nichols came after dinner, with the latter of whom, Mr. S., B.P. and myself spent an hour walking in St. James Park.

Sunday August 6. At old Jewry Meeting House, heard Mr. White preach from *24 Luke 14, 42 And it came to pass, while he blessed them, he was parted from them; and carried up into heaven, and they worshipped him and returned to Jerusalem with great joy.* It was communion day, at which Governor Hutchinson and his son Elisha, B. Pickman and myself attended, the Minister with another person brought the elements repeating to each Communicant some pertinent expression or passage of Scripture waiting till each had received.¹⁰ From Church we went to Ben Kenton's tavern Aldersgate Street, and from thence to Dr. Hunter's at the bottom or top of Coleman Street. His Society are presbyterians, his Congregation respectable and numerous, his text *1 Heb. 1.v2 God who at sundry times &c., his pronunciation strong, manly and just.* By a ticket procured from Mr. Winterbottom of Threadneedle Street Secretary I was admitted into Magdalen Hospital Evening Service, established for the Contribution sake, where I heard a Mr. Miln preach from *13th Luke 11, 12, 13 verses, "And he said a certain Man had 2 sons, and the younger of them said to his Father; father, give me the portion of goods that falleth to me. And he divided to them his living. And not many days after, the young son gathered all together, and took his journey into a far Country and wasted his substance with riotous living,"* in which discourse I found more true eloquence and classic purity of style; and more natural, just and affecting oratory in his speech than I had before heard, the whole assembly which was crouded, were all attention. Re-

8. Joseph Taylor (1745-1816), Harvard 1765; merchant of Boston in partnership with Jonathan and John Amory and Samuel Rogers, loyalist refugee to England, returning after the peace to Boston where he died.

9. Daniel Silsbee (Silsby) of Boston, an active loyalist and addresser of Hutchinson. He was one of those who endeavored to calm the people at the time of the Boston Massacre. A refugee to England, he died in Flanders in 1791.

10. Hutchinson describes this particular Communion service in his diary: "I think, perhaps, from prejudice, that either the Communion as in the Church of Eng. or as in the churches of N. England, more decent than this, which is a sort of middle way: the Minister taking the Elements first himself, and then carrying them around one part of the Church, using some Scripture passages to excite devotion, while an Assistant goes round the other part of the Church. The Table was scarcely decent; the Bread in single cakes in a small plate; four or five small cups; and the wine in 3 glass quart common bottles, which I believe has not been known in any country church in New England." 6 Aug. 1775, in Hutchinson, ed., *Diary*, 1:509.

turned home by way of London bridge greatly fatigued and soon retired to rest, which continued not long, being at 1 o'clock roused up with a violent pain in my bowels forcing me out of bed. Having a 2d call half an hour after weakening me excessively.

Monday 7. Confined by the same disorder, taking only a little mutton broth and following night a small dose of Elixir Salutis was happily not disturbed in the night.

Tuesday August 8. The cause continuing, by the assistance of Mr. Isaac Smith I procured a visit from Dr. Paine¹¹ my Countryman who arriving at 1 o'clock prescribed 15 gr. Ipecacuanha which wrought 7 or 8 times, assisted with water well impregnated with a brown toast that did not free my stomach from a nausea, troublesome in a great degree and this more so as it is unusual; it however abated on taking a little heated wine and water with nutmeg, rested but indifferently.¹²

Wednesday 9th. The cause not wholly removed breakfasted on weak mutton broth and drank plentifully of toast and water, left by myself till 6 o'clock P.M. no one soul appearing to provide me any comfort though I had taken a vomit of Rhubarb put in Aqua[illegible] which produced a very good effect, being in the course of my confinement visited by Mr. Nichols, Isaac Smith twice, Mr. El[isha] Hutchinson, John Lane, R. Russell, Mr. Deberdt, Mr. Burton and Dr. Paine, excused my going into Derbyshire with Mr. Smith and the Hutchinsons, my weakness not allowing me to travel. Settled my account of Voyage to and from Philadelphia to London with P. W[ebster] and Captain J[ohnson].

Thursday 10. Took a short ride in a Coach to Shoreditch merely for a jolt and to taste the fresh air after 5 days confinement. Went after dinner to Coffee House the remaining hours till bed time at Lodgings.¹³

11. Dr. William Paine (1750-1833), Harvard 1768; studied medicine under the famous Edward Augustus Holyoke of Salem; went to England in 1774 to complete his medical education, returning in 1775; married Lois Orne of Salem; became a refugee and was proscribed in 1778. He served for a time as a physician to the British army and was one of the founders of the American Antiquarian Society.

12. A two-page letter to Nathan Goodale at Nantucket, expressing his views on political events and enclosing a packet of letters to be forwarded.

13. A note to Isaac Smith canceling a projected "tour" because of illness.

Friday 11th. Dined at Ordinary in Threadneedle Street and passed the Evening and Night at Honiston by invitation with B.P. and many gentlemen and Ladies on a Dancing plan at Mr. Whitelocks going thither in a Coach with his sister Crosby and a Miss Loyd for which we each paid 1/6, formed a party at Quadrille which lasted till 12 o'clock at which time the company going down to Supper I retired to rest leaving them to pursue their diversion, which held till 5 o'clock in the morning.

Saturday August 12. Rose betimes and walked whilst the company were in bed to Clapton and returned by the time the gentlemen arose and breakfasted on tea. Taking our leave B.P. and a Mr. ——— and myself departed from thence. Walking to Hackney Church, we took coach to Bishopsgate Street and from thence to New England Coffee House where meeting S. Q[ui]ncy], D. G[reene] and D. L[loyd] went with them to Chelsea on a party to Dinner at Mr. and Mrs. Foots from whence we fetched a walk to churchyard to view Sir Henry Sloanes Monument; an open square ending in almost a point where is a funeral urn in the Center, underneath is a large Urn surrounded by snakes intertwining with each other. His late Dwelling House since owned by Speaker Onslow, is now in other hands and is fitting up for sundry tenants. Took a view of River from Batesford bridge, and returning stepped into Don Saltera's Coffee House where we drank Tea and were entertained with a sight of the curiosities there, consisting of many kinds both of Nature and art, remarkable antique dresses, exotic plants, minerals, fish, reptiles, insects &c. &c., taking Hospital Gardens which are neatly kept and most delightfully situated on the Thames—passing along the road we stopped at the water works supplying the upper part of the City; being raised by fire; but not being suffered to enter could view only the outside; seeing water trickle down the side of a wooden tube I had the curiosity to apply my finger and found it warm. When we arrived opposite to Somerset House turning into the outward square I took to the 2d Entrance where by the application of request and 6d. we got admittance into 2 spacious rooms, lofty and elegant, containing copies and models of some of the valuable remains of Antiquity and some of both modern peices of Sculpture, being the repository of the Society of Antiquarians for encouraging arts and Sciences in Great Britain, where we saw several ingenious Lads one of whom was copying the fine bass reliefs on some of the gates of Florence, departing thence, one by one dropped off, leaving me to

pursue my way home alone, being about to forsake my present lodgings for more convenient ones, the situation of which momentarily exposed me to the noise and clatter of coaches rendering it extremely disagreeable, besides other considerations of no less weight.¹⁴

Monday August 14. Engaged my new lodgings at a Mr. Richards No. 8 in Drapers Court, Prince Street, between the Poultry and Lothbury Captain Martin,¹⁵ B.P. and self having made a party set forward to view Kensington gardens, stopping into Dolly's beefstake house¹⁶ where we dined, afterwards proceeded through Hide Park, arrived at the Gardens which taking a full view of and also the palace without entering it, no person being to be seen in it, we left and took a stretch through the Village or Town if you please, for it consisted of 200 houses at least of the same appearance as London the street paved returning back called at Captain Martins desire, earnest for a natural reason, took a yard of ale which both of us were not able to dispense with, though for the small consideration of 2d, being fatigued we took coach and roade to Buckingham gate and on foot through the park to Anderton's Coffee House in Fleet Street where we drank tea and from thence to Robbin Hood Society, admission by ticket 6d. The Question debated on, was, wether Lord Chamberlain's authority in licensing plays is not inconsistent with the freedom of dramatic writing; which dispute arose on Lord Hertford's refusal to license Mr. Footes Trip to Calais,¹⁷ a supposed Sneer and Satyr on the Dutchess of Kingston, late Lady Betty Chudleigh, a very noted character, lately returned in a Yatch of her own from Rome to which she has been on a visit.

14. A letter to Samuel Smith & Sons, reporting the price of flour at scarcely 13/ and adding "Tho nothing has yet reached my ears of what the Congress are and have been deliberating, for I presume they are not asleep, yet I cannot help foreboding some terrible denunciations of the martial kind, since the appointment of Genl. Washington. I pray most fervently he may never have an opportunity of exhibiting proofs of his generalship in that wretched quarter that has of late been the theater on which such a shocking tragedy has been acted."

15. Captain Thomas Martin of Portsmouth, later in command of the privateer *McCleary*.

16. Dolly's Beef Steak House was at Paternoster Row with an entrance in Queen's Head Passage. It derived its name from its cook, whose portrait had been painted by Gainsborough. It was famous for its beefsteaks and gill ale. See No. 1733 in Lillywhite, *Coffee Houses*.

17. *A Trip to Calais*, written by Samuel Foote (1720-1777), having been "banned" as offensive to the Duchess of Kingston, was altered to *The Capuchin*, the offending character of Lady Kitty Crocodile being replaced by another. Curwen tried unsuccessfully to attend the trial of the so-called Duchess of Kingston in April 1776, and his comments are there recorded.

Sunday August 13 omitted in course. Breakfasted with Mr. Deberdt, and with him attended worship poor Jewry Meeting House. A stranger preached from Romans 12 Ch. 1 & 2. "I beseech you therefore, Brethren, by the mercies of God that ye present yourselves to God a living sacrifice, holy and acceptable unto him, which is your reasonable service." Dined with B. Pickman at Threadneedle Street Ordinary and adjourned to Monkwich street Meeting House, the preacher a Scotch parson whose extemporaneous discourse was both ingenious and elegant. Mr. Deberdt being there, we having a Magdalen Hospital ticket, proceeded from worship over blackfryars bridge to a tea house, from thence to the hospital greatly edified and entertained both by the music and sermon preached by a Mr. Morrison of St. Luke's hospital from 2 Peter 2, 20-21 V. "For if after they have escaped the pollution of the world through the knowledge &c." Returned back by London bridge, B. Pickman leaving us to visit Dr. Paine and Mr. Deberdt to sup with some Ladies; the Former disappeared soon rejoined us, going to Captain Martins we passed the remainder of Evening at his lodgings.

Tuesday 15. Left my lodgings at S.W., removed to new ones, having for my neighbours Captain Martin from Portsmouth piscataque next door, and a little distance of 4 doors on the other hand, Mr. W. Boylston, 2 agreeable Companions. B. Pickman and Captain R. Russell drank with me, with the former Captain Martin and John Lane who joined us, we departed for Marybone Gardens partly in a Coach and partly on foot but arriving there and finding the fireworks put off on account of the weather we received from the ticket porter reluctantly our money and retreated homewards, putting in to the Turks head¹⁸ Geroard Street, Soho, spending the close of the Evening in drinking 2 bowls punch, supping on Mutton chop and smoaking. Sallying out we traversed the purlieus of Lewdness and debauchery and were pretty grossly addressed in Grosvenor Square, making no reply, hastened to the Strand but my companions being full of spirits, and disposed to merriment one of them seeing a solitary Girl of which this part of the Town is overspread and addressing her in the customary stile threw her into my arms, and invited her to accompany me, assuring her I was in quest of game. Notwithstanding my denial the girl was unwilling to believe me though I endeavoured to persuade that the Young Gentleman whom she first met was more for her purpose. She

18. Turk's Head, Gerrard Street, No. 1432 in Lillywhite, *Coffee Houses*, was where Dr. Johnson and his circle met as "The Literary Club."

was loth to quit her hold and most importunately solicited me for a kiss, but not succeeding in that urged me to give her a 1/, nay 6d. On my repeatedly assuring her that I had no kiss to give nor 6d. to bestow she still pressed till I told her I had something else to give which she earnestly asking what told her she should be informed of if she pursued me further, and being near Temple bar replyd I do not want to get into John Wilkes clutches within which is the jurisdiction of the Lord Maior, and so she left me. My companions falling a little way behind left me to disengage myself as well as I could, enjoyed the scene that furnished them with much mirth and me with very serious reflections on the contemptible situation vice reduces its miserable slaves to.

Wednesday August 16. Staid at home all the A.M. writing letters to Philadelphia, at noon dressed and went to New England Coffee Houses, put my letters in bag, dined at the Plough Ordinary, with a party made up at New England Coffee House; vizt. Captain Cary, J. Boylston, Joseph Hooper and B.P., with whom I visited S. Grant, he having the day before received a sad wound by a fall into his steerage from the deck, supposed then very dangerous, from thence we set out in search of R. Russell's lodgings in Burr Street to no purpose, after Enquiry at almost every house, returning to my lodgings we drank tea and departed in order to take a view of Grubstreet, so noted formerly for the habitations of dirty servile low writers. It is a long narrow dirty street wherein still are some good houses and valuable shops. Passing this we continued our walks along Moorfields to Whitefields tabernacle, stuffed with a crouded audience; the speaker was vociferous, he laboured to dissuade his gaping ragged hearers from thinking too highly of that nature, their wise and good Creator had given to mankind, and closed his earnest address by saying, behold the dignity of human nature in the 3 Criminals this day carted to Execution; with how much more propriety could he have said, behold the abuse of that Nature which a gracious and Good God had bestowed on them for the noblest purposes. Leaving this place we continued our strole till we arrived at Draper's Hospital and Alms House built by Robert Ashe Esqr. in alimenta Viginti Sunum et educationem viginti puerorum. Spent the Evening with Captain Martin at his lodgings, received from Mr. Deberdt 2 vols. annual Register for the years 1761-62.

Thursday 17. Breakfasted with Captain Martin, dined with J. Lane, B.P. and Captain M[artin] at Dolly's beefstake house. Spent P.M. at home, received Letters from Mr. T. B[arnard] Jr., Mr. Pynchon and

R. Wyer¹⁹ all of 2d May via Philadelphia, at the time of writing not known that I was in London, and one from S[amuel] Checkley in Philadelphia. These Letters are as Solomon expresses it like Cold waters to a thirsty Soul.²⁰

Friday 18th. Captain M. and B.P. breakfasted with me, went with the former to Sir John Fieldings examination of Criminals which we found to be stately on Wednesdays rarely and only in particular exigencys on Fridays. Returning through great Queen Street we turned in to see the glass grinders, and from thence turned into the Sardinian Ambassadors Chappell for ½ an hour amusing ourselves with a view of the frippery, mummery, antic gestures, kneelings, crossings, gesticulations, and sprinklings, practised in the worship of the Romish Church, taking in our way home Cannon Street in order to give my Companions a view of London stone which stands against the outside wall of St. Swithin's Church. Dined at home on oysters; walked with Captain Martin through Spital Feilds to have a sight of the weavers, which for want of a guide we could not be admitted to, from thence through Shoreditch and the feilds beyond to Hoxton, and from thence to the Shepard and Shepardess²¹ a place of entertainment and full of company, some at tea, some at bowls, and others diverting themselves in the long chamber by attending to an Organ which is played for the gratification of the company; and from thence to the peerless pool, a water for swimming, with the convenience of a cold and temperate bath as the season and the inclination of the company shall require none being admitted but subscribers and so through the Islington road and moorfields, home. In passing through Hoxton fields near the Shepard and Shepardess we saw a company of orderly young misses dressed in a green uniform, walking in procession, who on being

19. Russell Wyer, a nephew of Curwen's wife, who wasted Curwen's property during his exile.

20. Curwen wrote a three-page letter to his wife this day: "We are positively assured General Amherst is to take the command in America and if so the continent will be filled with English and foreign troops. Immense quantitys of military stores both ammunition de guerre and de bouche are daily, to my mortification, shipping off from the town wharff to America and Administration is determined to make an effectual push . . . I am firmly persuaded could the Congress condescend to propose terms of accomodation consistent with the supposed dignity of the English nation, they would be eagerly embraced." He also wrote to Pelatiah Webster, Sr., of Philadelphia a favorable report of his son.

21. The Shepard and Shepardess, No. 1920 in Lillywhite, *Coffee Houses* was "in the footway to Islington leading from Old Street." Its gardens were frequented in the eighteenth century by visitors "who regaled themselves with cream, cakes and furnity" (p. 734).

asked, replied they were of a school called the Clergyman's orphan's school, and were taking the air.²²

Saturday August 19. Breakfasted with Capt. M.; walked with Capt. R. Routh²³ to Tichfield Street and the upper end of Oxford Street to deliver a letter, from thence through Soho and St. James Park to Westminster bridge and so down to Dolly's beefstake house where we dined; afterwards to New England Coffee House where meeting with Capt. Poynton²⁴ and Jos. Hooper we repaired to my lodgings and drank tea, Mr. R. spending the evening with me, accompanying him to his home to his lodgings; by the way engaging my Barber whose name is Walker to dress his hair.

Sunday 20. Went to poor Jewry Meeting House accompanied by Capt. M., Capt. Routh and Mr. Deberdt, the preacher Dr. Ratcliff in a Geneva gown. We were entertained with a most excellent discourse on the reasonableness propriety and suitableness of the doctrines of Christianity to our state and condition. Attended worship at same place in afternoon heard Dr. Calder a sensible good preacher from 3 Galatians 4 Verse. After service we walked down to Execution dock and from thence taking boat we rowed over to Rotherhithe or Redriff, drank tea at a Capt. Catess in paradise Row, or street, going home through Bardmonsey & Totly street over Londonbridge jaded out.

Monday 21. A.M. cloudy, damp and raw air; stayed at home and wrote to my wife; dined at Burtons on soup pease accompanied with Joseph Hooper, after dinner went home; was accosted by a Girl who placing herself before my window on a leathern stool which a younger attendant brought along with her and uncasing her fiddle played

22. Three letters of this date appear in Curwen's letter book, all friendly good wishes and acknowledgments of letters received: to Col. Browne (see 14 Nov. 1775, n. 9), the Rev. Thomas Barnard, and William Pyncheon. To the first he wrote, "Everyone here may talk loud, contradict one another and differ in opinion and not be the worse man for it, if he be decent, much less will he be tarred and feathered, which is an advantage we N. Englanders here, have the full relish of."

23. Richard Routh (?-1801), a collector of customs at Salem, went to Halifax, then New York, where he joined the Associated Loyalists of Massachusetts. He went to England in 1778. Routh married Abigail, daughter of William Eppes of Salem. His mother-in-law later married Dr. Sylvester Gardiner.

24. Captain Thomas Poynton (1711-1781), born in England, merchant of Salem, prominent member of St. Peter's Episcopal Church in Salem, and addresser of Gage. He departed for England in 1775 and died before the peace. In 1791 his widow lived in the "Pineapple House" in Salem.

several tunes accompanying them with her voice. Made the first fire in my chamber, having this day bought 1 bushel of coals and 1 bundle of pine splinters.

Tuesday 22. Went to Bow [Street] with Nathaniel Balch, lying beyond White Chappell, from whence we took Coach, 2 Miles in order to see the China Manufacture, but the clerk received and dismissed us very cavalierly, with an abrupt answer, that he should not show it to us. We met J. Berry and Mr. Silsbee at the door having trudged it afoot; returned by Bromley, stopping at Mile End, we took a bowl of punch and some bread and cheese, and from thence walked together to the Exchange, where J.B. and Mr. S. departed together. Mr. B[alch] and myself entered Lamp Chop House in Bartholomew Lane, took each a porringer of broth, and after taking a Survey of the different rooms in the Bank, departed each for his lodgings, I being weary and lame.²⁵

Wednesday 23. Went with Capt. Martin to Sir John Feildings office in Bow Street, in order to attend the process and examination of the prisoners for Thefts and robberies house breakings, assaults, &c. which are held weekly, by him and his associates on Wednesdays and sometimes, if business requires it on Fridays. Six or eight Culprits were brought to the bar in chains all but one being remanded back to Newgate in order to take their trial at the next assizes, one only being allowed to give bail. He is a venerable Elderly Gentleman with hoary locks and blind (as Justice is represented to be) having a black fillet over his eyes, of a mild deportment, ready apprehension and great penetration, as his queries to the prisoners manifest. He was attended by 2 assistants vizt. Sampson Wright and William Addington Esqrs. each with a purple ribbon round their necks, wrought on their breasts into a rose, below which at the end is suspended a gold or gilded plate on which is stamped or cast emblematical figures in low relief of an oval form and about 3 by 4 inches in diameter. Capt. Martin and I dined at the Green Tavern on Fish Street hill Billingsgate.

25. Curwen to his wife "under cover to R. Ward by Mr. G[oodale] at Nantucket," 22 Aug.: "The very day on which the news arrived in town of the melancholy affair at Charlestown I was on the Exchange and found to my surprise it engaged the publick attention scarce more than a quarter of an hour. I again repeat my advice, dont delay your retreat from N.E. if possible, all hopes of an amicable settlement is abandoned. Capt. Smith has delivered me your ring which with a pair of excellent Spectacles I would send, but fear you would meet with trouble and finally be deprived of them."

Thursday Friday Saturday. Passed in a tour up the River to view the royal palaces and gardens of Kew, Richmond, Hampton Court and Windsor the narrative of which follows, vizt.

Thursday 24. Having the day before formed a party to go up the river as far as Windsor, to visit the royal palaces and gardens; this morning our Company consisting of the following vizt. Mr. Isaac Smith, John Berry and his Brother, Nathaniel Balch, Mr. Silsbee, Capt. Martin and myself departed from Mr. Berry's house at Corner of Paul's chair in St. Pauls churchyard, arriving on foot at black Fryars bridge took a boat with a tilt to carry us to Kew Stairs or Richmond; the weather being mild, the tide favorable, and the water smooth, we soon passed Westminster bridge a little beyond which on Surryside is a Town or Village called Lambeth lying low, not much of it being to be seen on the river, except the barge Houses on the strand. The Parish Church, the Archbishops palace and the houses adjoining lye on the bank of the river; higher up about the distance of 2 miles on the North side lyes Chelsea; opposite side is Battersea joyned together by a wooden Bridge called Battersea bridge. The water beyond this begins to grow shallow; and the Swans to appear in greater number which with the Great Seats and finely cultivated lands affords to the company going up the river most agreeable prospects.

The next Town or Village that meets us is Hammersmith, a long row of buildings quite down to the bank; lying on the South side is a small Village called Barnes, where we went ashore to refresh ourselves and the boatmen, and from thence through Kew bridge to the stairs opposite the King's lodge where we landed directly opposite to Brentford the latter lying on the North side of the river, and made up of two Towns called old and new Brentford, and is now the Town where County Representatives or Knights of the Shire of Middlesex are chosen. Tis celebrated for the residence of the two Kings in the Witty Duke of Buckingham's Satyrical Comedy called the Rehearsal.

Leaving our boatmen with orders to meet us at Richmond, we struck into the passage between the Kings lodge and the Prince of Wales house, and passing a little way entered the gardens of Kew, it being fortunately the day that people are permitted to walk in them. After passing through a gravel walk bordered with flowers, and set with trees of foreign growth, some in, and some out of boxes and tubbs, we arrived at the exotic garden, which the keeper very civilly offered to show us, containing a vast variety of plants, shrubbs, trees,

and flowers; from every corner of the earth. Paying the customary fee we left this, making a tour round the other parts of the garden, consisting of gravel walks, green lawns, close shaven, flowery borders, artificial mounts, clumps of trees, shrubberies, and wildernesses, covered boxes with seats, Sundry rests for the companies; temples in different tastes and forms, variously disposed; a canal of dead water, wherein is a Chineseboat lately presented to the King, at anchor, covered with a linnen cloth down to the waters edge. On the border of the wilderness is the building called pagoda of an Octagonal form in the Chinese taste, about 20 feet in diameter and 150 in height is divided into 10 stories, or [1 word], one above the other; each of 12 to 15 feet high, the whole covered with a flat roof; in the center is erected a flagstaff of 20 feet, encompassed by an ornament spirally fixed in the same finical taste. Leaving the gardens we departed on foot through a pleasant road to Richmond, distant 2 miles, where we soon arrived, dining at the Greyhound Tavern; from whence we departed accompanying the two Berrys to the Boat where taking leave of one another, they set off on the return back, and we proceeded over the river, near the new bridge that is building across the Thames, between Richmond and Twickenham parish.

Tramping through the fields, Twickenham Village, Bushy Park and Hampton Court, arrived at the castle Inn at east Moalsey, Surrey, opposite to Hampton Court palace, about 9 o'clock. Being through the innkeeper's [1 word] denied at Lord North's arms; a little on this side the North gate of Bushy Park. In the morning arising early we left our Inn, and returning over the Bridge to Hampton Court, bespoke breakfast at the Toy Inn, and a Coach to carry us to Windsor. Entering the palace and gardens; the latter in my opinion greatly exceeding Kew in beauty, though deserted by the Royal family who (I am told) rarely visit them. Out of hatred to his grandfather the late excellent Geo. 2, the present King seems to make it a point to hate every object of his worthy grandfather's approbation. The rooms in the former are noble, lofty richly and royally furnished, consisting of an Armory, the King's presence chamber, chamber of Audience, State bedroom, Closet, drawing and dressing room, private bed Chamber, the same suite allowed for the Queen, where are stairs of State with rich canopies, Tapestry on gold and silver grounds containing Scripture and ancient stories of Greece and Rome adorned with portraits of the reigning beauties of King Charles 2d Court, founders of the different orders of Monks, Fryars, Nuns &c. in the Roman Catho-

lic Church, of former Kings, Queens, foreign princes, noblemen and Ladys, landscapes, Madonas, the Supper, Alexander passing the granicus, &c. &c. &c. the ceilings in high colouring and fine preservation, by Verrio referring to some in Charles 2d Story, as pleasing in my eye as any part of the splendid ornaments of this palace. The buildings consisting of many squares, are most of them old, and remain in the same state they were in (the decays of time excepted) as in Henrys days, when, by the envy of the Courtiers Woolsey who built the palace originally for his own residence was obliged to present it to the King. The Front on the Gardens facing the View is magnificent, and appears modern, and in excellent repair; the garden charmingly pleasant, and carried down to the bank of the river, straitened, in time, a certain portion being allotted to the purpose of viewing this and Windsor, we were obliged to leave this delightful spot, to my no small mortification.

Returning back to the Tay, we refreshed ourselves with a breakfast, and taking Coach and four, sett off at 10 o'clock, passing through Sunbury commons, Staines and Esham lying on the river, opposite to one another and joyned by a bridge for which the passengers (not in a common stage) are to pay a groat for passing, alighting at the Castle Inn, kept by an experienced Publican; which to our cost we found (whose name was Brown) after a journey of 16 miles in 2 hours we bespoke a dinner to be ready at 2 o'clock and ascending the hill entered by a wide gothic gate into a spacious Court, on the opposite side to which stands St. George's chappell, an august and venerable pile, before the door stood the keeper with the key in his hands ready to admit us and receive his fee, and here by the way I cant help observing the adroitness and expertness of all sorts and ranks of people in understanding and making the most of the emoluments of their *peculiar* calling and station.

The appearance within is as august and striking; and I must own I entered with a kind of awe; tis in excellent repair, here is to be seen the spot under which are deposited the bodys of Henry 8, one of his Queens and Charles the 1st in the midst of the choir; In the side Isle or Aisles, the funeral monuments of some [of] our former Kings, of which number I only remember Edward 4 and 6. There are also monuments of the ancient nobility and many Canons of this Church, with their images (in Sacerdotal garments) of brass let into flat graves stones on the floor. In the choir are stalls for the King, Prince of Wales, Knights of the Garter, and over their several stalls are the banners of

each present Knight with their arms depicted, and on the backs of each stall are small plates of brass with the arms of each Knight engraved thereon the whole containing the full number of the successive Knights since its first institution; the choir is extremely decorated with nice carving and the windows filled with old paintings of scripture stories. Leaving this, we ascended to the range of the royal apartments consisting, as at Hampton Court, of a large antichamber called an Armory, the walls being covered with pikes, Halberds, Match locks, small arms, carton boxes, flasks &c. &c. disposed in a variety of figures; in the chimney hangs a fine full length of George prince of Denmark on Horseback, the horse seeming alive. Then follow Kings presence Chambers, Chambers of the Prince; state bed rooms, drawing rooms, &c. &c. Queens &c. &c. hung in rich tapestry, on gold and silver grounds, with paintings, original and copies of the best masters, curiosity being abated by the sight of much the same objects a few hours before. Our Conductress appeared totally unequal to the task of answering proper questions being confined to a certain whine, was puzzled and confused by the plainest and most simple ones, and forced to begin anew, she discovered great impatience to hurry through, not allowing 2 minutes to each apartment. In the last suite was to be seen Queen Anne's China Closet, being a room of a moderate size, the sides are fitted with wooden sconces gilt, on which are sett China or procelain Jars of various shapes and dimensions, up to the ceiling. In a small apartment on hither side is to be also seen a small table fastened to the wall whereon lies a little Flagg of White Sattin with the banner of France worked into it, fastened by silver clasps to a slender reed of the appearance of black ebony, and capped with silver which the Duke of Marlboro is obliged to present, and lay on the spot, on the 2d day of August yearly before 12 o'clock at Midday; on forfeiture of his palace of Blenheim and the Manor belonging to it; being the tenure by which he holds, agreeable to act of Parliament. From this place we were attended by another person (many being to be provided for, by the curiosity of others) up to the lands on the highest part of the castle; from whence we could (agreeable to a printed list hung up in the passage,) have a prospect of eleven Counties, from whence descending 100 steps or more at the bottom of which before we began our ascent we dismissed a centinel who thought proper to attend us expecting as noted his customary fee of 6d. we came down onto the terrass affording a most delightful prospect.

From hence is seen almost underfoot Eaton collodge, another noble

monument of gothic architecture, which after dinner we went in to; going through a passage you are admitted into a square in the center. Here stands a brazen statue of King Henry 6th in royal robes; on the left stands the Church, to which we ascended by 20 steps, the windows are filled with paintings; the seats, and wainscot under the windows of 8 or 9 feet high, are of oak, and appear as if waxed. The whole is kept neat and clean. It being vacation the Scholars were absent. After taking a walk round the cloisters and into the garden, which is for use but well kept we were admitted into the library. The books are in excellent order and look as if kept only to be viewed. It consists of 6 rooms each about 25 feet square, 3 in a suite below and the same above, the middle of the lower ceiling open, leaving a width to walk in before the cases wherein the books stand so that one below has a view of the room above. They are marked in large capitals with A. B. C. D. E. F. We were shown by an elderly man called the Librarian Pater, a Cabinet containing copies taken from Antiques dug out of Monte palatino room, the originals he told us, were soon after they were exposed to the air spoiled and lost to the world.

From the Library passing through the Church, in which were 5 clergymen, in their stalls or seats, we hastened back to our Inn and after some needless delays occasioned by the saucy waiter, entered the coach, and returning by the same way we came arrived at Lord North's Arms where agreeing to carry us farther to Welbore Ellis's seat late Mr. Popes we alighted, and discharging him entered the gardens and grotto; the latter being arches under the middle of the House, about man's height, admitting a prospect into the largest shady contemplative walk in the garden from the River. It is almost 5 feet in width, faced with small flint stones, cristal and some other kinds stuck into mortar, with the angles out, left ragged, a few pieces of glass on the top and sides, 2 or 3 niches filled with the busts of Pope and I forget who else. There is also in one cross alley a statue of Terrence. The floor is I think covered with small stones. The walks in that part which belonged to Mr. Pope are all shady and seem as if formed for retirement and thought. In one of the corners is a very delightful addition made by its late owner a Mr. Stanhope. This you enter into through a grotto or covered walk in the grotto stile, faced with rough stones stuck into the mortar with *an angle sticking* intended to represent the rudeness of nature. On the center of the arch is a nich filled with the bust of Mr. Pope underneath the following lines

The humble roof, the gardens scanty line,
Ill spoke the genius of a bard devine;
But fancy now displays a fairer scope,
And Stanhopes plans unfold the Soul of Pope.

Mr. Stanhopes addition is by far the most elegant and delightful part of the Whole, wherein are many foreign trees, such as Cedars of Lebanon, weeping willows, &c., there is also a greenhouse filled with a variety of flowers, plants and fruits, especially pines to the amount of at least 100, were in their different stages of growth. On a little rising stands retired a plain obelisk about 16 or 18 feet in heigth dedicated to his mother

Ah Editha
Matrum optima
Mulierum amantissima
Vale.

Bidding adieu to Mr. P[ope's] H[ouse] and Gardens we set forward on our foot journey through Twickenham, passing by a detached row of houses at some distance from the Town, and called Montpellier, we soon arrived at the river, and being ferried over soon brought us to our lodgings at the Greyhound Tavern where we dined yesterday.

Saturday morning rising earlier than usual and leaving orders for breakfast to be got ready by our return we walked the road to take a view of Richmond Town from the Queens terrass walk. Standing about $\frac{3}{4}$ of the ascent up to the plain of the Park, being railed in and secured by turnpikes at each end. A little beyond on the summit is a Tavern or Inn called the Star and Garter, the resort of the best company. From hence is a most delightful prospect of the River, Twickenham, Richmond Town, Lord Harrington's Seat &c. &c., a little further on is the park. One says "this park is the largest of any within the environs of London, except that of Windsor, and the finest too (in what sense I cant understand) for though it has little more than a wild variety of natural beauties to show, yet there are such as cannot fail to please those who are as much delighted with views in their natural appearance, as in all their elegance of art and design." This author, if pleased with Richmond Park, must delight in nature without improvement, for none I saw so far as I walked, which was far enough to

fatigue me without recompence. At the gate is a New House not yet finished, belonging to the Duke of Lancaster.

Returning back we breakfasted and departed, directing our course through the green to a terrace walk along the sides of the river rendered inexpressibly delightful by the fine seats, houses and improvements within view. On the other side a little higher up, we passed a Village called Islesworth; between this and Brentford, is the noble palace of Sion House belonging to the Duke of Northumberland. On the River we saw a large barge of 200 tons burthen laden with bags of raggs which the Boatman, on my enquiry, said were designed to lay on the land. Continuing our walk along the terrace by the Kings Lodge at Kew we passed over the Bridge at Kew to Brentford, for want of boats to carry us down to Chelsea, that being our design but were disappointed for the boats went off some hours before our arrival and also at Brentford, the Coach setting out for London much about the same time; making therefore a virtue of necessity we frugally trudged it along on foot, but Mr. Smith, having engaged to set out on this day at an early hour, was impatient to arrive at London, if possible at the time agreed; and fortunately stopping a Coach or Diligence bound thence with a seat empty, jumped in, leaving us to follow; at length after a wearisome pilgrimage to me, we arrived at Hammersmith where dining, and the weather looking of a threatening aspect, I persuaded them to take coach, being to set away in the hour for St. Clements in the Strand where we went and were set down in $\frac{3}{4}$ hours being a distance of 5 miles, paying for the fare 2/ each, from whence with weary steps I walked to my Lodgings at 6 o'clock P.M. and thus ends our tour to Windsor at the expense of 26/9d.

Sunday August 27. Went to poor Jewry Meeting House Dr. Ratcliff preached a most excellent sermon from Proverbs "The path of the just is as the shining light which shineth more and more unto the perfect day." Dined at Leadbetters Chop House with Mr. R. Russell and Capt. Martin on beefstakes. In P.M. we attended Dr. Fordyce, whose overacted theatric gestures did not please my 2 Companions. The text and subject forgotten, in the Evening obtained admittance into Magdalen hospital by the consent of the Steward without a ticket, being belated by going to St. Dunstons to hear Dr. Romaine to our disappointment, his evening lectures there not beginning till November. Mr. Donbey, the Lecturer gave us a most excellent sermon very pathetically delivered, from 9 John 2.3. "And his Disciples asked

him, saying, Master who did sin this man, or his parents that he was born blind? Jesus answered, neither hath this man sinned, nor his parents; but that the works of God should be manifest in him."

Monday 28. Staid in all A.M. Rainy. N. Balch called on me to go to Mr. Gilbert Harrison's to dine from whence went to puddledock, and from thence to Herald's office, where at Mr. Hurds²⁶ we drank tea. I gave him minutes about my family in order to obtain some lights, if to be obtained, respecting my ancestors, and the coat of arms assumed by my great grand Father if I were entitled to wear it. Spent the evening at home and wrote a long letter to my friend Mr. Timmins.²⁷

Tuesday 29. Calling on my townsman Samuel Porter,²⁸ lately arrived, took him to St. James' park, Westminster Hall, the Abbey, Henry 7th Chappell and from thence going over the Bridge rain prevented our proceeding further, for coming on very suddenly I ran to shelter myself under one of the seats, the stones being wet, my foot slipt, dashing against the edge of the raised foot way bruised it so that in less than the space of a minute it had swelled 2 or 3 inches in heighth, accompanied with great pain; hobbling along I soon arrived at an apothecary's shop. Bathing it with camphorated spirits of wine soon reduced its hardness and swelling and taking coach arrived at my lodging and am confined with my leg resting on the bed at this present writing.

Wednesday 30. Confined all day, finished my narrative to Windsor, wrote to my Friend Mr. McGilchrist²⁹ and inclosed to Col. Browne at Boston.

26. Sir Isaac Heard, Norroy King-at-Arms. Governor Hutchinson made a similar call on 19 Sept. 1774, shortly after his arrival in London.

27. John Timmins (?-1785), merchant of Boston, addresser of Hutchinson and Gage, he retired to England in 1777 and died in London in 1785. His widow died in Liverpool in 1808. He was a loyal friend to Curwen, who wrote to Timmins 28 Aug.: "The King is unalterably determined to accomplish the great end in view, the subjection of the Colonies to the supremacy of parliament; no means or expedients will be left untried, however harsh, severe, or fatal, to bring it about, tis therefore my advice you look about you in time."

28. Samuel Porter (1743-1798), Harvard 1763, attorney-at-law of Salem, addresser of Hutchinson and Gage, member of the Brompton Row Tory Club. He never returned to America, dying in London in 1798.

29. The Rev. William McGilchrist (1703-1780), Baliol College, Oxford, 1731, settled in Salem in 1747 as minister of St. Peter's Episcopal Church. He flourished until compelled to close the church in Feb. 1777, he and Dr. Samuel Parker of Trinity Church Boston being the only Episcopal clergymen of Massachusetts who did not leave their churches. Curwen's concern and the common Englishman's lack of concern over the situation in America are described in his letter to McGilchrist of this date:

Thursday 31. Still confined, using by Mr. W. Bolyston's aid and assistance a bath of rum and wormwood.³⁰

"Though the events of war are uncertain, the mischiefs and evils attendant a civil war are most sure and dreadful. The Massachusetts is designed to be the theatre wherein a bloody tragedy will be acted next spring, if not before, the King is resolutely bent at all hazards to subdue the colonies to a submission to parliamentary authority. You on your side know wether America is not as absolutely determined to refuse submission, if the latter you are to expect nothing but carnage and devastation and our poor province will be made the first melancholy sacrifice. The incredible quantity of stores, shipping, and shipped off from the Town wharff for America satisfy all men here that no alternative now will be accepted, of which the proclamation a few days since issued, is another proof. The army on the one hand and the pursuits of business and pleasure in which persons of all ranks are deeply engaged, on the other enable Administration to act as they see fitt, nor is there the least shadow of reason to suppose insurrection or disturbances will arise all being quiet, and for aught that appears like to continue so, people here make America the subject of conversation only as harmless dispute and there it ends; generally they talk of it as dispassionately as of *Ottabeise* or the Russian Discourses on the Land of *Kamtschatka*. I take the freedom to warn you and thro you all my friends of the impending storm, earnestly wishing them to secure in time a safe asylum, if to be obtained. My own exile and my friends danger so entirely engross my thots that I have but little relish for the amusements and diversions that abound in this place to a degree surpassing belief to one who has not been here. 24 Ch. Matthew 19 and 21 verses occurs frequently to my mind, when thinking of my poor devoted Country."

30. In his confinement Curwen this day wrote a four-page letter to his friend Colonel Browne at Boston: "Being confined at home by a wounded leg and drisly morning and having my pen and ink on the table just before me I take it up to scribble not determined what or to whom to write, the intended contents suiting one friend as well as another, but you coming first into my mind I address this to my friend Mr. B. if it shall not amuse you it at least may be of the same use as wast paper, or an old Gazette.

"As far as my experience reaches which is in the City, from Dover hither, and from hence to Windsor I have observed the upper ranks, the most Capital stockholders, independent gentry, and I am told the principal Nobility are for enforcing supremacy of the parliament over the colonies, and from the middle rank downward almost all just the contrary with some exceptions in either class and I am told this is the case through the Kingdom. America furnishes matter now and then for disputes in Coffee houses, the disputants talk loud, and sometimes warmly, but without rudeness or ill manners or ill nature and there it ends. 'Tis unfashionable and even disreputable here to look askew on one another for difference of opinion in political matters; the Doctrine of toleration if not better understood, is, thank God, at least better practised than in America. Would it had been allowed in any degree to be practised in that quarter of the world. There would not be such number of unhappy exiles in this Country as are now suffering every species of disadvantage here.

"The incredible quantities of all kinds of *ammunition de Guerre et de bouche* shipping and shipped off from the town wharff for America manifest the intentions of Administration to pursue the plan of subjecting the colonies to the authority of parliament, for that is now the only point in dispute as it is understood here, what further reach the King or his ministers may have is not known, or even suggested but I have sufficient authority to say Administration would have met the Colonies gladly halfway or more if there had appeared any inclination in them to accept of terms in any degree consistent with the honour and dignity of this country; but now, no alternative will be accepted—an absolute independence of the colonies on Great Britain, or an explicit acknowledgement of the British legislature over all the Dominions, must be the issue of this what do you call it war, or ———.

"The proclamation you will read, coming by this conveyance, was published the day before yesterday, at the royal exchange with all the circumstances of indignity

Friday September 1. Confined still; Mr. R. Russell was seized at my lodgings with a violent fit of Fever and Ague, prescribed some hot —— infused in hot water, which he drinking plentifully and keeping well covered up on my bed presently grew warm and dry, soon was followed by a profuse sweat gradually going off left him calm and so continued all that night.

Saturday 2nd. Mr. R. R[ussell] departed to his lodgings after breakfasting. Remained at home all day, was favored with some company, who called in to see me this day as the preceding.

Sunday 3. Departed from my lodgings with Capt. Martin to the Bell Inn Bishopsgate Street where we met W. Boylston and soon after set off in a stage coach with him and 2 passengers, beside 5 or 6 on the top for Chesnut about 13 miles distant on a visit to his brother at school kept by a Mr. Morrison, going through Shoreditch over Stanford Hill, Kings head, Edmonton, Enfieldwash, (being a low ground flowed in winter,) and by Tottenham Cross, a brick building of an Octangular form about 12 feet in diameter and 18 high, Waltham Cross, a very gothic structure of nearly the same dimensions, built of stone finely cut and charged with ornaments of the same kind as the Towers of Churches and Cathedrals. Arrived at the Inn called Haunch of Venison in Chestnut Street. We breakfasted and departed and went to a Church about ½ mile back. It was filled, many Gentry, the responses more generally made than usual in churches, the ante communion

the Lord Maior could throw on it, the City Man, and other officers as usual, not being allowed to attend which I am told he is blamed for —— instead of such languid measures as I was going to say disgrace the Court more active ones will, 'tis thot, succeed and then Woe to poor Massachusetts, which like the scape Goat must bear the sins of many. I have most warmly solicited my friends and acquaintances in my letters to them, if they shall have been so fortunate as to receive and mind the warning to flee from the destruction that speedily will overtake that devoted Country. I could wish you to add your influence to mine. The capital mistake of our people in believing the reports of mobbs, riots and insurrections in this country has not a little contributed to that delusion so universal in America which designing men have raised. There is not the least ground for it: people of all ranks are too much enjoyd by their business and pleasures to suffer an interruption in either for the sake of America, her claims almost every one even of her warmest friends disallows.

"In one word and I have finished my tedious letter, being heartily tired of writing, as I fancy by this time you are of reading—you will not wonder at the luxury, dissipation and profligacy of manners said to reign in this enormous Capital when you consider that the temptations to indulgence and self-forgetfulness from the lowest haunts to the most elegant and expensive rendezvous of the noble and polite world are almost beyond the power of numbers to reckon up. Be pleased to make my compliment to Judge Sewall and every other friend, acquaintance with you and in the most kind and affectionate manner to Mrs. Browne in particular."

service read in the desk, the reader without devotion, the altar beyond the hearing of congregation unless by a Speaking trumpet, being too far distant from the Body of the Church, an 100 feet or nearly, long; the pulpit placed in the middle distance between the altar and Organ 2 wings of 20 feet clapped in each side the building at equal distance from each end. Preacher's name unknown, his text in 1 Kings 13 Ch. 21.22 V, "and he cried unto the man of God that came from Judah &c." Mr. Boylston and his fellow passenger going to visit their young Friends at Master Morrisons left Capt. Martin and me to go and bespeak a dinner at Rose and Crown Inn which being ended we adjourned to Meeting House where we heard Mr. Samuel Wisley, his text was 47 Psalm 4 "He shall choose our inheritance for us, the excellency of Jacob whom he loved." Declining an invitation to Tea at Master Morrisons we walked on foot to Coach and Horses Inn, where remaining for a short space our Coach arrived at the door and took us up and being within 7 in number and on top, before, and behind, 21 with which load returned by the same way we came as far as [*manuscript torn*] without Shoreditch Church from which place we walked on foot proceeding from thence by invitation to Mr. Jones lodgings.

Monday September 4. At home in A.M. writing. Dined at Gilbert Harrisons and from thence to my lodgings for the remainder [of the] day and Evening in writing.

Tuesday September 5. Went with Isaac Smith to Salters Hall lecture, the preacher's name —— his text 3 *Philippians* 12, 13 V. *Not as though I had already attained, either were already perfect &c.* He gave us a very ingenious discourse, exhorting his Christian brethren (the appellation he gave us) in the words of St. Paul: *to forget those things that are behind and to reach forth unto those that are before.* Directing our concern to a different scene we were soon plunged into dirt filth and with hurry, arrived at Smithfield to take a view of Bartholomew, where we saw booths filled with such quantities of light trivial toys as one would have judged should have emptied all the shops in the City to have furnished; and stands of victuals and eating; diversions of many kinds, especially [3 words] stiles. Having taken half a round, we were quickly satisfied and retreated, going to my lodgings. I there remained till called upon by Capt. Martin and Mr. Boylston we proceeded to Mr. Isaac Smith's lodgings taking him and Mr. Sears along with us and made up a party by boat from

Blackfriars bridge to Smith's gardens, Vauxhall, drank Tea and chocolate. Thence set off on foot and passing by Lambeth and over St. George's Fields arrived at the famous or rather infamous Tea and amusement house called the Dog and Duck where our company parted. Capt. M. and Mr. B. took the roads through the borough, and we kept on our course by Magdalen hospital and so over blackfryars bridge, being detained at a book venders on Ludgate hill. Mr. Smith buying a sett of Lond Spectators with English Mottoes for 13/, myself nothing. We separated at St. Paul's Churchyard, each returning home. Before my arrival Mr. Boylston had been to invite me over to his chamber, here I passed an agreeable 2 hours over a bowl of excellent punch and 1/6d worth of oysters.

Wednesday 6. Breakfasted with Capt. Martin and after with him under the guidance of Mr. Boylston visited the carpet manufacture in Chiswell Street, a Mr. Moore, having admitted us to see the work men at labour, the upright looms executed by large bobbins of 8 In. in length, wherein flowers and imagery are worked in as also a very large manufacture of silk and other Items &c.

[Here appears a blank page, and 4 lines of the next page are crossed out.]¹

Saturday 9. Staid at home and wrote all the A.M. Dined at Gov. Hutchinsons with Mr. Isaac Greene, a Mr. Brigham, Isaac Smith, Young Swett a son of Samuel Swetts of Marblehead, who has been 4 years in Scotland, and is now on his tour to Paris. Drank tea, being too late to take a view of Sir W. W. Wynnes fine house in St. James Square, which by agreement we were to have done, in company with S[amuel] Q[uincy] and Deberdt who meeting in the front court of the Palace, agreed to defer it to a more convenient time; at home all the Evening. Wrote to Benjamin Pickman now at Bristol. Capt. M[artin] called for a few minutes.

Sunday September 10. Calling on Mr. Isaac Smith at his lodgings, it being drisley went from thence in a Coach with him, Capt. Martin, S.

1. In his letter book of 8 Sept. Curwen recorded a letter with the addressee's name crossed out, and alongside the obliteration the words "for none but he would be guilty of so disingenuous conduct." The letter refers to the addressee's leaving England and to various political events of the day as reported in the press: "Vid public ledger of this day if I have not mistaken the date being Saturday, the article from N. E. Coffee house signed Barneveldt."

Porter and D. Sears to Essex house in Essex street in the Strand to attend worship at Mr. Lyndsay's reformed, Unitarian Liturgy, the preacher Mr. Williams a dissenting Minister of London; text in 8 *Matthew*, 28,29 V. "*And it came to pass when Jesus had ended these sayings; the People were astonished at this doctrine: For he taught them as one having authority, and not as the Scribes.*"

The preacher was earnest and sympathetic, but somewhat affected; after the service we adjourned to the temple Church of a noble and venerable appearance within; the walls almost covered with monuments and inscriptions and some statues, in kneeling and recumbent postures, of the last was that of the famous *reputed Plowden* in my eye the most natural countenance I had ever seen in stone or marble, date of his decease 1544. Under the cloister of the latter kind were in two enclosures of iron railings each, 4 Knights templars in their military habiliments. The preacher was a Dr. Morell, a small portion only of a serious discourse we heard on the insufficiency and darkness of natural religion compared with the glorious radiant light of the revelation by Jesus Christ to dispel the mists of ignorance and give comfort and support to the virtuous enquiring mind. It, I confess, arrested my attention and warmed my heart and affection.

Loosing part of our company after taking a slight survey, we were hurried out by the rude door keeper who fastened all up as soon as we were well out, which I find is usually the custom here in London both in Churches and Meeting Houses leaving no doors open after service is ended. By solicitation I went with Smith and Sears to dinner with them at Mr. Oldis, their Lodgings.

Separating I went to St. Anne's Blackfryars to hear the noted Mr. Romaine; but was disappointed. It is a large and handsome Church within, no organ, a most crowded audience by reason as a man told me in answer to a question of a quite different kind, that the true gospel was preached here, Mr. Newton incumbent of a Country parish a Fellow Labourer of Mr. Romaine's stamp preached from 1 *Thessalonians* 4,17. *and so we shall be one with the Lord*, but not being able after many removes from alley to alley and from alley to gallery to obtain a convenient seat the doctrine smiting my judgment as ill, and affecting my heart as faintly, as the words did my ear, his low voice conveying the sounds very imperfectly I departed.

My next stage was at St. Paul's Cathedral, where I was both instructed and charmed in the former by the preacher in the latter by the music, the young voices accompanying the high sounding melo-

dious organ almost ravished me, being at too great a distance from the preacher I could not hear the text distinctly but the crowd soon moving off the music being over, afforded me room enough to approach. The three vices the preacher, who was a Mr. Winstanley one of the Prebends, pathetically lamented and earnestly cautioned against, were as he denominated them the capital crimes of the age vizt. *ridiculing the sacred doctrines of our holy religion, lewd conversation and common swearing.*

After service I met on the steps a boy who coming up to me asked me how I did, at first I did not recollect him but looking steadfastly, at length discovered him to be a little Jersey boy named Charles Nichols who had lived a few months with me and after disposed of [3 words] to Mr. Thomas Russell in whose service he now is, belonging to Capt. Smith, in a vessell of the said T.R.'s now in the river. We both seemed glad to have met each other treating him with a pennyworth of fruit walked down Cheapside together and parted at the Mansion House, wishing him a good Voyage, being soon to depart.

The rain beginning to fall plentifully I returned home as fast as my legs would carry me. Capt. M. coming into my chamber detained me, with whom I afterwards went to Salters Hall Sunday Even Lecture to hear Dr. Turneau but too late the prayer after Sermon being almost ended. Mr. Deberdt and Mr. Isaac Smith discovering us came up and went along with us to my Lodgings where we passed the remainder of that evening.

Monday Sept. 11. Went in company with M[artin], Mr. I. S[mith] and D. S[ears] to view Sir W. W. Wynnes house which is elegantly finished, four rooms being hung in damask which with chairs, frames of glasses, and pictures, were covered in white paper. In one room is a full length of Mr. [David] Garrick in the character of Richard the 3d in that critical, dangerous moment when being unhorsed, and surrounded by his enemies, sensible of his extreme hazard he cries out *a horse, a horse, my Kingdom for a horse*, the hurry and distress of his mind seems justly and strongly expressed in his face, and no less naturally in the attitude of his body. This piece cost 150 Guineas. I have not taste enough not to value it equally with a landscape of Poussin's which cost £600. In same chamber is a table of Scaliati of a most beautiful polish, and ornamented with inexpressible fine imagery and foliage. In another is a masterly painting of St. Cecilia, and 2 heads; to reckon up the elegant figures in stucco on the side walls and

ceilings, fine drawings and paintings in oil and water colours and crayons; bass reliefs in marble over the chimneys, magnificent glasses &c. &c. far exceeding my knowledge and abilities, by persuasion, but without curiosity, I turned in to see wild bears and strange birds, among the former, were two live porcupines the only ones I had ever seen, they are harmless and the keeper said shooting out their quills was foolishness.

From thence in our walk we went a little aside to take a superficial view of the foundlings Hospital; called for a moment into Mr. Jos. Greenes and for a while detained under Grays Inn Piazza to avoid the rain, which proved more than a Scotch mist. Our course lay through Holborn, Newgate Street, Cheapside, to New England Coffee House and to an Ordinary in Sweetings Alley where we dined. Leaving Mr. S[ears], and Capt. M[artin] I departed to meet Mr. Deberdt at Dollys beef stake house by agreement to go to Astleys riding entertainment; taking young Ingersoll and a Mr. Cox of Philadelphia along with us; we saw some extraordinary performances in horsemanship, such as riding on 2 and 3 horses standing erect or in a recumbent position; another on the head, feet uppermost, a boy standing on the shoulders of 2 men riding on 3 horses, another jumping, and mounting with the horse on full trot taking up handkerchiefs; springing from one side of the horse to the other, and many other feats of this kind; forgotten a little pony about 3 feet high practising on the cards: besides some slight of hand tricks on them. The little brute was made to express his consent and to answer in the affirmative, or negative by nodding his head in the former, or shaking, in the latter case. Two automata were made to play 7 tunes. There were also several uncommon feats of activity in jumping tumbling &c. This being finished, we departed, and dropping my company in the Strand I marched homewards alone.

Tuesday Sept. 12th. Walk'd to Chelsea with Capt. M., Mr. Silsbee and Mr. Oxnard² in order to obtain admittance to the porcelain manufacture, if practicable, but to our mortification, by the rudeness and insolence of the undertakers head servant we were denied, though informed in the town of the contrary when leave is asked to view it, but servants here have no other way of manifesting their importance but by incivilities to those on whom they are not dependant, and as they

2. Edward Oxnard (1746–1803), Harvard 1767, merchant of Falmouth, Maine, retreated to England in 1775, proscribed and banished from the province in 1778, a member of the Loyalist Club. Returned to Portland after the war and died there.

never fail to do unless bribed; but this fellow afforded us no opportunity, by his abrupt answer which however did not offend me though it did my company. In our way thither we had a sight of the young prince of Hesse, dressed in blew, attended by a train of 4 servants, and a Gentleman in Scarlet, full trimmed with a very broad gold lace who seemed by his deportment to be above the rank of a dependant walking by the side of the prince. Who he was I could not learn. The prince's size and shape was very like my friend Mr. Pyncheon of Salem. Dined and returned home by the Hospital, back of the Queen's garden, and so through the Green and St. James Park; Mr. [Pater?] and Capt. M. spent the Evening with me.

Wednesday 13. Breakfasted at Capt. M., being rainy I remained at home all day dined on oysters. Spent the evening with Capt. Martin.

Thursday 14. A.M. at home. R. R[ussell] and Mr. Smith came to see me. At 12 o'clock dressed and went out to show Mr. R. the spot in Smithfield John Rogers was burnt on. We separated, he entering the Exchange, and I went to New England Coffee House. Dined alone at Chop House in Bartholomews Lane. P.M. at home writing letters. Evening attended Mr. Smith to a lecture in Allhallows Lombard Street, preached by a Mr. Harrison Minister of St. Michaels. The Congregation for a London lecture was respectful and large, the text *29 Chapter Job 23 particularly 4th Verse "Oh that I was as I was in the days of my youth, when the secret of God was upon my tabernacle,"* a serious and most pathetic address to all good Christians in a distressed, troubled state of mind. Spent the remainder of the Even at the Club Queens Arms Tavern.

Friday 15. Breakfasted at home, it being rainy, cloudy and unpleasant. I walked out with Mr. R. and Capt M. to Chiswell street to look on some book I had, at his desire, engaged for him and from thence to the Strand where I bought a sett of letters and figures &c. to mark linnen, for which I gave 3/6, and back home Mr. Smith, Capt. M. and Mr. R. R. and Boylston, with me.

Saturday 16. Breakfast with Mr. Boylston. Finished transcribing my Journal up to this day which took me till 3 o'clock P.M. Dined at Batholomews Lane Ordinary alone. Exchanged with Mr. Otridge behind St. Clements in the Strand, my Greek and English New Testa-

ment for 2 Octavo Volumes of Osterwalds Bible and bought Rays Proverbs,³ for R. R. who spent the Evening with me.

Sunday 17. Breakfasted with Capt. M., went to St. Annes, Black-fryars with hopes to hear Mr. Romaine, but was disappointed he being in the Country. Detained till it was too late to go elsewhere I staid the remainder of the service, neither hearing, pleased or edified. The preacher was Mr. Newton the last Sundays preacher, his text 34 Ps. 8. A very crowded house. Dined at home. P.M. at the reformed liturgy assembly which meets at Essex house, heard Mr. Lindsay the reformist, who had given up a living of £300 a year in Yorkshire, on the rejection of the petition to parliament for a revisal and amendment of the common prayer; his text from 7 *Mathew* 21,22. "*Not everyone that saith unto me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven; but he that doeth the will of my Father which is in heaven. Many will say unto me in that day, Lord, Lord, have we not prophesied in they name?, and in thy name have cast out Devils? and in thy name done many wonderful works?*" The preacher serious, his style good, his discourse useful, his audience much of the size of a common London assembly. Returning called in at Mr. Smiths Lodgings but finding none at home just called in at my own, but from [thence] departed to Salters hall Evening Lecture, Mr. Prior preached to a thin auditory; his text 126 *Psalm* 5 "*They that sow in tears shall reap in joy.*" A serious good preacher; spent the rest of the Even partly at Capt. Martins whom I had not seen since the Morn, and partly at Mr. Boylstons who entertained us with reading a narrative of his travels through the Country of Palestine; which was very agreeable.

Monday 18. Rainy, at home till 3 o'clock, went with Capt. M. to Bartholomew Lane Ordinary where we met Mr. Boylston alone. I dined on [1 word] after passing a few Jokes with our fat Hostess. P.M. excessively rainy by fitts, leaving them to go to New England Coffee House to enquire for letters and news of the ship that sailed from 25 August. I arrived home, to wait for M.; to accompany me to house 26 Strand in order to exchange the smaller for a larger frame of brass to print my name, which obtained I returned thoroughly soaked. Mr. Boylston soon after coming into my chamber took me away to his lodgings where we three Capt. M. Mr. B. and myself spent the re-

3. John Ray, *A Collection of English Proverbs, with Short Annotations*, 1st ed. (Cambridge, 1670), 4th ed. (1768).

mainder of Evening over an excellent bowl of punch and a dish of oysters; finely refreshed we separated at 11 o'clock after drinking the Maior of Norwich.⁴

Tuesday 19. Breakfasted at Capt. M., rain as usual, walked out with Capt. M. and Mr. B[oylston] to Mr. Payne bookseller at upper Moorsgate to search for Pascall's letters concerning Jesuits. Mr. J[oseph] G[reen] had desired me to look out for him, having first called on him by the way. Had a painful conversation respecting America. Dined at home. Capt. Nathaniel Douse⁵ and his son, Capt. M. and Mr. Boylston spent the Evening with me.

Wednesday 20. Breakfasted at Mr. B[oylston's] at 11 o'clock walked out with B. Pickman who called on me, being but the day before returned from Bristol after an absence from London of 15 or 20 days leaving it with a design to return home in a Man of Warr from Portsmouth but was dissuaded from it by Capt. Everitt and in our walks we called upon Mr. Bliss⁶ and Isaac Smith. Dined with Capt. M. and Mr. B[oylston] at Bartholomew Lane Ordinary. Accompanied by Capt. M. I went to St. John's gate, the frontispiece of the Gentlemans Magazine which we thought a just view. On enquiry we found one part used as a store, the other is employed as the printing press or office of the late Mr. Cave and is still used in the same way and carried on by a Mr. Bond under the Widow. We entered and saw the people at work in printing off last months Gentlemans Magazine

4. To his wife Curwen wrote this day: "I wish I could make it to be believed, for it is a very important and alarming truth, no relief can be expected from Great Britain, the King and his servants are unflexible, nor do the people incline to suffer themselves to be diverted from their business and pleasures to risque their head and estates to support claims, all here almost to a man (whatever is suggested to the contrary) consider as an indignity and wrong to this County, an independent on the British legislature, which are made to believe is now the only point in dispute."

On this date Curwen also wrote to John Timmins: "The occasion of this 2d trouble I am now to request you to take arises from a view of one of the General passports or sufferances which limits the person to £5 sterling leaving his plate &c. You will oblige me very much, if you leave the town to open my trunk, and take out a bond, which with the interest amounts to more than £200 sterling and secure it among your own papers. As you are a moderate man and known to be well affected to order and good government, I presume you may be indulged in some favours, and I doubt not your friendship in securing my effects in your hands as far as is practicable." Curwen's trust was well placed in Timmins as the journal reveals over the years.

5. Captain Nathaniel Dowse, master of the brigantine *Peter*, owned by John Gooch in 1744.

6. Jonathan Bliss (1742-1822), Harvard 1763, lawyer in western Massachusetts. He left for England at the start of the Revolution and was proscribed in 1778. He served as attorney general of New Brunswick in 1785 and as chief justice from 1809-1822.

which has been supported uninterruptedly for more than 40 years, the monthly numbers struck off we were told amount to more than 6000. From thence we departed for the Charter House, on Char-
 trence, a foundation established by Thomas Sutton Esq. amounting to £12000 to receive no additions from any other hands and to be applied for the education of 40 boys in classic Learning and 80 old widowers and Bachelors, who are to have a black cloak yearly never to be seen at meals without it nor with it on without the walls, besides £10 in Cash, house rent, lodging, food and firing. The land within the inclosure of a brick wall of 18 or 20 feet in height, appears to me to contain 30 or 40 acres laid out into several gardens, in the entrance of the larger is the Coat of Arms of the Donor formed by small pebbles of the bigness of the top of ones thumb, the other part is built round squares of different dimensions and in piazzas and cloisters, the manner of living is collegiate. Each has his separate room, have praying in the Chappell daily at 9 o'clock A.M., 3 o'clock P.M. and dine and sup in common, the master's and governours resident of the House on plate only, and always at 1 o'clock precisely. Spent the evening at Capt. M. at backgammon and as usual had most success.

Thursday 21. Brekfasted at Mr. Bns. with Capt. M. and Mr. Routh, Dined at Stock Exchange Coffee House with Judge Sewall,⁷ Mr. Francis Waldo,⁸ Harrison Gray,⁹ S. Sewall,¹⁰ Mr. Smith, Sears, Routh, Boylston, S[amuel] Q[uincy], S.C.; passed the Evening at the disputation Club, Queens Arms Bowstreet. The question debated was, "*is it not injustice in administration to pursue measures at the cost of the price of blood without any benefit to the nation.*" After much talk almost as much declamation with here and there a speech of reasoning, it was voted in the affirmative though not without a few dissentients,

7. Jonathan Sewall (1726–1796), Harvard 1748, nephew of Chief Justice Samuel Sewall, attorney general of Massachusetts in 1767, drew the indictment of the soldiers involved in the Boston Massacre, addresser of Hutchinson and Gage, sailed for England in Aug. 1775, member of the Loyalist Club, judge of admiralty for Nova Scotia where he died at St. John.

8. Francis Waldo (1728–1784), Harvard 1747, collector of the customs at Falmouth, Maine, sailed to England before the war began, member of the Loyalist Club. He died at Tunbridge unmarried.

9. Harrison Gray (1711–1794), receiver-general of Massachusetts in 1753 and a mandamus councillor, treasurer of the province, 1753–1774, addresser of Hutchinson, retreated to London where he died. He was a grandfather of Harrison Gray Otis and treasurer of the Brompton Row Tory Club.

10. Samuel Sewall (1745–1811), Harvard 1761, grandson of Chief Justice Samuel Sewall, fled to England in July 1775, banished in 1778, member of the Loyalist Club, died at London unmarried.

the most perfect model of an unblushing, unabash'd, impudent, shameless face stood up and first spoke saying Mr. President I will give my opinion which if I mistake not the question is, administration is going to destroy the Americans to the manifest injury of the Kingdom. After an anxious gallimanfry filled with improprieties of expression rudeness swearing and slanders in the course of which he was hissed and laughed at though at setting down as usual in these societies applauded. A modest young man rising up said: Mr. President (all addresses being to him,) the pleasing elegance and most astonishing sublimity but of no sound reasoning the person has discovered himself to be possessed of who has favoured this Society with his opinion of the present question, (which produced a loud and universal laugh,) and went on for some considerable length in an elegant pretty manner, though in my view on wrong grounds and was answered by one Mr. Wynnes who seemed only of all the speakers to be acquainted with the facts, and reason'd justly: The others to manifest or exercise their talents; perhaps they spoke their real sentiments.

Friday 22. Breakfasted at Capt. Martin's. Morn very pleasant. Called on Mr. Vassall,¹¹ dined at Mr. Sayres in company with Mr. Edward¹² and Francis Dana¹³ and Capt. Nathaniel Dowse who had read the letters of Gov. H., lately published.¹⁴ Among other things was told this that of the enumerated goods on which a duty is laid by parliament not more than 1/9 is paid to the public revenue; the rest is smuggled. Returned home by Coach at 10 o'clock.

Saturday 23. Spent the day at Deptford to which Capt. M. and I went on foot accompanied by Capt. Norman who was kind enough to conduct us through the King's Yard, stores, warehouses &c., in one was a miniature in lard of the Royal George an 110 gun ship built in the proportion of ¼ in. to a foot by the King's command for the inspection, information and amusement of the Prince of Wales; it is about ⅔ds finished and has been began almost 3 years since, one side is left open, that the internal construction may be seen; dined and

11. William Vassall (1715-1800), Harvard 1733, a mandamus councillor, fled to England in 1775 by way of Nantucket, proscribed in 1778, settled and died in Battersea. He was a close friend of Benedict Arnold.

12. Edmund Dana (1739-1823), brother of Judge Francis Dana.

13. Francis Dana (1742-1811), Harvard 1762, chief justice of Massachusetts, 1791-1806, in England in 1775, a delegate to Congress in 1777, accompanied John Adams to Paris as secretary to the legation, first minister to Russia, 1780.

14. *The Letters of Governor Hutchinson and Lieut. Governor Oliver, etc.* . . . (London, 1774), or possibly some other printing of the same.

came up the river in a pair of oars boat, went to New England Coffee House read the news and returned to Lodgings.

Sunday 24. Accompanied B.P. and Capt. M. to Dr. Prince's Meeting House in Hackney Fields on foot. The Doctor gave us an excellent discourse on *13 Verse of 19 Psalm* "*keep back thy servant also from presumptions, let them not have dominion over me*": dined at the Mermaid, having stepp'd into the church by the way and heard part of a charity Sermon delivered in a lifeless heavy manner, to a very full congregation. Returned as far on our way homewards as St. Leonard Shoreditch into which we entered and remained during divine service which had just begun, the Preacher Mr. ——— his text *23 Psalm 4 v.* "*Yea, though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I will fear no evil: for thou art with me, thy rod and thy staff they comfort me.*" Being placed behind a very large pillar, I attempted by many contorsions of my body to hear the preacher, but to no purpose, not one whole sentence arriving at my ears. I therefore composed myself into a short nap which my nature readily accepted being not a little fatigued. At 5 o'clock arrived at Capt. Martin's Lodgings abiding there about the hour and being refreshed with a tumbler of wine and water we set forward, they for the Magdalen Hospital, and I to Dr. Furneaux's Lecture at Salter's Hall where I was pleasingly entertained by a most serious pathetic and judicious discourse on *12 V: of 1 Ch. Colossians* "*giving thanks unto the Father, who hath made us meet to be partakers of the inheritance of the saints of light,*" to which the Preacher observed these things, first that the happiness of Heaven was in a variety of ways justly called an Inheritance, 2ndly, explained the meaning of light, which implied purity and perfection, and 3rdly that it was a most fit and just subject of praise and thanksgiving. I spent the Evening at Capt. M. chambers with him and B.P.

Monday 25. Went with B.P. and H.H. to Judge Sewalls lodging in Cockspur Street. Not at home; on return called at S. Porter, he also absent. Dined at Bartholomew Lane Ordinary spent p.m. partly at home alone and partly with Capt. M. at his lodgings. Eve at home alone.

Tuesday 26. Breakfasted at Capt. M. with a Mr. Phipps a Stocking weaver in Leicester. At Pinnars Hall lectures heard a very serious discourse by Mr. Brower Minister of Stepney, the congregation very full, text from *5 Luke 12, 13 V* "*and it came to pass, when he was in a*

certain city, behold, a man full of leprosy; who seeing Jesus, fell on his face and besought him, saying, Lord if thou wilt thou canst make me clean; and he put forth his hand and touched him, saying, I will; be thou clean, and immediately the leprosy departed from him."

Dined at Bartholomew Lane Ordinary going up Fleet Street in P.M. had my pocket picked of an handkerchief which was effected with such a slight that though I perceived it going and turning about as suddenly as I could possibly, it proved not quick enough to discover the thief. It is the first loss of the kind I have met with, the preceding ones from fraud and sharpening, against which Law has made no provision. Capt. M. spent the Evening at home with me, play'd at backgammon lost 3 games won one.

Wednesday 27. Dined at Old Jewry Ordinary. At home P.M. at Backgammon with R. R[outh]; spent Evening at home.

Thursday 28. Capt. M. breakfasted with me, dined at Old Jewry Ordinary with B.P., R. Rth, Mr. Bliss, Nat Dowse and son where a curious but inelegant dispute arose. Evening at American Club Queens Arms.

Friday 29. Walk'd out with B.P. and R. Rth. Returned home, with the head ach. Met in my Walk Van Coultis, who took a memorandum of my lodgings and gave me his, he appeared very glad to see me, and asked after our Salem Families. This day returning home I stopped among the People before Guildhall, heard from a livery man that Sir James [Esdaile?] had one vote, Mr. Oliver about 20, Mr. Wilkes and Sawbridge many 100's the 2 last to be returned to the Court of Aldermen for L. Maior the ensuing year of which the last undoubtedly will be the Maior. Mr. Russell came to see me this P.M. Passed the Evening at Capt. M. Chambers with Capts. D. and R.; the Lord Maior's state coach is excessive charming and overloaded with ornaments, the two new Sheriffs Hayley and Newnham light airy and elegant. None admitted to the Hall but livery and aldermen a semi-circular fence being erected with doors, or gates on which are painted in black letters the Companies that are to pass through, and none but the voters are suffered to enter.

Saturday 30. Walked with B.P. over Blackfryars bridge and through bankside to view the L. Maior's Barge and Companys Barges to which the new Sheriffs belong which set off from 3 Crane Stairs to

go to Westminster with the new chosen Sheriffs Hayley and Newnham to be sworn into their office by the Cursitor baron of the Exchequer, they with the Lord Maior and Aldermen &c. were received with standards displayed and Music playing the officers and watermen in fine liveries. Departed about $\frac{1}{2}$ past 1 o'clock dined at Gov. H. by invitation with J. G[reen], E. Oxnard, D. S[ears], J. B[erry], R. R[ussell], S[amuel] P[orter], Capt. M. and B.P. passed the evening with me at my lodging.

Sunday October 1. Accompanied by Capt. M. and B.P. after taking a breakfast with the latter I went to Hackney in the Fields, whence B.P. and myself received the communion at Dr. Price's. Text in *11 Mathew 28, 29V.* "*Come unto me all ye that labour, and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest, take my yoke upon you, and learn of me; for I am meek and lowly in heart; and ye shall find rest unto your souls, for my yoke is easy and my burden is light.*" Dined at Mermaid with Capt. M. and B.P. departing for Honiston, attended P.M. service at Mr. Palmer's Meeting House. He preached from *3 Revel. 17* "*and knowest not that thou art wretched, and miserable, and poor, and blind, and naked,*" on the orthodox plan, meeting Capt. M. and a stranger at the Door after service, we proceeded Londonward, dropping our company we strod along for Magdalen Hospital where arriving just as the organ began playing were admitted on my informing the Door keeper that Mr. W. the Secretarys absence prevented my application for a ticket, heard Mr. Dorby from *21 John 25V.* "*and there are also many other things which Jesus did, the which if they should be written every one, I suppose that even the world itself could not contain the books that should be written. Amen.*" Spent the Evening with Capt. Martin at his chamber.

Monday 2 October. Dined at Mr. Greenwoods in Margaret Street, Oxford road at right angles with great Tickfield at the corner of which he lives. Was very kindly and friendly received by him. The company was Capt. N. Dowse and son, Capt. D. Sears, and 2 young Ladies a Houseful of excellent pictures, a small one of 11. by 9. being a fidler playing, with notes before him &c. cost 100 pistoles, passed the Eve at my lodging with Capt. M., D.S. and young D.

Tuesday 3. At Salter's Hall lecture, preached by Dr. Price from *10 Luke 37* *Then said Jesus unto him, go, and do Thou likewise,* a most excellent discourse on the whole parable of the good Samaritan

recommending universal charity in heart, and universal beneficence in practice, all reasonable; would to God it was heard sounded through all America and seriously attended to and practiced. In my walk with B.P. after, called in at B.M. shop to get my Spectacles mended and gave Miss Nebit last directions about my new shirts she is to make for me; visited Mr. H.G. and W. but they were from home. Saw a Dog walk up a ladder of 50 or 60 Steps in order to go to his Master who on the top received him in the stage on which he was at work, drank tea at Mr. Boylston; No. 46 Holborn and spent the Evening there. Capt. M. stopped in at my lodging at 10 o'clock, beat him 3 gammons.

Wednesday 4. Dined at Dollys Beef Stake House, passed P.M. and Evening at home.

Thursday October 5. Dined at Queens Arms Newgate Street with Billy Cabot,¹ Capt. C. Gerrish² and Samuel Porter. P.M. partly at home and partly at Mr. Boylstons. Evening at Capt. Martin's, and returning him a letter to Thomas Barnard³ in answer to a very long and agreeable one received the day before from him dated Salem August 10 and my last verbal directions to my wife and friends being to depart at 11 o'clock: Company Col. T. Mason,⁴ Capt. N. Dowse his son and Capt. Routh, conversation highly patriotick.

Friday 6. Col. Mason breakfasted with me, he's a very sociable man. I am furnished by him with many curious anecdotes of the times which if just, must afford to a considerate mind very melancholy views but my treacherous memory will soon let all through, I suspect, soon perhaps, respecting my comfort, for the best. My gloomy foreboding mind is too apt to fancy imaginary evils. Dined at Gunbourn near Billingsgate with Col. J. T. Mason, dropt for a few minutes, and soon departed for my lodgings it being a dull drisly day. Spent the evening at home Col. Mason and N. Dowse and Mr. Isaac Smith, the

1. William Cabot of Salem (1752-1828), son of Francis Cabot and an addresser of Gage in 1774.

2. Cabot Gerrish (1739-1777), of Salem, son of Captain Benjamin Gerrish. He died at Bilboa, his vessel returning without him arrived in Salem 30 Aug. 1777.

3. Curwen wrote a short letter to Barnard expressing interest in his "wife's return." Portions are crossed out but the letter concludes: "England is a fine country, but everything wears the face of foreign, and to one of my age, change of habits is hard and unnatural."

4. John Tufton Mason, a hereditary proprietor of New Hampshire whose ancient claim was sold in the 1740's in connection with the settlement of the boundary between New Hampshire and Massachusetts.

latter a small part only, he being kind enough to come down to acquaint me with the contents of his letters lately received from his Father and Mr. T. Barnard at Salem, but was prevented by my company.

Saturday 7 October. Col. Mason breakfasted with me and invited me to come down to his Farm at Bugdan in Huntington County 57 miles Distant, which I partly engaged to do. Dined at home, and remained so all day and the evening.

Sunday 8. Breakfasted at Mr. Boylston and after went to the Asylum, heard Dr. Maxwell from *1 Cor. 2 ch. 5*. "*That your faith should not stand in the wisdom of Man but in the power of God,*" a most excellent orthodox discourse wrote with great judgement elegance and precision a very full and well dressed assembly, the house a receptacle for female orphans of which there were at worship not less than 150 dressed in uniform dark grisset gowns, round eared Caps with white ribbons and round white handkerchiefs on their bosoms. The House is elegantly finished with stucco on the ceiling; the altar at the West End. The children in a semicircular gallery; opposite and behind, on the same floor the organ. In compartments between the side windows in large golden letters are the following texts of Scripture. 1. for of such is the Kingdom of Heaven. 2. For it is not the will of that Father which is in Heaven that one of the least of these should perish. 3. For in thee the Fatherless findeth mercy. 4. [*2 lines of manuscript blank*] in the four correspondent intervals on the other side are 4 passages as apposite but which my frail memory doth not retain. The last singing was perform'd by the orphans alone in concert with the organ and very agreeably. After service was a contribution collected as usual at such places by 2 of the Governours at the 2 doors. Took the Park in our way home, where we met sundry of our Country folks.

Dined with Mr. Boylston, and from thence walked afoot to the Lock Hospital in Grosvener place so called, beyond the Queen's garden; being a distance of more than 3 miles; After putting in 6d. to the poor box we were admitted without a ticket to the gallery, which with the pit below was well filled. After hunting over the whole House we at length found a back rest in the gallery, opposite the preacher, where we fixed, but was soon disturbed by an Elderly man, who insisted on taking a place among us; collared my friends, which occasioned an uproar, and had liked to have produced a tumult, but

my friends good nature and disposition, and the man's daughter interposing, prevented further disturbance. The preacher is a Mr. De Cortlegon, an earnest extempore Speaker in the methodist way; his effusions on *2n Galat. 20* "*I am crucified with Christ, nevertheless I live; yet not I, but Christ liveth in me.*" 'Tis observed that Homer's illiad is in a nutshell, but of this it may be truly said that the whole might be reduced to common sense and within a much narrower Compass than in the Speaker's language. The singing was ravishing, being alternately performed by the whole Congregation and Female voices alternately accompanied by the organ. Returned back in the rain, no coach through all Piccadilly being to be hired.

Spent the remainder of the Evening at Mr. Boylston in company with one Mr. Briston lately returned back from Boston: and at 11 arrived at my lodgings.

Monday 9. At home all A.M. Delivered my linnen to sempstress with a pattern shirt. R. Russell and W. Cabot called on me. Dined at Bartholomew Lane Ordinary with W. Cabot, walked up to Holborn and called on Mr. Boylston and from thence to Fleetstreet to my Sempstress to give further directions; calling at Mr. Smith's and Company lodgings, none at home. Retreated to my own chamber and there remained till invited by Capt. Dowse Jr. at whose chamber I spent the remainder of the evening, accompanied by Col. Mason, Capt. C. Gerrish who were with me.

Tuesday 10. Walked up to Brompton row with S. Quincy to visit Judge Sewall whom I found ill, and on the bed having been confined almost ever since his arrival from Cockspur Street. Dined at St. Clements Ordinary, drank tea at Mr. Jos. Greene, called on Mr. B[oyslston] in our way home, passed the evening with Col. M[ason] and Capt. C. G[errish] at Capt. N. Dowse's.

Wednesday 11. At home all the A.M. dined at Mr. Champions with Mr. Smith, who by desire carried me in with him, very kindly received, saw 5 or 6 Nantucketers and Mr. and Mrs. Jos. Green, with whom I walked as far as Holborn, returned and staid at home all the Evening except a few minutes; Capt. D[owse] staid and invited me to his chamber which I declined on account of a Cold and sleepiness.⁵

5. A short letter to Richard Codman at Falmouth sending word to Mrs. Curwen about his plans and mentioning that he had received no replies from her to his letters and feared they had miscarried.

Thursday 12. Walked with B.P. to Islington to Mrs. Wilson opposite Hornsey Row in order to view the House family and situation and talk with her about board, she having been spoke to by Mr. Deberdt: agreed to begin next week at £ 35 per annum, the terms on her side a lodging chamber, breakfast, except tea, dinner and supper, use of her lower parlour and light, the large one when wanted for company, coals and Candles in my own chamber, and large Parlour, to find my own wine and other liquors, B.P. is desirous to join with me. Visited Mr. B. and dined at Inn Salem Tavern, the corner of Red Lyon street adjoining Clerkenwell green. Proceeded homewards, B.P. drank tea with me, spent an unpleasant Evening at Club at Queen's Arms, the company being engaged in Cards and myself indisposed by an head ach and cold.

Friday 13. At home all the A.M., dined in Bartholomew Lane walked with W. C[abot] to, and viewed the great and small armory and Jewell office in the Towers. Bespoke a new Sourtout at a Mr. Robert Sargents whole-sale Tailor in the Morning and carried my young companion to a Grocer's at Cripplegate for Tea and Sugar returned home, and there passed the Evening alone.

Saturday 14. At home till 2 o'clock. Dined at Gov. H. with 7 or 8 of my Countrymen.⁶ At home all evening alone.

Sunday 15. Went with W.C. to Henry 7ths Chappell, heard a Mr. ——— whose name I forget, (one of the Minor Cannons) preach, after service called in at Dr. Kipps Meeting House Princes Street near St. Jame's Street. The Doctor gave us an excellent discourse from *1 Ep. St. Peter 2 ch. 21 V.* "*Leaving us an example, that we should follow his steps,*" the assembly respectful and well dressed. Dined at Thread Needle Street ordinary, accompanied by W. Cabot: went to Founders house Meeting House in Lothbury heard Mr. Barker from *2 Revel. 7* "*He that bath an ear, let him hear what the spirit saith unto the churches; to him that overcometh, will I give to eat of the tree of life, which is in the midst of the paradise of God.*" Drank tea with W.C., and after, went to hear Dr. Prior at Salter's Hall Evening lecture. The worthy old Man gave us a serious and most excellent discourse from ——— "*Rejoice in the Lord, and again I say rejoice.*" Passed the Evening at home Capt. D[owse] stepping in for ½ hour.

6. Those present as listed in Hutchinson's *Diary* were J. Green, Pickman, Curwen, Bliss, Smith, Oliver, and Paine. 14 Oct. 1775, in Hutchinson, ed., *Diary*, 1:545.

Monday 16. Walked out with W.C. and dined in Bartholomew Lane, from whence we strolled up the Strand to procure a sett of letters for him at No. 26 and returned in the rain. I spent the evening in his chamber with Capt. C. Gerrish, having given my Landlord notice of my design to remove in a few days to a Mrs. Wilsons at No. 1 opposite Hornsey Row. Mr. Pickman and I agreeing to quit this present mode of living for the more comfortable uniform way of boarding where we lodge, our Contract is as before.

Tuesday 17. At home all the A.M. dined at Bartholomew Lane Ordinary, drank Tea at Mr. B[oylston's] with B.P. and spent the Evening there.

Wednesday 18. Walked out early, dined at Bartholomew Lane Ordinary drank tea with B.P. at Mr. B[oylston's] and afterwards rode to Drury Lane play House in order to see Shakespeares as you like it, the King and Queen present but the pit and Gallery being filled we Mr. B. and wife and B.P. adjoined to Covent Garden, which we also found filled but being loth to depart we consented to stay in Gallery which was inconvenient enough being too much crowded to admit my standing or sitting, nor had I a sight of more than $\frac{1}{2}$ the Stage being crowded into a corner, the entertainment was the opera of Artaxerxes, highly delightful I presume to the musical ones of the company who encored the players so often as to make 'em repeat more than $\frac{2}{3}$ of the thing twice over; the whole consisted of singing and fidling; which with very uneasy postures made me rejoice when it was finished. From thence we were coached to Mr. Boylston's lodgings Holborn accompanied by a very favorable agreeable mannered young Lady where over 2 bowls of excellent punch and some bread and cheese we spent 3 hours pleasantly and at 12 arrived at home.

Thursday 19. B.P. breakfasted with me; C. Gerrish came to see me and with him walked out to the Minories in a large sweep through broad street, Bishopsgate street, and returning he left me and departed for his vessell sharing my promises to go down and dine on board with B.P. tomorrow. Dined at Kings Arms Coffee House with B.P. and afterwards calling on Mr. B[oylston], we all rode to Drury Lane playhouse where we were greatly entertained with the Tragedy of Othello. The entertainment that followed was a most insipid [1 or 2

words] farce called "the elopement" being wholly in dumb shew and unworthy of the grand scenery exhibited. Thence walked home with Mr. B., my other companion forsaking me before the Farce came on, arrived at my lodgings at 11 o'clock.

Friday 20. Walked out early with B.P. dined with ditto at Kings Arms Tavern and Coffee House. Passed P.M. at home alone and the evening at Mr. B[oyston's] with ditto and returned home about 11 o'clock.

Saturday 21. Went out with B.P. to the Jews Synagogue in Dukes place but the impatience of my companion hurried me from out. Visited Mr. Isaac Smith at his lodgings, and dined at the Stock exchange Coffee House and from thence returned home. B.P. drank tea with me, passed Evening alone and the night in the greatest distress with the nervous head ach, without one hours sleep.

Sunday 22. All day at home alone, suffering the most grievous pain in my head, without any abatement or rest all night, at 5 o'clock M. it began to my infinite joy to relax its intensiveness.

Monday 23. At home, pain in my head continues, though in less degree, its abatement is insensibly slow. B.P. came to visit me, he goes to our new Lodging this P.M. Dined at home dressed and went out to see Mr. Deberdt at 6 o'clock but returned and passed the evening at home Capt. Douse being part of it with me.

Tuesday 24. After a few errands and some disappointments I moved away from my late incommodious lodgings and taking coach arrived at Mrs. Wilson's opposite Hornsey Row Islington at 3 o'clock with bag and baggage and there found my fellow Lodger B.P. and the 3 Ladies before a good Coal fire in the great parlour with whom after a dinner and tea I passed an agreeable enough Evening at Quadrille.⁷

Wednesday 25. A very fine clear air, at home all the A.M. Examining, and stowing away my things &c.

Thursday 26. A violent headach, however went by coach to London to obtain a sight of King, Lords, and Commons but to no purpose

7. Quadrille, a card game for four persons, played with forty cards, the eights, nines, and tens of the ordinary pack being discarded. Tredille, a similar game for three persons also frequently played by Curwen, requires further reducing the pack to thirty cards.

it being a cold day, my head indisposed and my leg lamed prevented my making trial. I therefore after remaining in the mob for some time near the door of the House of Lords was glad to retire, and after hobbling back to Templeton returned home by coach with a great addition to my indisposition.

27 Friday. At home all day, ill.

Saturday 28. The same as yesterday, blooded by Dr. Church.

Sunday 29. Went by Coach to Mr. Boylston's to dine in company with B.P. returned back by 4 o'clock P.M.

Monday October 30. At home all day being very foul and rainy but the air moderate.

Tuesday 31. Same as yesterday with regard to myself and the weather.

Wednesday November 1. At home all day. B.P. walked to *London* Hibern place. Mr. B[oyslton] spent the day with us and dined, moderate air.

Thursday 2. Brisk air, clouds and sunshine alternately, went to Mr. Deberdt's at *London* by coach to take the air and returned with B.P. before dinner. Spent P.M. and Evening at home.

Friday 3. Walked with B.P. to *London*, visited Gov. H., himself and Family ill of the colds, dined at Bartholomew Lane, drank tea with W. Cabot, and returned home at 7 o'clock by Coach. Saw a young Townsman Samuel Browne at W. Cs.

Saturday 4. Walked to *London* with B.P., visited Mr. Bliss, Mrs. Smith and his company, returned back alone, dined at home, and there passed P.M. and Evening. B.P. came back in a coach at 6 o'clock and retired immediately to bed.

Sunday 5. Foul day, at home.

Monday 6. Rainy, at home all day.

Tuesday 7. Cloudy and drisly, wind as of late, Ely.; rode to London and got in Taylor's and Drapers account, returned back by 2 o'clock. W.C. dined with us.

Wednesday 8. Walked to London and returned to dinner. B.P. stayed behind.¹

Thursday 9. Walked to London. Fine and clear pleasant Air, Lord Mayer day. From the Temple garden viewed the City. Lord Mayor and 12 Companies Barges on the river going to Westminster to hear the Lord Maior sworn into office. Blackfryars bridge thronged with crowds of people, the river filled with Wherries and boats; the streets, from fleet market to Kingstreet leading to Guildhall, vizt. Ludgate Street, St. Pauls Church yard, and Cheapside stuffed with the populace except the spaces in the former and latter in which the stands for the Livery Companies who had not barges filled with the members in gowns and pipes in their mouths, there being hardly room for the passage of Carts and Coaches or for the procession of the Companies with their standards and the Lord Maior with the attendant coaches from the innumerable throngs, which were so compressed that not a pin could have fallen to the ground; the appearance of the throng &c. to an eye unused to such kind of sights looked awkward and grotesque. My stand, was, luckily, advantageous, in a upper stair room at one Mr. Hingstons an Apothecary by chance obtained; going in to buy a box of liquorice pills. It was in Cheapside on the corner of Kingstreet when I was entertained also, among others, with a cold collation, W.C. with me

Friday 10. Walked to London with B.P. visited Gov. H. who invited us to dine next day and transport us in his coach, and back again. Staid and dined in London all day intending to go to the play to see Mr. Garrick, who acted in the character of Benedict in the Comedy of "Much Ado about Nothing," but being detained too long by B.P. and on finding the pit and gallery full I departed from the play house leaving my company to take a seat in the Boxes and returned home by coach about 7 o'clock in the thickest fog I ever felt, or smelt, or beheld.

1. A short acknowledgment of a loan of a book from a "Mr. Church, Surgeon," and commenting on it: "I am surprised at the general analogy between the principles, language and distress of the ancient jews and modern American Indians which though faint in most is in some cases striking."

Saturday 11. At home all the A.M., at 2 o'clock Gov. H. came in his coach with Mrs. Copely² from Mr. Bromfields and carried us to his House where we dined with his family Mr. Bliss and Mr. W. Bolyston and Mrs. Copely and after tea returned back in the same at 8 o'clock.

Sunday 12. Foggy but as warm an air as with us in May or June, at home all the A.M. B.P. went out to Church.

Monday 13. Walked with B.P. to Highgate drank a tumbler of Capillaise³ at the gate House, read the newspaper and returned home to dinner; at home all P.M. and Evening.

Tuesday. At home A.M. W.C. dined with us, went to London by Coach in order to hear parliamentary debates in the gallery of the House of Commons but the House was up, there not being a Quorum; from thence adjourned to Gov. H. where we met Judge A. R. Mr. Apthorp,⁴ Dr. Cooper,⁵ Dr. Chandler⁶ and some time after Mr. Flucker,⁷ just arrived from Boston with General Gage,⁸ who brought me a letter from Col. Browne⁹ of 10 October; and one from J. Timmins, my Friend, who kindly offered in case of need an order on a House for 50 £ or 100 £ which I pray God I may not want. Returned home by Coach at 8 o'clock.

2. Susanna Copley (1745-1836), wife of the artist John Singleton Copley, was the daughter of Richard Clarke and sister of Judge Peter Oliver's wife.

3. Capillaise, a syrup of sugar or honey flavored with orange-flower water, was originally, like its name, derived from the maiden hair fern.

4. The Rev. East Apthorp (1733-1816), born in Boston, rector of Christ Church, Cambridge, went to England 1764, vicar of Croyden, rector of Bow Church, married a niece of Governor Hutchinson, died in Cambridge, England.

5. Dr. Myles Cooper (1734-1785), educated at Oxford, president of King's, now Columbia College, 1763, a staunch loyalist. Threatened by a mob in New York, and aided by Alexander Hamilton, he fled to England in May 1775 and died in Edinburgh.

6. Dr. Thomas Bradbury Chandler (1726-1790), Yale 1745; loyalist clergyman; rector of St. John's, Elizabethtown, N.J.; left America in 1775 and returned in 1785. He declined to be bishop of Nova Scotia. Author of the well-known tract *What Think Ye of Congress Now* that appeared in 1775.

7. Thomas Flucker (1719-1783) became the last secretary of the province of Massachusetts in 1771 on the promotion of Andrew Oliver to lieutenant governor. He was a refugee to London where he died. His daughter married Major General Henry Knox.

8. General Thomas Gage (1721-1787), last royal governor of Massachusetts; had been with Amherst at Ticonderoga and Wolfe at Quebec; left in 1775 for England where he died. He was the subject of the addresses on his arrival in Salem on 11 June 1774 and on his departure for England 6 Oct. 1775.

9. William Browne of Salem (1737-1802), Harvard 1755; appointed colonel of the militia by Governor Hutchinson in 1771; served as judge of the Superior Court in 1774, left Salem in 1775; proscribed and estate confiscated; appointed governor of Bermuda, 1781.

Wednesday 15. At home all day being cloudy drisly and unpleasant.

Thursday 16. Walked out to Holloway just at the foot of Highgate hill on this side, distant $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles, a fine clear air but dirty roads. W.C. Dined with us, walked after dinner to London; was with my companion in the lobby of the House of Commons but could not gain admittance into the gallery, it being shut by express order. Mr. Burke made his conciliatory Speech; heard the sound of his voice, the House of Lords up, to hear it, the duke of Manchester having just before entered, a servant in Livery came with a card for him but the doorkeeper pretending not to know anything about his Grace, refused to take it, or carry it in [*1 word*] Solicitor to enter was denied, returned home by coach after a stay of 2 hours at Mr. Bolystons, our Company was 4 females, one of whom pragmatically and warmly insisted that women could do better without men than the latter without the former, which my Companion denied and I ardently concurred with, he at length complimented her that her arguments had removed all his doubts and fully convinced him.

Friday 17. Cold and rainy, at home all day, fire in my Chamber where B.P. and I sat.

Saturday 18. Ditto as yesterday. Mrs. Wilson walked to London very early, bringing among other necessary things 4 or 5 fine arti-choakes that I might have an opportunity of tasting them, never having as yet tasted one though I had been in London through all the season and was greatly desirous of it, she brings an account that Eggs new laid and fresh are 3d apiece and common ones 2 for a groat. At home all day. B.P. walkt to London P.M. and brought news of the arrival of a packet from N. York with advice that Gov. Tryon¹⁰ and Gov. Campbell¹¹ of South Carolina are both from their separate Governments obliged to retreat aboard ship and that Mr. Franklin¹² was

10. William Tryon (1729-1788), governor of North Carolina, 1765-1771, then governor of New York, 1771-1774. He died in London.

11. William Campbell (?-1778), youngest son of the 4th Duke of Argyle, governor of Nova Scotia, 1766-1773, last royal governor of South Carolina, 1773.

12. Franklin had arrived with Thomas Lynch of North Carolina and Colonel Benjamin Harrison of Virginia on 15 Oct. The other members of the committee were Deputy Governor Roger Griswold and Judge Wales from Connecticut, Deputy Governor Nicholas Cooke from Rhode Island, James Bowdoin, Colonel James Otis, William Sever, and Walter Spooner from Massachusetts. General Nathaniel Greene wrote of his admiration in observing Franklin on his arrival: "Attention watched his lips, and conviction closed his periods."

arrived at provincial Camp at Cambridge to advise the General Washington to attempt the Lines on the neck, and that S. A[dams] and Mr. Dickinson¹³ are at odds.

Sunday 19. Walkt to London to, and attended Dr. Condor's preaching at his Meeting House on Moorfield pavements his text in *1 Ephesians 5 V*, "*having foredestinated us to the adoption of Sons by Jesus Christ to himself*," in which I heard more original sentiments and peculiar expressions in the calvinistic way than ever before, which my treacherous memory denied me to record, returned and dined at home and after dinner set out with Mrs. Wilson for Silver street where we heard a Mr. Smyth from *11 Hosea 7 V*. "*and my people are bent to backslidings*" but a roast beef dinner rendering me heavy and inattentive I returned home not much edified.

Monday 20. It being a cold rainy unpleasant day staid within doors, my companion going to London did not return till 9 o'clock Evening.

Tuesday 21. Walkt to London alone, was at the House of Lords, heard the attorney General Edward Thurston Esqr. open a Cause on an appeal from Ireland, The Lord Chancellor 2 Bishops, and 5 or 6 Lay Lords only present, returned home by Coach about 7 o'clock. The Solicitor, and Mr. Dunning on the other side, the Attorney General's speech and reading the evidences took up so much time that the further hearing was by Lord Chancellor adjourned to tomorrow 2 o'clock, the House of Commons was to be employed in balloting on the Peterboro Election, and therefore no Strangers admitted into the gallery, which was my intention, being my 4th unsuccessful attempt. Spent the Evening at home.

Wednesday 22. At home till dinner, cloudy. On our arrival at St. John's street we observed, as we approached the City and as we entered a thick fog that might almost have been felt leaving behind us a clearer (*by much*) air, attempting to enter the pit of the Theatre in Drury Lane we found ourselves so hemmed in a Crowd in the passage that for the space of $\frac{1}{2}$ an hour at least I could neither move leg

13. John Dickinson (1732–1808), lawyer and statesman of Delaware and Philadelphia, contributor of articles to the *Pennsylvania Chronicle*, 1767–1768, attacking the Townshend revenue acts, which when collected and published as the *Letters from a Farmer in Pennsylvania to the Inhabitants of the British Colonies* made him famous. He opposed the adoption of the Resolution of Independence.

nor arm which many times in vain I laboured to do fearing I should have been stifled was sincerely thankful to escape with the preservation of my breath and my Limbs safe and unhurt. Memo never to mix in a play house crowd again, the play to be acted was "*Much ado about nothing*," a comedy of Shakespears full of wit and humour. In the party coloured dress of his own the present language still supports the credit of the stage. Mr. Garrick whom I have not yet seen appeared for the 4th time this Season in the character of Benedict. My company leaving me returned to the rose Tavern where B. Pickman had left his great coat and then with W.C. drank tea, a big bellied, well drest woman standing in the doorway of the passage, returning my civil desire to pass by her with, does the Man want to go through one, accompanied with a horse laugh, produced from me, Indeed I neither am in want, nor have inclination for so near an approach; and giving her a look of contempt and indignation went in search of another outlet which happily I soon found, and by a little direction got into Drury Lane, and from thence through Wych street through Temple Bar to my Coach and in $\frac{3}{4}$ hour without interruption in a company of 5 male passengers arrived to my no small satisfaction at my Lodgings. My companion soon after returned.

Thursday 23. Cloudy and somewhat drisly. Whilst at dinner, Mr. Elisha Hutchinson arrived, who came for that purpose and staid the P.M., after tea at 7 o'clock we took coach and returned to Temple bar leaving him to proceed homewards. B.P. and my self set forwards, and for the first time these seven weeks I appeared at the New England Coffee House from whence I had withheld my fat, to avoid the sight and be forgotten by, a sett of abusive partisans, who daily abuse the public by scurrilous false and undeserved reflections on characters displeasing to them and for the love of order good government and loyalty, arrived at home almost 8 o'clock.

Friday 24. Cloudy and somewhat foggy, W.C. dined with us at 12 o'clock. Immediately after we all sett off for the House of Lords, where we were without difficulty admitted, present the Lord Chancellor Lord Mansfield, Bishop of Bangor and of London and almost 10 or 12 Lay Lords the Cause, an appeal from the Lord of the Sessions in Scotland, the decree affirmed, from thence we called, in our way, on Mr. Bliss, drank tea with and abode with him till 7 o'clock and from thence by Coach, home.

Saturday 25. Raw drisly weather. Walkt with B. Pickman as far as the Orphan School &c. and from thence back again by the Shepard and Shepardess through the fields and remained at home the rest of the day.

Sunday 26. B. Pickman and I walkt to London attended Dr. For-dyces preaching his text 2 *Job 10th* "*But he said unto her, thou speakest as one of the foolish women speaketh: What! shall we receive good at the hand of God, and shall we not receive evil? in all this did not Job sin with his mouth,*" a most useful and to my friend and my self a very seasonable address. Returned back after service, leaving him to attend at the same place in the P.M. which I passed at home being heavy, slumbering, chilled and unwell.

Monday 27. Cloudy and raw. Walkt with B.P. to attend Dr. Stin-net at his Church in great Wyld Street Lincolns Inn Fields on the anniversary Lecture to commemorate the great storm on this day 1703, his text in 1 *Ch. Job 19* verse, "*and behold, there came a great wind from the wilderness, and smote the four corners of the house, and it fell upon the youngmen, and they are dead; and I am escaped, alone to tell thee.*" The former part of the Doctor's discourse was learned, curious and fanciful, the second useful and instructive, the third part narrative, describing the storm in its extent and effects; the miraculous deliverance of some, and the judicial punishments of others. Returned home to dinner where we spent the remainder of the day, retiring to my Chamber to write letters and read.

Tuesday 28. Remained at home all day, being very ill of the nervous headach. B.P. and Mrs. W[ilson] went separately to London and returned to dinner and after at 5 o'clock P.M. went on a visit by invitation to Mr. Cumberlaitch over opposite this house in Hornsey Row No. 2 accompanied by the 2 Ladies Mrs. Bradley and Mrs. Clark. Billy Cabot is to board in our house on our terms and to begin the day after tomorrow.

Wednesday 29. At home all the A.M. having made an early dinner, we took coach to Temple bar and at 4 o'clock arrived at the passage to the pit of Drury Lane Theatre at which place I entered after five, several attempts before to see Mr. Garrick who acted this Evening in the character of Hamlet much more perfect to my eye and judgement

(if I have any) in the expression of his face than in the accent and pronounciation of his voice which however was much beyond the standard of his fellow actors; the tax I paid for my seat being many squeezes &c. in a crowd wherein I was encircled for more than half an hour in the passage leading to the pit before the doors were opened, retreated on our first arrival to the Rose tavern adjoining to the passage for which we paid each 1/ for 2 dishes of tea. A crowded house Count Oslow the Russian ambassador there, from the Theatre we took the footcoach, and joyning the patrolle at the George Tavern, Wood's close, arrived safely at home by 11 o'clock.

Thursday 30. Cloudy and foggy but close, and very moderate, at home all A.M.; favoured by a visit from Mr. Isaac Smith, whom we could not persuade to stay and dine with us—P.M. and evening at home Mr. P. and Mrs. W[ilson] at London, the former at the acting the Duenna.

Friday December 1. Walkt to London; the weather being so very moderate, that my Sourtout was irksome to bear, paid off my Hosier and Taylor's bills, was informed by the latter that he belonged to Great St. Hallows Church the entrance to which was directly opposite to the house in Bishopgate street and that there was this peculiarity in that church, one Mr. Bancroft whilst living was a Lord Mayor's Officer and a very oppressive Knave having by informations and other injustices reaped much Wealth leaving it in the hands of trustees to be improved till his rising again from the dead which he was fanciful enough to imagine would be after a certain period and then to be redelivered in to his hands, and in the meantime he ordered his breathless Corpes to be laid and kept in a coffin with a lock he should be able to draw back when awaked and to be deposited in a Tomb with a Draw back lock on the inside of the door with a glass window therein and the glass Door to be opened every year on a certain day to be shown to any Spectator. This is to this time complied with; his trustees have employed however their ill gotten gains in erecting an Hospital, or almshouse, at Mile end for the support of those Women and a certain house of children which serves to perpetuate the memory of his wealth and infamy. One of his methods was the following, by a city law a parliamentary act, all dirt and filth thrown out before the doors was punishable by fines; which he often discovered, and sometimes informed on many people by throwing thereon a silver spoon

or something of value, and thus enquiring of the neighbours if they or any of them had lost what he pretended to have picked up out of the heap, which tempting some to claim it, fixed the guilt on them, and on his threats to sue, obliged the poor culprits to compound by restoring his own spoon and what more he thought proper to demand.

Having agreed to meet B.P. at the Salopian Coffee House¹ Parliament street in order to attempt once more to enter the Gallery of the House of Commons to hear the third and last reading of the bill prohibiting all commerce with America, but having information that it is to remain shut to all strangers, the pretended reason is that the House being too small, the gallery is necessary for the use of the members; which news discouraging me and by my report to B.P., we here returned; and in the Strand meeting Mr. George Hayley,² one of the city members, who confirmed the same. We kept our course to Temple bar, where separating we agreed to meet again at 5 o'clock (it being now just 2) at Alexander Donaldsons Book store in St. Pauls Church yard which we did and proceeded to the Heralds office where Parson Peters³ lodges, with his Friend Mr. Punderson,⁴ lately arrived from Boston; having some months since escaped by rowing himself in a small cockboat 18 miles out into the sound from his native place of Norwich, being taken up by a Vessel, and put aboard the *Rose Man* of Warr Capt. Wallace lying in Newport Harbour, and by him conveyed to Boston. By his own information he was harshly dealt with, and to save his life obliged to sign 2 successive confessions, notwithstanding survived, hunted and threatened, and narrowly escaped death, or the Simsbury mines; to which he was finally adjudged, and to which he thinks with the loss of his eyes would have been his unhappy fate, but for his seasonable and providential retreat. Drank tea and from thence home in the Newgate Coach about 9 o'clock.

Saturday December 2. Fine moderate and clearer air than usual; walkt to London to the Heralds office, bought sundry small things

1. Salopian Coffee House, No. 1149 in Lillywhite, *Coffee Houses*.

2. George Hayly, alderman, merchant of London, and John Hancock's principal correspondent.

3. The Rev. Dr. Samuel Peters (1735-1826), Yale 1757, of Hebron, Conn., an Episcopal clergyman; had charge of the church at Hebron until 1774; designed to divide Connecticut between New York and Massachusetts; elected Bishop of Vermont but declined.

4. Ebenezer Punderson (1735-1809), Yale 1755, of Norwich, Conn. Badly treated by the Sons of Liberty, he escaped by rowing a cockboat eighteen miles to board a ship bound to Boston. He went to England in 1775, returned to America in 1778, and died at Rye.

wanted, and returned before dinner, walkt again with my companion to take a view of the remains of King John's palace in Holloway Street, Shoreditch parish consisting of the arch of the gateway, the other ruins being a few years since removed; returned to the Exchange and from thence home in the 6 o'clock coach, where we drank tea; our new Lodger W. Cabot having just sent his goods the day before arrived about 9 o'clock, bringing an account that the provincials had attacked the regulars at Bunkers hill and got possession of it and had burnt and destroyed 2 of the Frigates in the harbour, and that Col. Montgomery⁵ Commander of 6000 provincials had invested St. John's fort containing 2 or 300 regulars and Canadians refusing any other capitulation but to surrender themselves prisoners of war which it was expected they must soon do, and that Quebec was by this day probably taken by them, said to be brought by a Vessell just arrived from thence.

Sunday December 3 Walkt with B.P. and reached the Common at old Jewry Meeting House and from thence adjourned to Lock Hospital in order to hear Mr. Maddan who I was informed for want of health has left off preaching, on this disappointment we returned back, stopping at Dr. Dodd's chappell in Queen's row, a little beyond Buckingham gate of St. James' Park but he it seems, preaches in the A.M. only beginning at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 11 o'clock. Passing through the park which was full of well dressed people we arrived at the Bath Coffee House and Tavern⁶ in piccadilly and thence abode till service began in St. James Church to which we repaired and were entertained with a Charity sermon from the *6 Romans* 13 "*Neither yield ye your members as instruments of unrighteousness unto sin: but yield yourselves unto God, as those that are alive from the dead; and your member as instruments of righteousness unto God,*" preached by a Mr. Winstanley, one of the prebends of St. Pauls; a very serious reasonable and pathetic discourse delivered with great earnestness, and agreeableness of pronounciation; after, an Hymn was sung by the Charity children, composed for the occasion, and accompanied by a fine Organ, a copy of the hymn with a brief account and printed on a sheet, was put into my hands by a pew door opener, in return for it at

5. Richard Montgomery (1736-1775) led the assault on Quebec where he was killed 31 Dec. 1775. News of his death reached Governor Hutchinson in London 24 Feb.

6. Bath Coffee House, No. 88 in Lillywhite, *Coffee Houses*, the place of residence of the notorious pickpocket and author George Barrington (Waldron) who was transported to Botany Bay in 1790.

the end of service I put in my mite to support the Charity. The person who officiated in the A.M. was a Mr. White who gave us a very serious pertinent and well adapted discourse from *1 Peter 2, 24* "*Who his own self bore our sins in his own body on the tree, that we being dead to sin, should live unto righteousness; by whose stripes ye were healed.*" After service which lasted in St. James Church till 6 o'clock we walkt to Gov. H., where we drank tea, and spent a very agreeable tete a tete till 9 o'clock, at which time we departed and passing through the Strand without interruption from the Female street walkers, and through St. John's Street and road, arrived at our Lodgings just at 10 o'clock.

Monday 4 December. Remained at home all day, it being cloudy and foggy; wrote a letter to my friend W[illiam] B[rowne] to be sent by first vessell, had a fire in my chamber.⁷

Tuesday December 5. At home all day, cloudy and unpleasant, John Borland⁸ dined with us.⁹

Wednesday 6. The clearest and pleasantest day through the whole season, confined by a Diarhea and bilious pains, attended when first seized, by a loathing, that continued for some hours, and kept my appetite flattened.

Thursday 7. Still confined at home, but the Symptoms are abating, it is happy for me that the good Lady with whom I board is attentive and humane.

7. Curwen wrote to William Browne: "I will just hint to you what seems to be matter of publick notoriety here—the opposition in parliament is too inconsiderable in numbers, weight and measure to hinder the progress of Administration in their plans respecting America. The two houses repose an entire confidence in the King and his Ministers resolution not to relinquish the idea of comprehending a submission of all the subjects within the limits of the British empire to the authority of the supreme legislature. Preparations therefore are made and making for increasing the number of troops to be sent over in time enough for a vigorous push next season. The events of war are uncertain, and I believe, victory is by many thought doubtful; however 'tis more than whispered by some, that America had better be dispeopled than remain in the state it now is, much more, independent."

8. John Borland (?–1825), Harvard 1772, of Cambridge, Mass., son of John Borland; entered the British army; joined the Associated Loyalists in 1775 though under age; served in the action on Long Island in 1776.

9. To his wife Curwen wrote a two-page letter of concern for her, of his own condition ("Coffee house talk I studiously avoid being very seldom there"), and of forboding for the future. He also wrote short, personal, and gloomy notes to the Rev. Thomas Barnard and William Pynchon.

Friday 8. Cloudy and unpleasant though moderate, as it has been through the whole week. Wrote 3 Letters yesterday Vizt. one to my wife superscribed to Richard Ward¹⁰ or Russell Wyer, addressed within to my dearest friend, another to young Mr. Barnard and another to Wm. Pyncheon Esq. subscribed by no name in either. After dinner took coach to London, went to the Dutch Synagogue to hear Lioni chaunt, but was disappointed the service being over. Spent the evening at Mr. Porter's chamber and at 8 o'clock returned home in a coach. B.P. and W.C. being with me.

Saturday 9. At home till 12 o'clock, enclosed 4 newspapers (Say's weekly journal) to Col. Browne, and wrote a letter to my friend J. Timmins; at 1 o'clock walked to London, dined at Gov. H.; drank tea and departed about 7 o'clock and taking coach arrived at home at 9 o'clock.

Sunday 10. Walked to Foundling Hospital taking W. Cabot with me. Heard Mr. Bromley preach from *10 John 27 V.* "*My Sheep hear my voice, and I know them, and they follow me*"; the example of Jesus compared with the most perfect of heathen antiquity, Zeno, the founder of the Stoick sect in whose honour the state of Athens then the most learned and virtuous in the known world, had declared in a public edict, that He had exemplified in his life the precepts he taught, but whose inconsistency thereto in several gross instances, the preacher enumerated, not much to the credit of merely human reason, in comparison with the most eminent and brightest of meer men recorded in the holy scriptures in whom great infirmities, and even follies are to be perceived, his example only pure and spotless, being fit to be proposed to mankind for their practise and imitation. The chappell is large and excellently finished, the ceiling covered with stucco in various figures of plaster of paris, over the Altar is a large picture containing the Story of the Wise men offering their gifts to the Child Jesus in the Virgin's arms, the Gallery fronting the Altar has behind, or on the back part of it an Organ of a monstrous size and excellent pipe on which after the service was played the children seated before and on each side of it accompanying it in a delightful and charming

10. Richard Ward of Salem (1741-1824), one of the justices from Essex County, served with Colonel Timothy Pickering under Washington. He was a brother-in-law of Curwen and the person to whom Curwen frequently addressed his letters to his wife as being one he could trust. During Curwen's absence Ward sold his library and coin collection at a fraction of their value.

manner, a hymn lead by 2 older girls of a most agreeable voice. The gallery is supported by 2 pillars, on one is inscribed the following *Deliver the poor, the fatherless, and him who has none to help*, on the other ———. The children are clad, the girls in russet with blew and white striped bibbs and aprons and some of the larger in green and round eared capps and black ribbons. They eat by themselves in long dining rooms making the left wing of the building, the chappell, and officers apartments the Center; in the girls room hang King George 2d full length, Lord Dartmouth; Capt. Coram, who first suggested the place and procured by his interest amongst the great, its charter, and some other benefactors, whose names I heard not. The boys are clad in russet, with red linings and metal buttons, their dining rooms make the right wing, the winter and summer dining rooms are adjoining to each other; the latter being under arches of stone which in the warm season serve to moderate the heat; in the winter one is the half length of a great benefactor and governor and a fine sea piece about 6 feet by 5. From the wings in a semicircular form, surrounding the yard, of an acre or more in quantity, to the great gates in front, is an arcade or covered way, faced with glass windows and doors, for the purpose of making twine and rope.

After service we walked home and dined, and afterwards walked with B.P. to Newington green, first calling in at Dr. Price's; from whence we went to his Meeting House on the green. He preached from 16 *Mathew 21* "*From that time forth began Jesus to shew unto his disciples, how that he must go unto Jerusalem and suffer many things of the elders, and chief priests and scribes, and be killed, and be raised again the third day.*" Received the communion, the number of communicants very small, not exceeding twenty.

After service we waited on the Doctor to his house, drank tea with 5 or 6 persons, abiding there till day light was fairly shut in, when issuing forth, we found ourselves enclosed in darkness on the Green, at a mile and half's distance from home, not knowing a foot of the road nor the path through the field we came nor which way to turn our feet, and without any guide to direct us, in the midst of our uncertainty and deliberations a maid servant with a child going a little part of our way directed us to the watch patrol; who conducted us successively as far as the lower street in Islington, and from thence by ourselves without danger, fear or harm arrived at our Lodgings to the no small pleasure of the good Ladies who had been under some concern for our safety.

Monday 11. Walked with B.P. by the Foundling Hospital, passing a small Village called Pancridge and through pancras parish to Brompton row to visit Judge Sewall, &c., but he not being at home we proceeded to Mr. H. Grays to visit Mr. Flucker, Waldo, Gray &c. who kindly inviting us to dine. We accepted and staying to take tea at 6 o'clock departed walking to temple exchange Coffee House, where entering, we abode till the coach departed and at 9 o'clock arrived at home.

Tuesday December 12. Accompanied by B.P. I walkt to Newington to take a view of the house of Dr. Watts's friend Gunston, celebrated by him in his poem Sacred to Virtue. Arriving at the gate, we fortunately met a servant going in, who, being asked if the House might be seen by strangers, replied, not when his Mistress was at home, who was Mrs. Abney a Maiden Lady daughter of Lady Abney deceased, a niece to the Gentleman and friend who is the subject of the poem, and even the original owner of it, but he acquainted us we might take a view of the gardens; following him we entered the Court yard, of a square form nearly an acre, laid down to grass, close mown with hard clean gravel walks; in the centre, and round the walls; from thence we passed to the garden behind, consisting of flower and kitchen platts; and from thence through the fields and pastures, to a small, about 18 or 20 foot diameter island filled with flower beds and trees, and encompassed by a small rivulet, brought from the new river to a 2d branch, running along these meadows, and is continued to Hackney. The passage to it is over a small bridge of 6 feet in length and 2 in width. The river is bordered by willows nicely trimmed, and when covered with verdure must yield great delight to those who love solitary retreats. Returning back through other delightful pastures, we arrived at the green behind the house into which we were admitted through large handsome Iron gates. It is a uniform flat, divided into 2 square grass platts close shaven, bordered by fine gravel walks. The walks that inclose it filled with fruit trees of various kinds, peaches, plums, apricots &c. The servant who attended us invited us to see the dairy, my Companion pleased with the uncommonly nice appearance, and perhaps longing after a taste of genuine milk asked for a draft which the servant willingly gave, serving me with another bason which I didn't reluctantly receive though I must confess I should not have asked for. On coming out, the Female House Keeper offered to admit us to a view of part of the House, and taking us into her room

where being detained $\frac{1}{4}$ hour were permitted after having our shoes cleaned by a broom brought us for that purpose and our Male attendant applied, we entered passing through the great kitchen into the Ladies keeping room, genteely, though not magnificently finished, and furnished, from thence into a hall wherein was an half length of Mr. Caryl the well known Commentator on Job,¹¹ and by his side the same size his Lady, mother of Mr. Gunston and Lady Abney and Grandmother of the present possessor, Sir Thomas Abney and his Lady. Passing from hence into the great hall covered with English oak in its native color from thence we ascended by a noble flight of steps of English oak to the Chambers; in one is a red damask bed, chair and window Curtains, and a large pier looking Glass with a broad gilt frame carved, and a table of the same make with a leather case over it, in another was a $\frac{3}{4}$ length of Sir Thomas Abney, his former wife and 2 children. We were also admitted into the chaplain's study but could not gain admittance into Dr. Wattses, the Lady reserving that for her own use; she then being not risen, on account of a blister, which had kept her waking for the most part of the nighttime. From thence conducted to the Leads, from whence [2 or 3 words] extensive view of the Town and Country, round through and over the whole is to be seen a neatness, niceness and arrangement of fancy, peculiar, for I must confess it by far exceeds in the above respects any spot place or House my eyes have beheld. The House is brick about 55 by 50 height of the stud in 2 stories about 26 or 28 feet. It has a balcony on top ending in a gilt ball with lightning points. Returning back the same way we came, arrived at home at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 1 o'clock and after dinner taking W.C. with me, I walked to Moorfields on an errand, spending the remainder of the Evening at home.

Wednesday 13. Walkt to London accompanied by W.C. Visited our Townsman Capt. Poynton in Orange Street Leicester fields, were kindly invited to dine, hospitably entertained, and gratified after dinner by an alternate change of sacred Hymns and merry tunes played by a daughter of the Family on the Guitar, accompanied by her voice which I seriously wished had been not so injudiciously and improperly employed on such a pyebald diversion; drank burton ale, which by way of memorandum I enter as the best and most palatable of any malt liquor I have yet tasted, but of most potent quality. Re-

11. Joseph Caryl, a zealous nonconformist wrote *An Exposition with practical Observations on the Book of Job*, published in London in 12 vols., 1648-1666.

turned home on foot and spent the evening alone my 2 fellow lodgers being gone to see the musaeum at Spring garden, Mr. Cumberlatch passing $\frac{1}{2}$ hour with me.

Thursday 14. Morn cloudy foggy and mild, in our walk to Newington on Tuesday last we passed through Canonbury commonly called Cambray House a very large old Mansion belonging to the Earl of Northampton, derived from an Ancestor some ages past; who by a stolen marriage with a Gentleman's only daughter, the then possessor of the Estate, received this; and by inheritance it has descended to the present Earl. It has the marks of antiquity, said to be 2 or 300 years old, now inhabited by sundry tenants; and situated in Islington, a little beyond Hornsey row, is built in 2 squares, the one half of one is incomplete. The weather looking more promising than in the morning, Benjamin Pickman and my self walkt out, directing our course to a place called *pleasant's island*, leaving the road at Holloway turnpike, we struck over the fields through clay and mire up to our buckles, but was ill repaid; justly adopting the old latin phrase, *hic labor hoc opus*, nothing being to be seen after many fatiguing steps but an old uninhabited house, a garden of near $\frac{1}{2}$ an acre surrounded with a moat half filled with stagnant water, dirty and green, the garden left exposed to the tread of Cattle who had visited it and [poached?] the walks; the hedges broken down, and the whole apperance like a beggarly forsaken spot. Returned not pleased, by the same dirty way we went, after $\frac{1}{2}$ hours absence, walkt to London after dinner, drank tea with Parson Peters and Punderson a Connecticut refugee then lodging in the herald's office, and returned home at 8 o'clock in the coach after going to the Peacock in Grays Inn Lane to taste and engage, if liked, the Burton ale which we did to the amount of 2 dozen bottles.

Friday 15. Walkt up half way high gate hill in a moderate clear agreeable air. Returned back by dinner and immediately after walkt down to the Jews Synagogue in Shoemakers Lane, in order to hear Leoni perform in the vocal way, but again was disappointed, staying part only of the service we departed for Covent Garden theatre to see Mrs. Barry who performed the part of Constance in the tragedy of King John, she is a fine person and good actress, by the public adjudged the most capital actress, now on the stage, in the farce called Orpheus and Eurydice which seems to consist principally of the feats of Harlequin in detached, unconnected incidents, there are views of

a lumber yard, adjoining houses, apparently real smoke issuing out of the chimneys and a distant city prospect which by the artful disposition of the lights appear the most natural I have seen. The following I think, (scene being a street view) was in some degree a most agreeable *deceptrovisus*, the objects on the stage seeming to my eye not more natural than the Scenery. Returned home in a common London stage taken from the Strand in Smithfield, at 11 o'clock.

Saturday 16. At home all the A.M. Dined at home and remained for the following part of the day; drank tea in Mrs. Ch[*illegible*]chy's chamber with the Ladys of the family. Cloudy but moderate air.

Sunday 17 Walkt to Queens' row, Dr. Dodd's chappel, above 3 miles distant, to hear him preach which on our arrival there we were informed he only did the 3d Sunday in each month, on the other Sundays he officiated at his chappel called the Bedford Chappell in Charlotte Street Bloomsbury to which we returned and heard the Doctor from 4 *Ephesians* 32 verse, "*forgiving one another even as God for Christs sake hath forgiven us*" enforced by many important considerations and with an agreeable delivery and much pathos though weak voice. Returned home to dinner in a fine mild air and out of London clear sky. Waited on Mrs. B. and W. to the Meeting in Islington where those who heard, were I hope instructed by a discourse from 1 *Peter* 1,6 "*wherein ye greatly rejoyce, though now for a season (if need be) ye are in heaviness through manifold temptations.*" Passed the Evening at home.

Monday 18. Walkt to London, was at New England Coffee house, read in the New York paper that Fort St. John and Chamblee had surrendered to the provincials commanded by Col. Montgomery formerly a Captain in the regular service, esteemed a good Soldier the garrison [commanded] by a Major Preston, and 600 regular and Canadian. The Provincials immediately investing the fort only 200, the officers to be sent home or down to General Gage or the Commander in Chief in America in order to be transported, the Soldiers prisoners of war. The provincials supposed to be designed for Montreal, General Carleton¹² returning there after a defeat; of the con-

12. General Sir Guy Carleton, later Lord Dorchester (1724-1808), governor of Quebec in 1774, withstood the assault under Montgomery and compelled the Americans to withdraw from Canada. In 1782 he was appointed successor to Sir Henry Clinton as commander-in-chief of his Majesty's forces in America.

trary kind, Falmouth in Casco bay consisting of 139 Dwelling houses and 278 stores, many Vessells, warehouses &c. burnt down by Capt. Mowatt of the Canseau Sloop, after 2 hours notice to remove all their persons for joyning, as the Captain was pleased, in his letter to the Inhabitants, to term it with the Rebels the particular crime or crimes not mentioned. Came back to dinner which proved the most disgusting one I have met with since my abode here. Went off with W.C. for the Theatre in Covent garden to the comedy of the Duenna, which for humour and wit was exceedingly entertaining, and the Character best sustained of any I have yet seen, notwithstanding Garrick and Mrs. Barry had no part. After these was a dance, wherein appeared a little Miss of 5 years old who performed to the admiration and applause of the whole Company, who encored the performers every scene, and filled the House with almost incessant Shouts of laughter. This Evening I was happily placed by the side of a very pretty Miss, and other good Company which with the pleasure from the performance left an agreeable sensation I had not before experienced at the theatre. Arrived at Lodgings about 11 o'clock on foot to Smithfield, by coach to Islington Church and from thence on foot.

Tuesday 19. Passed the A.M. in my chamber alone, having allotted this time to the purpose of examining my Effects, and in the parlour with Mrs. B[radley] all the P.M.

Wednesday 20. Walkt on foot to London, meeting Harrison Gray I proceeded to House of Lords the chair of State uncovered through mistake the King not to be there till tomorrow, when he is to give the royal assent to the prohibiting Americans bill, if ready. Having no Companion to accompany me home I departed before any of the Lords appeared. Returned home about $\frac{1}{2}$ after 4 o'clock having taken a refreshment en passant. Saturday evening our Neibour Comberlaitch among other entertaining stories told us the following that a Neibour of his named [2 words] dwelling in Margate street who was a *Tobacconist* at the *Sign of the Swan* advertisement wrote in gold letters underneath the sign *Here is to be sold by Far the best Virginia Tobacco under the Sun*, and by a Female was told what followed, being invited to an entertainment among other guests was a Mr. Harbin who was endowed with the strange property of making his voice to issue from any quarter he pleased, the person who told me the story says, sitting by him he took a piece of suet out of her plate at supper and putting a piece of another from his own into hers said Miss I don't

like mine, on which she gloated on him, to repay her, presently after supper was over, and they all sitting, she at one end of the room, and he at the other, she heard the mistress's voice (who had occasionally been absent some time from the room) rising out of her pockethole saying Mrs. B. how do you do, repeating it many times, which had thrown her into fitts if the mystery had not soon been explained. Another story told of the same person, that being once at odds with a Neighbour, who was a baker, he bawled out in the mistresses voice who had been abroad unknown to the Family that she should be smothered, the whole weight of faggots in the yard being on her, the voice seeming, in a most lamentable and distressful tone, to issue out from under them, which obliged the people of the house to overturn the whole pile, and to their joyful disappointment they found it concealed nothing. Some others of a like though less vexatious kind was told of his surprizing faculty of imitating every sound and voice, and making it to arise from any quarter he saw fit.

Thursday 21. Dark cloudy and somewhat drisly though moderate, staid within W.C.'s room all the A.M. In going through the Streets yesterday I passed a Man whose nose for size appeared in my eyes of the bigness of one of my fists and of the deepest purple and of this peculiar quality it shook as if it would drop off at every step he took. Mr. Taylor tells me he is like to make out a weekly New England dinner club &c. &c. &c. very greatly relishing the proposal. Passed the P.M. at home this Evening with Mrs. B[radley] at picquet; my fellow Lodgers being gone to London.

Friday 22. Walkt to Brompton row to dine with Judge Sewall who meeting me in the strand 2 days before appointed this day, accompanied by Benjamin Pickman. Our company was the family beside S[amuel] Q[uincy] who attended Mrs. S[ewall] and Mrs. G[reen] home having been to see the King robe and assent to the American prohibiting bill this day from the Throne. After dinner Gov. H. entered and invited Judge S[ewall], B.P. and myself to dine with him on the morrow. Returned by foot to Piccadilly, where we took Coach to Charing Cross, and from thence footed it to temple bar, and from thence in the 8 o'clock stage, home.

Saturday 23. Took coach at 2 o'clock and rode to Temple bar and from thence to Gov. H. where we dined and staid till tea: company

was Mr. J[oseph] G[reene], Mr. Copely, the Limner and Lady, with Family, his children. In our way through Clerkenwell Green we saw 5 couple of young persons chained together going under the care of 5 or 6 Tipstaves to Clerkenwell Brideswell prison. The news of the taking of Fort St. John's and Chamblee on Sorel river confirmed by the arrival of a vessell from Quebec which sailed 14th November and that [is] in London.

Sunday 24. At home all day it being drisly, excessive muddy and my self unwell.

Monday 25. Walkt to London to see the King and Queen at Chappell into which I got admitted for a shilling, accompanied by W.C.; 'tis about the bigness of our assembly room at Salem, the King and Queen in a gallery opposite the Altar hung round with red velvet with 2 rows of gold lace and a deep fringe, as was the pulpit and Altar on which was a quantity of gold plate imbossed, to a great amount. One Dr. Kaye preached from 2 Luke 51 "*And he came down with them, and came to Nazareth, and was subject to them.*" The prayers were said by one, the lessons by another, or rather others, the communion by the Bishop of London, who performed his part excellently well and with great and becoming devotion, the litany &c. chanted, in which the King and Queen joined and with great decency, the service lasted from half after twelve till half after one. Returned home where we dined with Mr. Cruden our Landlady's, Mr. and a young Miss. At 5 o'clock we departed from London again to hear Mr. Romaine at St. Sepulchre's, where in a crowded audience stuffed, we imperfectly heard him from 2 Luke 14 "*Glory to God in the highest.*" It was designed as a Charity Sermon for the St. Ethelburgs society children. At 8 o'clock we returned home by the Exchange coach at 9 o'clock, by reason of the noise without and coughing within. I was but little edified, though I doubt, had I heard more, wether it would have been much to edification; the prayers I scarce heard one word of, the children were catechized and answered very distinctly, repeating the proofs from Scripture. The service ending with an Anthem performed by the Children.

Tuesday 26. Took a walk through Ratcliff Meeting House and Bunhill row and returned by way of Moorfield, calling on my shoe-maker on the pavements, from whom I fetched a pair of shoes. Re-

maintained at home all the P.M. and Evening great part of which latter I passed at the game of picquet with Mrs. Bradley finished by her being seized with a faint turn. W.C. and I treated the Ladies with a dish of tea and cakes, B.P. being invited to a dinner at J. Lane's in London.

Wednesday 27. Rose with a very severe fit of the cholic, retired to my Chamber after ordering a fire, where I staid till dinner, alone, my fellow Lodgers being gone to Enfield on a visit to Mr. Isaac Smith. I should have joined had not my indisposition prevented. Took no sustenance but a tumbler of hot water. My 2 Fellow Lodgers returned back from London soon the stage being gone from the 4 Swans in Bishopsgate street for Enfield before their arrival there. Remained at home all day.¹³

Thursday 28. Foggy morn; day pleasant and moderate, wind westerly. Confined by a nervous head ach. B.P. dined and [1 word] out.

Friday 29. Same as yesterday. W. Cabot walkt to London and brought account of Mr. Richard Clarke's¹⁴ arrival from Boston, the vessell had a short passage of 21 days. All as yet safe at Salem. I pray God it may so continue; but no particular advice from my poor wife, relations and friends. The provincials have seized a ship with 500

13. Curwen wrote this day to Isaac Smith: "Yesterday I received two letters from Salem of the 18 and 20 November. All was well and quiet there except a small fracas on account of an expression said to have been uttered by a Mr. Timothy Orne, which gave offense to the ruling powers of the town who assembled and by force took him out of the House into School street in the evening designing to inflict the modern punishment of tarring and feathering on him, but by the influence of the Committee on Safety, and his promise to appear in the Comitia next morning he was suffered to depart, accordingly the next morning he appeared in person, and he to whom it was reported he had used the expression, appearing and denying it, promising to submit to the present government, pay the taxes required for support of it and demean himself quietly and submissively and take care to avoid for the future making use of unadvised expressions his present offense should be forgiven. Mr. Lowell of Newburyport is an acting justice the only one of the addressers commissioned, the Inferior Court bench in Essex is filled by Caleb Cushing, B. Greenleaf, Timothy Pickering junior, and Dr. Holton, the last but one is the only acting Justice in our part of the country. Joshua Ward and John Gardner are in Commission of the Peace, on the Supreme bench J. Adams, Wm. Cushing, Wm. Reed and Peasely Sargent, all of whom 'tis said accept. Major Hawley refuses all employment, saying what he did, he did purely to serve his country."

14. Richard Clarke (1711-1795), Harvard 1729, merchant of Boston, one of the consignees of the tea destroyed in 1773, father-in-law of Judge Peter Oliver and Copley the painter. He went to London in 1775, was proscribed in 1778, was an addresser of Gage, and served as pall bearer at Hutchinson's funeral in 1780.

casks gunpowder, cannon, mortars and stores de guerre et de bouche. Their activity and success is astonishing.

Saturday 30. Night and morn frosty but pleasant, my head ach not yet gone off, having had a very restless night and without scarce a wink of sleep at home. B.P. and W.C. gone to London afoot to see Mr. R. Clarke, and hear news. Staid within all day.

Sunday 31 December. By the Barbers delay was prevented from going out. Cloudy and smoky, and air raw and frosty. B.P. to Meeting, after dinner with B.P. and W.C. walkd to London taking Mr. Tate a friend of said Benjamin Pickman. We attended Dr. Savage's Meeting House in Bury Street, late Dr. Watts's, the said Doctor who is a very ingenious preacher gave us an excellent sermon from the *119 Psalm 165 V*, "*Great peace have they which love thy law; and nothing shall offend them.*" Our audience consisted of three dozen including parson, clerk and pew opener, after service we were invited to said Mr. Tate's house in Curtain row, opposite Holloway Mount, to which we went passing through King John's palace spot, nothing standing but the original front gate way under an arch, and 2 parts of old stone wall, man heigth, making part of the wall of stables. Calling in at an ale house to see a parcel of little birds loose and flying about the room for whom is placed open boughs to which they retire, the company within. The room is generally full not disturbing nor frightening them. From thence to said Tates where we drank tea. He has in his parlour a clock of a new construction the face divided only into six hours thus; to six and under the foregoing 12, under 1-7, under 2-8 and so on with no minute hand, the movements within being more simple occasion much less friction. After tea we 4 set forwards to Salter's hall, where I was most agreeably entertained by a very ingenious discourse from *13 Proverbs 21 V*. "*he that walks with wise men shall be wise, but a companion of fools shall be destroyed.*" After that service leaving my company I departed to Silver street Meeting House Lectures. Mr. Smith preached but entering too late I knew not the text. It was a customary meeting to close the old year. The minister pathetically addressed the young, middle aged and old, severally. After service was an Anthem sung by a few, and for ought I know, well performed, the audience very numerous. My Landlady perceiv-ing me enter, pushed forwards, and took me to the Vestry, where I was accomodated with a convenient seat, and with her and other

company, part of the way came home on foot, through Bartholomew close, Smithfield and St. John Street and road, very much foul and dirty. May the afflictions through the past year which I have suffered and am now suffering in an unhappy banishment from my Country, family, friends and acquaintances be the means of increasing my reliance on and submission to the all disposing hand of the wise and righteous Governor of the universe.

1776

Monday January 1, 1776. May the events of the following year however untoward and unfavorable to the pride of my heart be productive of more moral improvement than the last years. Raw and overcast. At home all the A.M. After dinner accompanied by W. Cabot walkt on foot to London and having anew engaged Say's Weekly journal to be sent to me, purchased a new years pocket almanack, and memorandum, and another for transcribing technical memoranda. Returned back on foot through the city road, it being dark before our arrival home.

Tuesday 2. At home all day writing.

Wednesday 3. Walkt to London by my self, the 2 Lodgers gone to Enfield on a visit to Mr. Smith. Did a deal of agreeable business, and returned home at dinner time in a more composed frame than when I set off, a very fine and clear day, returned in P.M. into my chamber to write &c.

Thursday 4. Rainy, wind Nly. At home all day alone, writing, the 2 not yet returned.

Friday 5. Cold N.E. air and snow. Walkt to London, visited Mr. Joseph Green who kindly invited me to call on him saying, he and Mrs. Green was always at home, and should be glad to see me. Proceeded to S. Quincys, where I met Mr. Flucker, Judge S[ewall], and his Lady, S[amuel] S[ewall] and H[arrison] G[ray] who were bound to the Theatre to see the Jubilee which, I am told, is exquisitely decorated in the Scenery. Under some apprehension of the blood flux

of which I have some Symptoms returning home I called at B.M. Shop, and received a pair of spectacles in stead of a pair bought some time since of him, from thence passed through a dismal place called Breakneck Stairs consisting of a flight of stairs of near 40, lying between Seacoal lane and Green harbour Court between Fleet street and the Old baily—from whence after a very tiresome and dirty walk I arrived at home, where I spent a dull unpleasant Evening alone, in my Chamber, and in considerable pain. Sent for the Apothecary Mr. Church, by whose advice I took 3 Ipecacuanha pills, and had a tolerably comfortable night.

Saturday 6. Same as day before. My apprehensions concerning my disorder lessened, the Symptoms having left me except a small degree of pain in my bowels. Wrote a letter to my good friend Mr. Timmins which I sent down to be put into the bag by B.P., remaining at home all the day; cloudy but moderate.

Sunday 7. Staid within all the A.M. it being cloudy and snowy. Rode down to London, went into New York Coffee house, took a small basin of Chocolate and after walkt to G. Harrison's where on an invitation I dined meeting my company B.P., our other companions being Mr. Am. and J.Bl., after Tea returned home in the 7 o'clock stage.

Monday 8. At home all day being a cold cloudy day, wind this and preceding day at N.E. Passed the Whole day in writing.

Tuesday 9. The same weather as yesteryear and windy. Staid within doors till dinner, after which, being detained by the coachmans delay to $\frac{1}{2}$ past 4 o'clock we 3 rode up to London alighting within Temple bar, footed it to Drury lane Theatre and entring found the pit filled, where, for some time I was forced to take up with a stand, but at length, being on the watch, I obtained a favorable position at the end of a bench which by degrees I enlarged to a comfortable seat, affording my 2 companions by turns a rest till the crowd some what [thinned?] at the end of the Tragedy (named I am There) they found higher up each a seat for themselves; the pit was excessively crowded. The entertainment of the Jubilee, or the exhibition of Shakespear's characters in their different dresses etc. with the pageants displayed, the grandeur of the processions, variety, number &c. was very pleasing accom-

panied by the humour of the Irishman by [name] Moody, and the country characters well performed, the streets remarkably free from Town girls, returned on foot to Smithfield, and from thence by Coach home, where we arrived at 11 o'clock.

Wednesday 10. Cloudy, raw and snow like appearance, wind N.Ely., very much of a N.E. winter and with a clouded Horizon. Dined at home, and after, walkt to London, and drank tea with Mr. Alexander Donaldson and Lady, returned home in the Newgate street coach at 7 o'clock.

Thursday 11. Snowy, air extremely raw, unpleasant and harsh, wind N.Ely. At home all day.

Friday 12. Cold raw air, wind N.Ely., Snow, after dinner, rode to London, received from the auctioneer Mr. Skinner a ticket to view Mr. Daniel Perreau (the present Criminal now in Newgate and to be executed next Wednesday for forgery) his effects at Harley street, Cavendish Square, which are to be sold next Monday, Tuesday and Friday, none being to be allowed to be present at the auction but by ticket. He with his Brother were the accomplices with the notorious Mrs. M. C. Rudd lately cleared on her tryal at the Old Bailey, by a strange concurrence of circumstances, though judged by the public to be the most criminal of the three, and deepest in that scene of villainy; having accomplished my business, and trudged through the Snow and cold, I returned by coach home at 5 o'clock.

Saturday 13. Rode to London and took a Hackney coach to Harley street Cavendish Square to view the superb furniture and House of the unfortunate Daniel Perreau where we met a very large company of genteel, well dressed people most of whom were of the Feminine Gender, on the same errand as ourselves, to view the House and furniture, the former of which is in the highest and most Expensive taste. Amongst other articles of the latter are glasses each Plate of 7 feet 3 inches by 4 feet 2 being by much the largest I had seen, a great quantity of tasty plate, china, glass, &c. &c. &c. After passing through the rooms, from the 4th story to the Kitchen &c. below, and gratified our curiosity, we departed on foot to the cloisters at Bartholomew's Hospital and from thence to the stand of coaches in Smithfield, where taking one, we returned home, arriving there at 3 o'clock. This being my dear wife's birthday when she enters into her 57th year, I cele-

brate by treating the family with a Dish of tea and cakes. May it please God to continue her life as long as it shall be a blessing, and afterwards to receive her to the unutterable and inconceivable joy prepared for all the good and virtuous, Amen.

Sunday January 14. A very cold raw air, snowy; rose late in P.M. went out to Meeting; Mr. Jennings preached from 37 *Psalm 23*, "*A good mans steps are ordered by the Lord, and he delighteth in his ways.*" Very stormy and extream cold, almost frozened.

Monday 15. Cloudy, snowy, and very cold. At home all day.¹

Tuesday 16. The same as yesterday. Wrote to D[ennis] D[ebarde] yesterday but as yet received no answer, though desired.

Wednesday 17. At home the A.M., after dinner walkt, accompanied by W.C., to London; returned home by coach. Raw, cloudy day, hourly accounts of the damage by the excessive snow that has been falling more or less for these 10 days now, higher than has been known within the memory of any. This day the 2 unfortunate Brothers, Robert and Daniel Perreau executed at Tyburn for a forgery committed 15 or 18 months since, the most guilty person, and who, in the public judgment, was the Original cause of the scene of Villainy, Mrs. M. C. Rudd was last Session at the old Bailey by an unaccountable train of crafty measures acquitted; and now lives to triumph in her wickedness. Tis said they and 5 others behaved with great propriety and seriousness.

Thursday January 18th. Raw, cloudy, and very unpleasant. At home all the A.M. Walkt towards London with Mr. I. Smith who kindly came to see us, and dined with him. Extream cold.

19 Friday. Walkt to London alone in the A.M. and returned back by 3 o'clock. Very cold sharp air. Did several little errands.

Saturday 20. Accompanied by B.P. and W.C. I walkt to London in order to see Mr. Fisher² lately arrived from America who by enquir-

1. Curwen wrote to Henry Curwen, Esq., Workington in Cumberland, explaining his own position as a refugee and undoubtedly hoping to strike up an acquaintance with one he hoped would turn out to be a relative.

2. John Fisher (ca. 1745-1811), collector of Salem 1768, brother-in-law of Governor John Wentworth of New Hampshire, a refugee and proscribed in 1778; became secretary to Lord George Germain.

ing we found boarded in Panton street Haymarket. He was gone abroad, as was Mr. Flucker, from whence we went to Gov. H. whom we had found in the street and invited us; after a short time we departed through the park to S[amuel] Q[uincy] and D. Green's lodgings in Parliament street, where I met Judge S[ewall], Mr. S[amuel] S[ewall], Mr. Fl[ucker], Mr. H[arrison Gray], Mr. Ox[nard]; meeting Mr. Bl[iss] and Jonathan Clarke³ going out of the door; whom for the first time I had seen since his arrival. From thence departed to Temple bar, where arrived just in the nick of time, we jumped into the coach that with us was just filled, and alighted at our lodgings at 3 o'clock. Remained at home the following part of the day, Mr. P. leaving us at dark to go to London being intended with a friend for Canterbury where on certain conditions W.C. and myself engaged to meet him the following week.

Sunday 21. Wind changed after 3 Weeks fixture at E. and N.E. to W. A.M. somewhat milder and clear sky. At 2 o'clock departed on foot through the City road to Dr. Staffords meeting in New Broad street near Moorfields where I attended worship, the Assembly respectable folk, text in 6 *John 20.29 Verses* "*Then said they unto him, what shall we do, that we may work the works of God? Jesus answered and said unto them, this is the work of God, that ye believe on him whom he hath sent.*" The Doctor's design being to prove that on the efficacy of repentance and good works depend true evangelical genuine faith. Returned back almost stiffened with cold, the air being charged with frigorific spicules almost starved me being obliged to call in at the cooks shop on the City road.

Monday 22. At home all day. Wind raw but somewhat moderated.

Tuesday 23. Walkt to London, to Panton street to see my Townsman Mr. Fisher but was denied by the servant, he being ill; gave my name, but she neglected to tell it as he informed me afterwards by a line, in answer to one of mine 2 days since. Passed the remainder of the day at home having returned in the Newgate coach, with one female companion whom I rendered sociable by tiezing.

Wednesday 24. Walkt to London at 10 o'clock and there remained all day, returning home by coach 6 o'clock Evening in a particoloured

3. Jonathan Clarke (1744-?), of Boston, son of Richard Clarke, member of the Loyalist Club, proscribed in 1778, returned to Canada after the peace.

[1 word] of 6 persons, affording me diversion and amusement in silence, taking no share in the conversation. Air raw, finger cold, uncomfortably experienced.

Thursday 25. Walkt to London, and returned back on foot to dinner at New England Coffee House. P.M. walkt up again, was at the Foundery to see and hear the well known John [Wesley?] preach; his text in 2 Peter 1 Ch. 3,4 Verses, "*according as his divine power hath given unto us all things that pertain unto life and godliness, through knowledge of him that hath called us to glory and virtue; whereby are given unto us exceeding great and precious promises; that by these you might be partakers of the divine nature, having escaped the corruption of the world through [lust]*," according to his interpretation which also differed from the common translation in other respects; it, however, has escaped my treacherous memory, the Preacher's intention being to convince the hearers that good works are a necessary part of religion, though called by him the threshold only, to render them of any value they must proceed from an union with the God Christ; which the words in the text *divine nature* implied, and formed an internal vital acting principle, the only just and true force of Christian obedience. He also told us of the great danger of relying on practices and notions, of the latter were the doctrines of reprobation, election, and perseverance of which he once was himself in hazard of embracing. Reprobation, says he, implies election, election perseverance all which are reflections on the righteousness and goodness of God, and entirely void of Scripture foundation, if one is embraced all must be, take one and take all; or reject one and all must be reprobate, 'tis pernicious, tis destructive, has been and tis to be feared, will be the ruin of many. The greek word is the best, is derived from Komonia and implies communion and communication which all who experience fully feel as he has and does, takes from the mind all desire of wealth honour power &c. &c. &c. filling it with a calmness and tranquillity unknown to, and inconceivable by the children of this world. The preacher is a very low statured thin man, very much wrinkled by age, with grey hair, parted on the top of his head, and falling in a long strait lines along his lank face, having a vissage not altogether unlike Ralpho in Hudibrass, has a weak voice, and no graceful utterance; his garb a Master's gown; his prayers very short, before and after Sermon. He gives out the Psalm or Hymn, and sett's it forth very indifferently. The whole service lasted a short hour, the audience not very numerous, nor respectable. Departing from the

place I had appointed to be taken up at, took a cold solitary walk through Moorfield back to the Exchange, despairing to meet my Coach but was agreeably disappointed, it going off just at my arrival, and with my place just filled it up, the coachman telling me he had not forgot his order to take up at the Foundery that by my arrival was now needless. Received at the Coffee house B.P. letter from Canterbury, and instantly wrote an answer.

Friday 26. Clear but very sharp air; at home all the A.M. Excessive cold, and in my mind, and by my feelings, equal to almost any day on the other side of the Atlantick in our New England Latitude. Was agreeably surprised by a packet containing 2 letters from Salem one from [2 initials crossed out] and the other from my friend W[illiam] P[ynchon] Esqr. Received another from Mr. Isaac Smith inviting me to a Dinner at the Adelphi Tavern designed as an Introduction to a New England Club that I have been long desirous of establishing, though hitherto fruitlessly. Continued at home the remainder of the day.

27 Saturday. Extream cold sharp air attended with high wind and some snow at N.E. equal to our very severest weather. At home all day. With difficulty I can keep myself comfortable. Declined going to London on account of the severity of the weather. I excused by a line to Mr. Smith.

Sunday 28. Clear sharp and bitter cold air, it may with great propriety be called the coldest Sunday being almost as cold as ever I felt in New England. At home in my chamber before a rousing fire all day. My Landlady's zeal called her to London being Communion day.

Monday 29. Wind and weather as yesterday without perceivable (to me) abatement: milk congeals to a hard body, and our pump in the house is with difficulty in the morning rendered, with hot water, capable of use, by Fahrenheit the Quick silver down to $8\frac{1}{2}$. The Thames passed over on the ice, and has been so for some days, great collections, and generous ones have been, and are daily raising, for the suffering poor which is almost beyond belief. The least stagnation produces misery, for the gains of the labourer is always, spent at farthest on Sunday, foresight and provision for a future day is not a virtue known among the lowest class. At home all day. The fires here, not to

be compared to the large American one of walnut and oak, nor near so comfortable; would, I was away!

Tuesday 30. Clear, for this Island, though for a fine blew sky not to be compared to my native country; it has been so since last Friday; at home all day. D[ennis] D[eberdt] came to see, and dined with us. Mr. Isaac Smith and David Greene took a walk, visited and drank tea with me; acquainted me that there is to be a dinner at the Adelphi tavern in the strand next Thursday 4 o'clock P.M. for us North Americans or rather New Englanders; if we can agree on the terms, to be continued weekly. The plan I gladly embrace, having been desirous of it ever since my arrival here.

Wednesday 31. Clear, wind as heretofore; sharp air but somewhat moderated. Walkt out accompanied by W.C. to Holloway about $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles distant, returned by the way of Paradise row, fine roads. Received second letter of B.P. from Canterbury, wrote an answer to him, and to J[ames] R[ussell]⁴ from whom I had received one dated at Dartmouth and one to my dear wife superscribed to R. Ward. Extream cold Evening and following night.⁵

Thursday February 1. At home in my chamber all A.M. till 2 o'clock. Very cold and cloudy, wind N.E., at 2 o'clock took coach and rode to Temple bar; from thence on foot to the Adelphi Tavern¹ where by appointment I met and dined with 21 of my Countrymen who had agreed on a weekly dinner at the rate of 2/6 each, besides wine, the conditions agreed with Osmyn the Master of the House as follows dinner for 12 certain and if that number does not meet the absentees to make up the deficiency of 30/, that the Company attending if within 12 shall not be bothered with more than the agreed expence of 2/6. The company as follows: Messrs. Richard Clark, Joseph Green, Jonathan Sewall, Mr. Waldo,² Elisha Hutchinson, his

4. James Russell, Jr., of Massachusetts, exiled in 1775, lived in Exeter in 1779. In 1780 he married a daughter of Richard Lechmere and became a merchant in Bristol. He was a nephew of Judge Chambers Russell.

5. Another letter to his wife expressing fear for the future; one to James Russell acknowledging his and wishing him well; and a short note to Timmins accepting his generous offer of a loan of £50.

1. Adelphi Tavern, John Street, Adelphi, No. 5 in Lillywhite, *Coffee Houses*.

2. Joseph Waldo (1723-1816), Harvard 1741, merchant of Boston, a member of the Sons of Liberty; went to England in 1770 and settled in Bristol; traded with the American colonies; was a member of the New England Club. He died in Cheltenham.

Brother William,³ Jonathan Bliss, S. S. Blowers,⁴ S. Sewall, S. Quincy, Isaac Smith, H. Gray, D. Greene, Jonathan Clarke, Mr. Flucker, Joseph Taylor, D. Silsbee, Thomas Brindley,⁵ W. Cabot, John S. Copely, S. Curwen. N[athaniel] Coffin,⁶ B. Pickman absent at Canterbury, if he wishes Gov. H. to attend when he pleases, Samuel Porter, Edward Oxnard. Returned home by Change Coach, having 3 letters to forward I came into the City. The Air becomes Mild, a Thaw beginning and is the first since January came in, every night being frosty.

Friday 2. Cloudy, moderate, wind at E., thaw continues, now and then a small sprinkling of rain. In my chamber all A.M. bad headach; after dinner rode down, say up, to London being excited by poor Hardings pleas who has met with a loss of five horses of a Disease called the Staggers &c. during the extream cold season. Did a few errands and returned by tea time which with us is 6 o'clock.

Saturday 3. Very moderate, thaw still continues. At home all A.M. Cloudy, looks like rain. Walkt to London, Drank tea at Mr. Berry's lodgings, and returned by Exchange Coach at 8 o'clock. Am informed Lord How and General Amherst are for a certainty to go out to America: Woe betide my poor Countrymen if terms of reconciliation are not offered, or embraced.

Sunday 4th. A.M. at home, after dinner walkt to London, stopped at Irwin street Meeting House but was unable to procure a seat or convenient stand the House being so crowded, therefore pushed on as at first designed to little Caster lane Meeting House where we arrived in singing time, heard a Mr. Taylor the afternoon preacher, Mrs. Abney of Newington her Chaplain, his text in *18 Chap. 1 Kings 2 V. "How*

3. William Sanford Hutchinson (1752-1780), son of Governor Hutchinson, died of consumption in London.

4. Sampson Salter Blowers (1742-1842), Harvard 1763, of Boston. With Adams and Quincy he defended Captain Preston at the Boston Massacre trial. He went to England in 1774 and returned to America in 1777, first to Newport then Boston where he was briefly imprisoned. He returned to Newport and on the evacuation of Rhode Island in 1779 he returned to England. Again returning to New York he aided in evacuating the loyalists to Halifax and in 1797 became president of the Council and chief justice of the province. In 1842 he was the oldest Harvard graduate.

5. Thomas Brinley (1726-1784), Harvard 1744, merchant of Boston, addresser of Gage and Hutchinson, refugee in 1775, proscribed in 1778.

6. Nathaniel Coffin (1725-1780), Harvard 1744, merchant and customs officer of Boston, addresser of Gage and Hutchinson; left for Halifax in 1774; sailed for New York in 1780 but died on the voyage.

long halt ye between two opinions? if the Lord be God, follow him: but if Baal, then follow him," a very serious sensible and reasonable discourse, the House most elegantly finished of any Meeting House I had yet seen. The assembly tolerable in respect of numbers and dress. From Service we went down Burnet Hill to Pauls Wharff to view the river yet filled with loose ice, not one Wherry boat or lighter, on the stream; after Which, on return stopped at St. Peters Church Burnet Hill, a Mr. Taylor was preaching extempore, or without notes, very earnest and pathetic. Sermon ended, he made a serious extempore prayer. He is a Man of independent fortune and preaches without notes. The church is one of the smallest in my eye, dark, and I fear one of the dirtiest in London; and is built of brick. Adjourned to Parson Peters Lodgings with whom and his friend Punderson I drank tea, staid till 8 o'clock and from thence went to the Cat and Salutation Inn Market Newgate Street, where taking coach in company with two chatty females we arrived at home at $\frac{1}{2}$ after nine o'clock. Night drisly. One of our female Companions was strong American in principle, blaming Administration though for laying taxes contrary, as she termed it, to the charter of rights of the colonies; saying, it was insulting the colonies to grant charters and pay no regard to the terms of 'em, they not being represented could not constitutionally be taxed. If Great Britain conquered them their [*1 word*] would bear the constitution of this country.

Friday 9th-Feb. 9, 1776. Passing through Westminster Hall; in my passage through, I stopt for a small space at the 2 Courts of Common-pleas, and King's bench at the former was sitting the chief Justice De Grey, and his associates, one of whom was the famous Sir William Blackstone, author of the well known commentaries on the laws of England, but no cause of any importance nor any Lawyer of note, speaking, I proceeded to the Latter, where was sitting that excellent useful Judge but mischeivous politician Lord Mansfield, for the same reason as the former I soon quitted my stand here and retreated to the House of Commons Committee chamber where for an hour or two I was entertained at the Examination of witnesses in the Worcester contested election. The Committee sat on an elevated bench and looked like a Court of Sessions; the causes managed by advocates with regularity and decency. One of the Committee was Sir George Savile, the chairman Sir Adam Ferguson, some sat with their hatts on, and some off, all took minutes and as many of the officials and

some of the spectators, as is usual in all the Courts and in all causes which I have yet seen. From thence at 2 o'clock I left the hall, and going through the park, Knightsbridge &c. arrived at three o'clock at Judge Sewall's Brompton row in a more than scotch mist; where presently arrived a few New England friends, Mr. Thomas Robie,⁷ who I was very glad to see, being 3 days since arrived in England from Halifax, bringing me 3 letters, one being from Dr. J[ohn] Prince⁸ of 30th December in answer to a letter of mine to him dated in August. Spent a few hours agreeably; and with 4 took coach (the Evening rainy) and at 8 o'clock was set down opposite the Adelphi Tavern in the strand; from whence in foot I soon arrived at Temple Exchange Coffee House, where taking Coach again I arrived at my lodgings, Islington, a little after 9.

Saturday 10 February 1776. Wind and weather as yesterday Foul and cloudy, sometimes rainy. At home in my chamber all A.M. alone. Mr. Bliss visited and dined with me, and staid till the 6 o'clock Coach. Rainy Evening but moderate.

Sunday 11. Cloudy, sometimes drisly, walkt on foot to London, attended worship in Little Caster lane Meeting House, Mr. Peckard preached from 3 *Phillipians* 20,21 Verses, "*For our conversation is in Heaven; from Whence also we look for the Saviour, the Lord Jesus Christ: who shall change our vile body, that it may be fashioned like unto his glorious body, according to the working Whereby he is able to subdue all things unto himself.*" He, amongst other things, observed the epithet *vile* was too base and contemptible to be applied to that noble piece of divine workmanship: and told us he would lead our thoughts to a most just idea, by the following mode of expression, who shall transform our bodies of humiliation, that it may be like to the glorified body of our great Redeemer. A respectable assembly; returned home in the same way and manner as I went, which I reached by $\frac{3}{4}$ past 12. Small sprinkling of rain, a very agreeable Lady in a pew adjoining to my seat seeing me stoop forward to hear her more distinctly was obliging enough to exert a feeble but most pleasing voice,

7. Thomas Robie (1730-ca. 1814), merchant of Marblehead, son of Dr. Thomas Robie of Salem, addresser of Hutchinson; fled to Halifax and then to London but returned after the peace to Salem.

8. Dr. John Prince (1735?-1786), of Salem; married the daughter of the Hon. Richard Derby of Salem; retired to Halifax in 1775. Curwen had written to him on 25 July 1775 addressed to Halifax.

which delighted my ears beyond expression. Dined at home, in P.M. attended Islington Meeting, a Mr. Norwich preached from *13 John 8 and 9 verses*, "*Peter saith unto him, Thou shalt never wash my feet. Jesus answered him. If I wash thee not, thou hast no part with me. Simon Peter saith unto him, Lord, not my feet only, but also my hands and my head.*" Passed the evening at home, reading Milton's *paradise Lost*.

Monday 12th. Morn clear and exceedingly moderate and pleasant, wind at S.W. At home till 1 o'clock, walkt to London, at chapter coffee House;⁹ drank tea at Mrs. Joseph Greenes, who lives at No. 55 in Hatton Street, Holburn; where I was kindly entertained. Returned home by Exchange Coach at 8 o'clock.

Tuesday 13th. Fine moderate weather, sun out, air soft, wind S.Wly. At home till dinner, not rising till late, having been in great pain all night. Dined at home, and afterwards walkt to London. Returned home by Coach, having paid a short visit to Mrs. Savage at the blew Posts Holborn.

Wednesday 14th. Moderate clear and cloudy alternately, wind brisk at S.W. Rose late, P.M. rainy.

Thursday 15. At home till 3 o'clock, walkt to London, dined with the New England club at Adelphi Tavern, was introdced to Sir Francis Bernard.¹⁰ Saw Mr. Fisher for the first time who promises soon to come and spend a day with me at Islington. Received a letter from Col. Browne acquainting me with the sad destruction of wooden Houses for want of Fuel, till of late, 13 Vessells with clothing, provisions and coal arrived which raised the desponding hearts of the Soldiers and people. Met in my progress through Coldbath field, a poor Fellow who with tears implored my charity for a suffering family which I afforded. Returned home by 7 o'clock in the coach.

Friday 16. At home all day with a severe nervous head ach, which seized me at club, and disturbed my repose, or rather prevented it; in

9. Chapter Coffee House, Paternoster Row, No. 234 in Lillywhite, *Coffee Houses*.

10. Sir Francis Bernard (1712?-1779), governor of New Jersey in 1758 and of Massachusetts in 1760, succeeded by Hutchinson; returned to England in 1768; opposed the Stamp Act; appointed Hutchinson chief justice instead of Otis; at one time owned Mt. Desert Island.

the morning being abated I walked down to London to attend the anniversary Sermon at St. Mary lebow Cheapside preached by Dr. Hinchcliff, Bishop of Peterborough from 10 Acts 34,35 Verse, "Then Peter opened his mouth, and said, of a truth I perceive that God is no respector of persons; but in every nation, he that feareth him, and worketh righteousness, is accepted of him." Returned back on foot, my walk having increased my pain. Spent the remainder of the day at home, in groans.

Saturday 17 February. The same as yesterday in excessive distress my pain being rather increased, having passed a most tedious sleepless night in great distress.

Sunday 18. Cloudy and sometimes drisly. At home all day, in some pain, my head not quite free, though much abated. Wind N.Ely. A few days since my Landlady Mrs. Wilson being in the Islington stage coach was stopped in St. John's street at the door of a Coffee house to take up a passenger, when a young fellow in a military Habit soon appearing was admitted into the coach; he seemed somewhat apprehensive, frightened, on which she asked him the reason, but before he could answer, 3 ordinary fellows came out cursing and calling him foul names and swore if they could have catched him they would have given him a hearty drubbing, but being seated and out of danger the coach also driving off he then told the company it was usage he was lately accustomed to, saying further that he was going to America and had been on the recruiting service but was unsuccessful; as that service was disgustful to the common people; and rendered the officers hateful, and obnoxious to them and liable to daily affronts and abuses. The fellows finding him out of their reach threw mud and sticks at the Coach to manifest their resentment at him and his business.

Monday 19. Cloudy and raw, Wind at N.W. At home all day.

Tuesday 20. Fair pleasant day Wind westerly. Walkt to London, was at Guild hall; after the choice of Chamberlain by hands was over, Wilkes was chosen by a less majority than was expected, but Alderman Hopkins demanded a poll, the books were opened at 3 o'clock, he going out and soon after returning with some friends on his entrance, and passing up to the Hustings a faint shout and clap attended him, but Wilkes soon after appearing, the Hall rung with shouts and claps.

Received about and in the hall 14 papers on account of the election in favour of the respective candidates which I put up on files. Returned back about $\frac{1}{2}$ past 4 o'clock on foot, it being exceeding moderate and clear. Received an Invitation by letter from J. Lane to B.P. this evening to a dinner at his house on fish tomorrow being Ash Wednesday or the first day of Lent.

Wednesday 21. The sun out and in alternately all the A.M. Wind brisk, though pleasant, and it West. Rid up to London and dined at J. L[ane], agreeable to an Invitation yesterday, company being 6 New Englanders beside myself, staid to tea and returning to New England Coffee left W.C. to return by coach. Abode there for an hour, and then walkt home with the [*manuscript torn*] Close and St. John's street, arranging [*manuscript torn*] Evening full of this light.

Thursday 22. At home all day, being confined with a nervous head ach. Wind Ely., cloudy, rainy and windy. New England Club this day changed from Adelphi Tavern to Crown and Anchor in Arundel street. Received a line today from D.D. acquainting me he had received a letter from Capt. Johnson wherein he desired him to inform me he had seen my wife a few days before the 25th December. She had then been sick but was recovering. I pray God her health, which at the best is but indifferent may be restored, and support her under that weight of trouble she is appointed to bear.

Friday 23. At home on the same account as yesterday. Mr. Fisher paid us a visit, and dined with us, staying till 7 o'clock. From him we received a particular relation of our Families, and the town, more than since my departure from thence; he politely invited us to his lodgings.

Saturday 24. Being yesterday by a message from Gov. H. invited to dinner was obliged [*manuscript torn*] thence proceeded [*manuscript torn*]. Staid within all day.

Sunday 25th. Took salts and staid in my chamber all A.M. Clear and cloudy by turns, moderate.

Monday 26. Walkt to London, and was at Guild hall, and amongst the crowd, Whilst the poll was taking for Chamberlain; being thoroughly tired with the noise, huzzas and bustle, I made off, with

my pocket full of libellous and dirty reflections on the Candidates, who were, Alderman Wilkes and Hopkins. Returned home drenched in rain at 3 o'clock. Passed the remainder of the P.M. and Evening at home.

Tuesday 27. Walkt to London, and was again at Guildhall, but the claps, Huzzas &c. &c. confusing my brain I was glad to get off, and entertained myself by receiving and reading the printed billets; and hearing the different sentiments of my fellow spectators till the poll was closed at 3 o'clock. The majority of 160 declared in favour of Hopkins, was Ecchoed through the Hall, and adjoining streets, by his friends to the no small mortification of the Wilkites, who by far in numbers, amongst the lower class, exceeded the friends of the successful candidate. From that hour Mr. Wilkes must look on himself as one of the people and lost henceforth to all importance. Weather moderate, but, as usual here, cloudy and clear, rain and sun.

Wednesday 28. Cloudy, rainy, and sunshine alternately. Set out on foot, but was soon stopt by rain. After Dinner walkt to London. Agreed with my Taylor for a new suit of clothes superfine cloth to take in exchange my old one on my back at 1½ guinea, in parts. Staid to tea with him at New Loyd's Coffee house¹¹ to enquire for a vessel bound to Antigua, found a bag for one Capt. ——— to sail in this week. Returned home on foot in a most delightful Evening at 6 o'clock.¹²

Thursday February 29. Walkt up to London, at Lloyd's Coffee house put a letter to C[harles] R[ussell]¹³ into the Antigua bag, dined and drank tea at Mr. G. Harrison. Delivered Mr. Timmins's Letter of Credit to Messrs. Harrison and Ansley. Invited to dine at Mr. Legg's my woolen draper but excused myself being preengaged. Returned home again on foot in a very pleasant moonshine Evening. The day as usual, cloudy and clear, rain and shine; Wind westerly; very moderate.

11. New Lloyd's Coffee House, over the northwest corner of the Royal Exchange, No. 894 in Lillywhite, *Coffee Houses*.

12. Curwen wrote to Charles Russell (see n. 13, below) at Antigua asking repayment of at least £100 of the £200 Russell owed him and sending his compliments to Mrs. Russell and William Vassall.

13. Charles Russell (1739-1780), Harvard 1757, son of James Russell of Charleston, nephew of Judge Chambers Russell. He married the daughter of Henry Vassall of Cambridge and sailed for Martinique in 1775. Practiced medicine at Antigua where he died.

Friday March 1. Walkt up to London to the Woolen Drapers, a Mr. Keene in the Minories; agreed with him for a suit of a dark slate; returned on foot; dined at home. Paid a visit according to promise to the Dissenting Minister living in pleasant row; he was out and being sent to, the company by a servant, invited me, but being indisposed, excused myself and returned to my lodgings and engaged my Landlady to settle it with her [*1 word*] and paid at whose house he was.

Saturday 2d. Walkt up to London, dispatched sundry businesses, waited on G[ov.] H. who was gone into the Country to his Seat. Visited Mr. Greene, drank tea at Parson Peters's where I saw Mr. Troutbeck¹ lately arrived at this place from Halifax and Mr. Wiswall,² mutually invited each other and gave cards. Returned home on foot, the coach being departed for Islington. In my passing through Charles Street saw on a Window the following Advertisement *Robert Bridges the King's Bugg Doctor.*

Sunday 3d. Walkt up to London, was at Old Jury Meeting house and heard Mr. White who preached from *1 Thessalonian 3, 13 Verse*, "*to the end he may establish your hearts conformable before God even our Father, at the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ.*" An excellent serious and well adapted discourse to the occasion, it being Communion day at which I was present. Rode back to my Lodgings at Islington where I arrived just as our Family were seated at dinner, Mr. S. Porter being among them, who accompanied me to the Islington Meeting House, the preacher Mr. Jennings the parson, the text from *30 Verse of 2d Chapter of Jeremiah*, "*In vain have I smitten your children; they have received no correction.*" From meeting we returned home, drank tea, after which he set off for London, on foot for Sadler's.

Monday 4th. Received a card from Messrs. Clarkes excusing themselves, being preengaged to dine before my card arrived to them. Raw,

1. The Reverend John Troutbeck (d. ca. 1783), assistant rector of King's Chapel, Boston, in 1755. An addresser of Gage, he left Boston in 1776 for England, arriving in the *Somerset* from Halifax after a difficult passage; he was later captured by pirates in the North Sea.

2. The Rev. John Wiswall (1731–1812), Harvard 1749, of Falmouth, Maine. Converted from Congregationalism he became the first minister of the first Episcopal church at Portland. After the burning of Falmouth in Oct. 1775 by Captain Mowatt, he left for England and was for a time curate at Oxford, later becoming a missionary to Nova Scotia, where he married the widow of John Hutchinson.

cloudy day. Seized last night with a very severe sore throat, which continued all the night and was to this hour attended with a cold, and running at my nose, being midday. Frequent small showers every day.

Tuesday 5th. At home all day. My sore throat continues. Frequent small showers. Wind at E., moderate.

Wednesday 6. Cloudy and showery. At home confined by a cold. Jammy Russell came in a coach to see me having 2 days since arrived from Dartmouth where he has resided for about 2 months. He and his friend Newman are by agreement to dine with me next Monday.

Thursday 7. Rode to the New England Club at the Crown and Anchor in the Strand, where were present 26 persons in number, returned back by coach from the Exchange having some business in the City whither I went on foot. Passed the Evening by myself alone in writing to my friend William Browne at Boston.

Friday 8. Confined by an head ach, wind S.E., alternate fair and showers. Dined at home alone.

Saturday 9. At home, Mr. T. Robie, Mr. Isaac Smith and Mr. Oxnard dined with us, they staid and drank tea and departed about 6 o'clock by Coach. Alternate fair and showers.

Sunday 10. A fine day, wind N. Was at Dr. Fordyce's Meeting House, heard him preach from 1 *Revelations* 6, "*And bath made us King's and priests unto God and his Father; to him be glory forever and ever. Amen.*" From whence after service Mr. Pickman and myself walkt up to Tichfield street to pay our respects to Gov. Oliver's³ Lady, and from thence to Brompton row to Judge Sewalls, with whom we dined, in our way we passed through a street where I saw the following word, say advertisement, Cut hair for 1d, dress hair for 2d, bleed for 3d, draw teeth for 4d, make fashionable curls &c reasonably. Returned back with Parson Wiswall who made one of our company to Temple bar Coach in which we came home between 8 and 9 of Clock.

3. Thomas Oliver (1734-1815), Harvard 1753, born in Antigua, no relation of the Massachusetts Olivers, married Elizabeth, daughter of John Vassall, who died in 1779; became lieutenant governor of Massachusetts in 1774 by the last royal commission to be issued; resigned and fled to England with Chief Justice Peter Oliver in 1775, where he died in 1815.

Monday 11. Walked to London by myself, and from thence down to Stepney Church in order to examine the Epitaphs, for which this Church yard has in times past been remarkable. Was disappointed, finding none worth taking down but the following

*Here lyeth She, was born, and cryed
Lived a few months, fell sick and dyed.*

Having called in the way at the bell founders at White Chappell, and received one of their advertisements. Returned back to the Exchange Coach extreemly wearied. It was a fine pleasant day, wind at W. Jammy Russell and a Mr. Newman dined with us, and left us about 5 o'clock. Spent the remainder of P.M. and Evening in completing my letter to Mr. Browne.

Tuesday 12. Cloudy and sometimes drisly, wind at E., at home all A.M.

Wednesday 13. Walkt up to London, waited on Mr. Hayley at his home who assigned a day next week to examine our accounts, leaving him and finding no cash in my pocket was forced to return home but soon departing from thence went back to London by myself and proceeding to Covent Garden theatre was lucky enough to arrive at the door before company collected, and pushing in among the foremost, obtained a very convenient place in the first front Seat of the lower Gallery, wherein the Oratorio, called the Messiah, was performed. The whole stage was formed into an Orchestra, in the Center was a spacious organ embelished by a portrait of Handel in the center on the top surmounted with a glory or such rays as are placed round the heads of the Saints of the romish calendar, our musical saints performances being as much read and studied here as their manuals of devotion are by their admirers. The form of the Orchestra amphitheatrical; and the seats concentric except the vocal performers who sat in chairs in front, attended by half an hundred on each hand. The names of the leading singers were Mrs. Wrighten, and Mrs. Weischells, Mr. Leoni, a Jew, Mr. ——— and Mr. ——— the number of the whole was fourscore or nearly. The first fiddle a Monsieur La Motte, and the first flute a Mr. Florio; each of whom, by way of interlude, if that is a right expression, or between the parts, gave us a ——— the last Chorus of the first part was "Hallelujah. *For the Lord God*

omnipotent reigneth, for the Kingdoms of the Earth shall become the Kingdoms of our Lord, and of his Christ, and he shall reign for ever and ever, Lord of Lords, and King of Kings, Hallelujah." The music was in my language (for I know not how to express my self as a Musical Man, I pretend to no fine ear and only profess to feel a pleasing thrill and sensation at times) most noble, grand, full, sonorous, and even awfully majestic, the whole assembly as one, rising, adding a solemnity, which swells and filled my soul with an, I know not what, that enobled and exalted it beyond itself, bringing to my raised imagination a full ideal view of that sacred assembly of blessed Spirits above surrounding the throne of God, and playing on golden harps. The concluding chorus, "*Worthy is the Lamb that was slain to receive blessing and glory and honour, Amen,*" had the same accompaniments and was productive of similar effects on me already enough prepared for the highest devotional acts of worship. Though in the preceding part the light airs were set, my untasty mind quite discordant to the serious, and solemn words, and ideas and seemed, I own, rather a burlesque; the recitative was also to my ear dull and unpleasing. From the theatre I walked to Smithfield, and there taking coach returned home by 11 o'clock.

Thursday 14. Walkt up to London by myself, surveyed the new river works in Spital fields, and gave my attendant 6d, from hence to take a view of the ravages of the late fire at the Savoy and through to the Gardens belonging to the Somerset House now to be pulled down and the ground between it and River to be filled up. I cant but think with regret on so many noble and even royal apartments in good repair, to be destroyed to build offices for the Army &c. that bridle of the nation, its scourge, and will be its future ruin. Walked up to Kensington Gardens with Jemmy Russell and Mr. Newman, they wanting a conductor, the former never having before seen them. Departing from hence I went to the waterworks which are played and raised by fire at the end of Villiers street Strand where I was conducted to the highest receiver Which contains — hogsheads or — gallons each — throwing up to the height of — feet. It is built on the same principle as those at Chelsea which I had seen some months since. Departing I walkt to Mr. Isaac Smith's lodgings and with him to the dinner club at the Crown and Anchor, Strand, the Company to the number of 26 were separated dining in 2 rooms, Lord Rochford with his club having preoccupied our former. At 6 o'clock, accom-

panied by 8 persons I went to be entertained with the sight of *Spectacle Mechanique*, a most curious piece of mechanism &c. as reported and advertised, but was disappointed, this being the only week night in which there is no exhibition. Returning back to the place from whence we set out I soon took my leave, and going to Mr. Smith's lodgings for my sourtout, made the best of my way to Temple barr for an Islington Coach, this being the intermediate space between their setting out. I 'een sat down, and taking up Harris's list turned careless over about 30 characters, with not more than 2 or 3 could I meet, if justly given (the Compilers design not being to render loathsome but rather flatter and recommend) to tempt any man to indulge his desires with.

Friday 15 March. Walkt up to London to meet Mr. Isaac Smith in order to have a sight of *Doomsday book* but needlessly delaying the time, when we arrived at the chapter House in Westminster, where it is kept, the officer, to whom our conductor Mr. Smith was referred by Mr. Heard, Norroy King of Arms, treated us en cavalier, as 'tis customary here, and under pretence it was too late and the people being extream busy put us off to another day, unwilling to assign a particular one. We drew from him a reluctant promise of a sight of it if we came any day, not being Holiday, between the hours of 10 and 12, there were people who would attend and show it. On this we departed meeting at the door Judge Sewall and Samuel Quincy walking with whom as far as the Treasury I left and proceeded by my self down to Whitechappell, to the bell founders, to have a sight of the casting of the 4 largest of a peal of bells for a place called Ashton near Birmingham which I saw executed, being cast in mud as formed from Horse Dung and black Loom, in a pit in the ground, round which the earth is hard rammed down. The metal is when melted conveyed to them in gutters of brick thoroughly heated and dried, from a wind furnace, the metal in barrs being as brittle almost as glass and whilst in the furnace in fusion as bright as silver finely polished; the heat from it is intense. From this place being sadly fatigued I hobbled as well as I could up to Drury Lane Theatre, and for the first time took a seat in the upper gallery in the front bench. I am informed, 'tis the most advantageous for hearing music such as the Oratorio in the whole house and generally occupied by the best [1 word] of the whole assembly. The company was tolerable, there being very little, if any, but *decent and well dressed people*. The Entertainments were Alexanders Feast, or

the power of Music by Dryden, and the Coronation Anthem, the start of which was the most pleasing to me. From thence I returned home on foot taking the patrol along with me and arrived at home at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 10 o'clock. The former 3 days were pleasant mild and at mid-day warm, wind S.Wly., clear blew sky and clouds alternately, the face of the sky here rarely preserving an uniform appearance for many hours.

Saturday 16. Mild pleasant air, few skirting clouds. At home writing all the A.M. in my chamber. Mr. Samuel Peters dined with me, afterwards walkt up to Hornsey, or rather to top of an Eminence about 150 rods distance from the Church, having an extreamly fine view of a distant country finely improved and in full verdure, say, the earth clothed therewith, the buds in the hedges and on the trees just beginning to swell. Passed along the banks of the new river, which has a channel formed for it by earth raised some feet above the ordinary level of the adjacent grounds, and in one place an open pipe or framed trunk, lined with lead, supported by timbers about 4 feet square and raised 5 feet in heighth, under which we passed and afterwards walking on the banks and seeing a boy with a fishing rod in his hands my curiosity was raised, and taking it into mine in a few moments caught a small fish. Returned home about 6 o'clock, where I passed the evening tired enough, and before ten retreated to my repose.

Sunday 17. Attended service at Islington Meeting House. Mr. Jennings preached from 6 *Hebrews 19 and 18 Verses*, "*That by two immutable things in which it was impossible for God to lie, we might have a strong consolidation, who have fled for refuge to lay hold on the hope set before us; which hope we have as an anchor of the soul both sure and stedfast, and which entereth into that within the vail, wether the forerunner is for us entered.*" Service concluded by an anthem indifferently performed. Mr. Tate a friend of Mr. P[ickman]'s came and dined with us, in order to accompany us to Dr. Prices on Newington Green, but being told some anthems were to be sung after service again, he declined to attend here, and put off[f] his going further till next or a more convenient day. In the mean time Mr. J. Lane and W. Langdon took a walk down to see us but did not stay to dine. Mr. Jennings again preached from these words in 2 *Chapter 2 Corinthians 10 Verse*, "*For Godly sorrow worketh repentance to Salvation not to be repented of.*" After service, three anthems were sung, the two

former but ill, the latter indifferently well, from Church passing our doors, the air clear, mild and pleasant, we strolled up through Canterbury house, the rooms, Court yard, and gardens filled by Company of both sexes, and all ages; walking, smoking, and drinking punch and tea, in the boxes. Departing thence, we fetched a compass through the fields to Highbury place, a little beyond which, in the road to Hornsey was another tea house for Sunday retreats not without Company nor indeed is any place appropriated to Sunday amusement. Ending our walk we returned back by highbury into the great road, to our lodgings.

Monday 18. Fair and raw at home all the A.M. by my self. Wind Ely. and hollow; very unpleasant. Dined with Mr. Bromfield, and staid to tea. Passing the Evening at home.

Tuesday 19. Went up to London, was at Salter's Hall lecture, heard Dr. Price, who made an excellent sermon from 6 *Mathew 12 Verse* "*And forgive us our debts as we forgive our debtors.*" He observed that this petition was the only part of this prayer composed by our Lord himself; the rest being to be found in other prayers in the Jewish liturgy, or forms composed by the Doctors for public use, and for the sake of which alone, he thought for a number of reasons assigned, this prayer was composed; among others, his remarks in this passage at the end designing hereby to inculcate that peculiar and distinguishing characteristick of his religion, universal love and good to all mankind, making it the very condition on which our hopes of forgiveness are suspended. As forgiveness of injuries, and love of all mankind are the most amiable of all virtues they are the most difficult to be practised and therefore ought more studiously to be attended to and endeavoured after; nothing more recommending us to the divine favour and acceptance; for he maketh his sun to shine on the Evil and on the good and sendeth his rain on the just and on the unjust.

Afterwards went up to the House of Lords where were present about 12 or 15 Lords, spiritual and temporal. Three Messages came up from the other House, the delivery of which was as follows, the Usher of the black rod Sir Francis Molyneux came up to the barr and said, A message from the other House, to which the Chancellour who is Speaker *ex officio* replied, Admit them; or let them come in, upon which he went back to the door, and soon returned with the Commons consisting of 3 persons (all young men) on each side, and coming up

to the bar, the Lord Chancellour leaving his seat came forward, taking a resemblance of the great seal, a square of 14 or 15 Inches wrote on red or blew Silk or Cloth with Silk or worsted, and holding it in both hands came down to the barr; and Bowing to the Commons they and the Usher returned a very low one, the Chairman then holding a role read the inscription, and presenting it with a low bow, in which they all joynd returned backwards bowing with their faces to him till they arrived at the Door and then turned about and departed. He then returned and went back to his seat, and reading it, presenting it to the clerk who laid it on the table. The entring clerk took it and [1 word] it and afterwards read the title. The same ceremony accompanied each Message, before and after which were several third readings of bills sent up from the Commons, and some second (if I understood right) which seemed to be matter of form, only the heads being read, and no debate, or further notice taken of it except being read over again, after received by the clerk. Several reports of affairs from Committees which were first read by one of the Commons, then read again by the Chancellour, and then again by a Clerk; after which they were indorsed. The House adjourned and from thence I went to the House of Commons, where after waiting in one of the Common rooms for 2 hours I was by the influence of 2/ admitted to the Gallery. The Affair on the Carpet was the Hindon incapacitating bill; sundry persons being accused of bribery and corruption in that borough. Between seven and 8 o'clock I departed and returned home by coach where I arrived at 9 o'clock.

Wednesday 20. Cloudy and raw. At home A.M., wind Ely., dined at J. Lane's in company with 8 of my Countrymen, Mr. Sewall, his Kinsman, and S. Porter coming to Islington to see us we walked up to London with them calling in at the peerless pool to show them. From dinner I went to Mr. Heard's the Norroy King at Arms in the Herald's office, where I drank tea and spent the Evening till 10 o'clock at Quadrille. Passing on foot to Smithfield I took Coach and arrived at home a little before 11 o'clock. Received from Mr. Heard a letter to an A. Farley Esq. at the Chapter House recommending my self and a few friends to a sight of Doomsday book in his keeping.

Thursday 21. Walkt up to London, taking W.C. along with me. Breakfasted with S. Porter, from whence we three went to Isaac Smiths and from thence to J. Bliss's lodgings, where we agreed to meet

Judge Sewall and his Kinsman Samuel Sewall, whom we found there; which soon departing from, we proceeded to the Chapter house and delivering our credentials were admitted to a sight of Doomsday books; one in the fold of a folio consisting of Survey, say Valuation or Estimate in order for an equal tax, of all the Counties of England in the time of William the Conquerour, in the year 1066 except the North Counties of Cumberland, Westmoreland and Durham and the 3 Counties of Essex, Suffolk or Sussex, and Kent which are contained in a small Fold, or large Octavo which is more particularly described in one if my Memory does not fail, Sussex, contained but nine land holders in Capite: all tenures being then from the Crown; all the rest being Mesne Lords, and tenants under them. The writing is fair and extreamly well preserved; but difficult to be read from its abbreviations; in a multitude of places the Initial Letters stand for words, the spelling of that age is very different from ours, many terms not known now, in common use then. The House is of a peculiar construction and was formerly the Parliament house, in the time of the Edwards &c. and contains rolls of Court of Kings bench, Exchequer &c. for many ages back, as one might well judge from the dusty appearance, and ancient, of its Contents.

Our Guide refusing a fee we took our leaves, and returned back to Mr. Smiths Lodgings, resting ourselves for a small space and then set off to take a view of Pinchbeck's repository, or Exhibition Mechanical; containing several curious articles, among which is a case made by wheels for containing twice the numbers of books a Case of the same size can contain; several other Inventions for which he has received the yearly golden medal of the Society for encouragement of Arts and Sciences. The enumeration of each of the articles are to be seen in his advertisement on my file.

Returning back to our old resting place, we there remained till dinner at our weekly club room, at Crown and Anchor, called us, to which we repaired having just taken a view of the water works at the end of Villiers street Strand. After dinner with Mr. Smith and W.C., I passed a very tiresome Evening at a show called Les Ombres Chinoises, at which I saw Earl Temple and Lady, with several very well dressed people of fashion, the spectators being in number about 3 dozen; the first Exhibition was walking and performing sundry feats of activity on a slack Wire twisted double, and not in bigness more than equal to half my little finger. The performer walked on it, lay down with as much ease as on a bed, and rose, which was repeated more than $\frac{1}{2}$ a

score times, beat a drum, went through manual exercises, except grounding the firelock he was firing lying on his back, and performed many feats in the Equilibre &c.; the Ombres was awkward and unnatural except the dancing of a male and female puppet together, and apart, who went through all the motions performed at Sadlers Wells and the theatre very naturally and just. The rest of the figures and views were neither pleasing nor well executed, nor the motions easy or proper. The performers foreigners, their language french. Leaving this (to me) insipid show, we walked to Smithfield, and there taking Coach to Altham wall, alighted and in 2 minutes Space arrived at our lodgings.

Friday 22. At home all day, being wretchedly distressed by a nervous head ach, which is a Constant attendant on my weekly Club, distress and a restless, sleepless night.

Saturday 23. In the same Condition as yesterday except in degree. Sun now and then peeps out, and then shrouds his head in clouds, wind brisk, Wly., air mild. After dinner walkt up to London, called at Say's printing office in Ave Mary Lane, for the Weekly Journal, or Craftsman, and at Mr. Robie's lodgings at Baptist's head Aldermanbury, but he was not at home. Returned back on foot very much jaded.

Sunday 24. Walkt up to London being a fair and extreamly pleasant and mild day, rather warm. Attended service at Pinner's Hall Meeting House. Dr. Fleming preached from general Epistle of *St. Jude 20,21 Verse*, "*But ye, Beloved, building up yourselves on your most holy faith, praying in the holy ghost, keep yourselves in the love of God, looking for the mercy of our Lord Jesus Christ unto eternal life.*" The Doctor observed he should use the word spirit instead of Ghost which was of saxon derivation but of the same meaning as the word Spirit being more modern and intelligible, and applied it, as praying in the Spirit of holiness; the terms mercy &c. he said could not be meant as if it originated from Jesus Christ, but was to be understood of the mercy of God declared or manifested by him; which he illustrated by many passages of Scripture, explanatory of, and analogous to the expressions in the text. He complained of those mysticks who denyed the use of reasons or denyed it to men in matters of religion, said it was subversive of it, and contrary to the whole tenor of the cannon of Scripture; and

rendered as useless and unmeaning, the motives and threatenings proposed to us therein for our obedience, and progress in virtue and holiness; declared Mankind free agents, endowed with the powers of volition and choice, which was the foundation of all religious obedience, and without which we were not accountable; referred to the words of the text, building up themselves, praying, keep themselves, and looking for proof, besides many other expressions of like import, denied the merit of Christ's sacrifice to render us objects of the divine acceptance, which he said by the divine promise was to be obtained by men's own diligent performances. His language was precise and determinate, his ideas clear, and his delivery moderate and devout. The Audience respectable for numbers and dress.

Returned home on foot and there dined after which we took one more turn as far as the Antinomian Meeting House, in a lane facing Bunhill burying ground; the Congregation, if of the Elect, truly and literally accomplished the Apostles declaration in the 28 Verse of 1 Chapter Corinthians, and base things of the world, and things which are despised, hath God chosen, yea, and things which are not, &c., the text was 22 and 23 Verses of the forementioned Chapter. "*For the Jews require a sign, and the greeks seek after wisdom; but we preach Christ crucified, unto the Jews a stumbling block, and unto the greeks foolishness*"; the preachers name James Barrow, author of the Hymns they sing, the subject of the whole is Christ suffering, and the redemption by him purchased for his true disciples. He named the hymn in the following manner, *Let us sing unto our Salvation*, and set the tune both times, which were quick and lively, the Congregation joyning in, his address in his prayer was to the Son of God only, not one petition to The Father, the subject of the Sermon was, Christ had fulfilled the demands of Gods broken law, and suffered the curse and penalty of it in our stead, and for our sakes, said the law had been broken by you, by me, and by our representative, or head, which was all one as if personally likened the state of mankind to the following instance. Suppose a Man should reach out a broken Vessell to another, tell him to keep it whole and unbroken, if he did not he should be punished; now, says he, how can he keep it whole, when it is broken, just so is Man, the law has been broken, the penalty becomes dire. Christ came and paid that penalty, its demand therefore is satisfied, he never sinned personally, the law had no demand on him, he was righteous, and by virtue of his righteousness we are righteous, in the sight of God.

Having escaped without my pockets being picked, set forwards

with my companion to Islington, the roads and fields brimful of people. Met the Orphan school children, to the number of 70 (as the governess told me) walking homewards in procession from Hoxton Square Meeting House, dressed in Drab coloured clothes and Caps, the boys and the girls in the same colour, the latter having white plain handkerchiefs and straw hatts. Wind high, dust blew and discomposed me and our fellow foot travellers very much. Passing through the City road to Islington I saw a tree of the peach kind in full blossom.

Monday March 25. Walkt up to London and examined my account with Mr. Hayley at his house. Drank tea at Mr. Greens in company with Gov. H., whom I had not seen for 6 or 7 weeks, and who expressed an uneasiness at my neglect to call on him, which I accounted for as well as I could, it arising from concurring disappointments &c. Clear Day, but raw, wind Ely. and fresh. Returned home on foot, having in vain endeavored to obtain a sight of Jane Shore's⁴ house which by accident I heard was in a Lane in Hackney called Watergruel Lane which I design, if practicable, to see tomorrow. Invited by a lady to her house in company with Mr. W[ilson] on my arrival home.

Tuesday 26. At home all the A.M., being on overlooking and setting to rights my things and writing; P.M. walkt up to London in order to settle for barrel of Burton ale at the Peacock in Gray's Inn Lane, was prevented by the Coachman's bad management, or the Master's knavery which yet remains a doubt. Returned home on foot, being out of time for a Coach, as designed.

Wednesday 27. At home all day.

Thursday 28. Cloudy raw and uncomfortable, a small sprinkling of rain in M. At home all day with a slight nervous headach, which by very light food and careful restraint from attention I prevented the increase of.

Friday 29. Cloudy raw and windy, wind at E., as it was yesterday. At home all day. D. Greene paid me a short visit.

4. Jane Shore (d. 1527?), daughter of a Cheapside mercer, wife of a Lombard Street goldsmith, and mistress of Edward IV. She died in poverty and is the subject of Nicholas Rowe's tragedy *Jane Shore* (1715), in which Mrs. Siddons played so successfully at Drury Lane.

Saturday 30. Walkt up to London and returned back on foot to dinner—after which walkt back again, entered Great St. Helen's Church wherein I saw the Famous Bancrofts tomb;⁵ the spot in the Church on which it stands said to be purchased by him of the Dean of St. Pauls expressed by the word faculty, another spot for a Tomb in the churchyard said to be purchased and expressed as the former, to inquire into the meaning and application of that term, was greatly disappointed on entering to find it so large, noble and light a building. It is crowded with funeral monuments and Hatchments, of the former there are 2 more remarkable, one containing on a square chest inclosed with Iron rails and supporting a Dome decorated, and two statues in a decumbent posture with closed hands erect, the Man in a Coat of Armour, and his Dame in the dress of perhaps the 16th Century in memory of St. Gilbert Pickering and Dame his wife, the other in the same taste and antiquity but for whom I inquired not. In passing the roads that were very dry and dusty, I observed the watering Carts were sprinkling water to lay the dust. I take notice of, as our roads in New England, though lying so far South, are yet scarce free from Snow and Ice, much less mud in this month. Returned back on foot by 6 o'clock wearied enough having directed my letters to young Whitworths lodgings, he being bound to Boston, for which purpose I undertook this second walk.

Sunday 31. Walkt up to London, was at Dr. Trotter's in Swallow Street, between Oxford Street and Picadilly. The Discourse was a paraphrase on the story of Pentacost in the beginning of the second Chapter of the Acts "and when the day of Pentecost was fully come, they were all with one accord in one place;" where being admitted into a pew I remained till a call of nature forced me to leave the House, turned into an Ale house adjoining and satisfying it, set forward on my return home. The congregation was crouded, chiefly if not all Scotch, the preacher of the moderate size for accomplishments, the House rather dark, low, and gloomy, of which I here take my leave. In the P.M. I attended at Islington Meeting House. Mr. Jennings preached from ———. After service returned back to London on

5. Francis Bancroft (d. 1728) was the founder of the Bancroft charity which established several almshouses. He is "embalmed in a chest made with a lid, having a pair of hinges without any fastening, and a piece of square glass in the lid just above his face . . . and has a door for the sexton, on certain occasions to go in and clear it from dust and cobwebs. Wheatley, *London Past and Present*, 2:205. When inspected in April 1881, the body was in "a hideous state of decay." *Ibid.*, 1:94.

foot, designing to drink tea at Mr. T. and S.'s lodgings till it was time to attend the Salter's hall lecture, they not being at home, and meeting Capt. C. who was also disappointed. I departed with him being invited to his lodgings which was in Hatton Street, Holborn, the same House with Mr. Joseph Green. Stopping into Mr. G[reen's] chambers I there abode with S. Q[uincy] who was on a visit till the service was over. Returned home by coach.

Monday April 01st. Walkt up to London to pay my respects to Gov. H. whom I found alone reading a new pamphlet entitled "An Enquiry wether Great Britain or America is most in fault."¹ He invited me to dine on a pudding and a bit of roast mutton, which I accepted; taking leave for the present I departed, walking through the palace and park to Mr. Bliss's lodgings, when soon after arrived Judge Sewall, Mr. Oxnard and Smith, with whom I went to Exeter Exchange, to have a view of the Modell of the City of Paris, formed on a scale of 72 feet to an inch, contained in a square of 18 feet, with all the streets, houses, gardens, Palaces, hotels, churches &c. &c. in elevation, and the River Seine with its bridges. The Man who attends, well understands his business, and related several entertaining anecdotes of the buildings with regard to their original founder &c. &c. From thence separating I returned to the Governor with whom only young Oliver² and myself dined. From thence in my return passing through Leicester Square I called in at Mr. Copely's to see Mr. Clarke and the family, who kindly pressed my staying to tea, and in the meantime was amused by seeing his performances in painting. He was then at work on a family piece containing himself, Mr. Clarke, his wife and 4 Children,³ of all of Whom I observed a very striking likeness; at Tea was present Mr. West,⁴ a Philadelphian, a most Masterly hand in the Historic painting; author of the well known, and applauded piece now in print, called West's death of Wolfe; and taken from his painting. He's now at work on a piece called the Death of Stephen, for the King, and

1. Curwen was probably referring to [John Roebuck, M.D.], *An Enquiry whether The Guilt of the Present Civil War in America, Ought to be imputed to Great Britain or America* (London, 1776).

2. Brinley Sylvester Oliver (1755–1828), Harvard 1774, youngest son of Lt. Gov. Andrew Oliver; removed to England in 1774; served in the royal navy as purser at the Battle of the Nile.

3. This portrait, considered one of Copley's finest, is now owned by the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

4. Benjamin West (1738–1820), an American by birth, went to England in 1763, became historical painter to George III, a position he held until his patron's insanity. Gilbert Stuart facetiously referred to his large historical paintings in Kensington Palace as "ten-acre canvases."



The Copley Family, 1776–1777, by John Singleton Copley. Curwen saw this painting *in limine* (see entry for April 1, 1776). Copley stands behind the group, Richard Clarke, his father-in-law and a friend and companion of Curwen's, holds a grandchild, Elizabeth Clarke Copley stands in the center, John Singleton Copley, Jr. (later Lord Lyndhurst) has his arm around his mother Susanna Copley, and Mary Copley sits beside her on the sofa.



Governor Thomas Hutchinson (1711–1780), by Edward Truman. Hutchinson was one of the most prominent refugees and Curwen met and dined with him frequently.

for which he is to have 1000 £—He is the Kings history painter, was kind enough to put me into a way of obtaining a sight of the Queen's palace, which he tells me contains, except Houghton hall, the finest collection of capital paintings of any House in Europe, or England, I remember not which but I believe the latter. Returned with Mr. Clarke, who was going to see his son, sick, as far as Temple barr, where by good fortune I got into a full coach, taking a very agreeable young Lady in my lap, who was obliging enough to accept it rather than turn me out of the Coach, she having taken a place first. It proved a most fine Evening which closed a fine day. Arrived at home at 8 o'clock after the pleasantest passage up I ever experienced.⁵

Tuesday April 2. A moderate clear and fine day, wind N.Wly. Walkt out to Highbury, and returned home through Canonbury House; after dinner footed it up to London, put a letter into the post-office, and from thence paid a Visit to Messrs. T. and S. where with a companion I drank tea and spent till 8 o'clock, the time for the last return of Islington stage in Newgate Street, where arriving in time, we entered, being joyned by 5 Gentlemen and 3 Ladies which just then filling up the seats obliged my companion and self to accept of one in each of our laps, the heaviest load of Mortality falling to the share of 3 of us which, the good Woman, sensible of her weight, not less than 10 or 12 stone nor in bulk than an hogshead, frequently changed to render the burden less intolerable to us. This, however, did not prevent the old Gentleman who set beside me from groaning under the superincumbent load. The Evening was most charmingly mild and agreeable.

Wednesday April 3. Walkt up to London and breakfasted with Mr. Smith and Oxnard, where I found S. Q[ui]ncy and D. Gr[ee]n, one Lieut. Merrick afterwards arriving and Judge Sewall. After taking my leave, and wishing Mr. Smith a good journey (who is bound to Exeter) I departed and by way of St. Paul's Churchyard where at Johnsons I bought Dr. Price on Civil Liberty and the American War⁶

5. Curwen wrote two pages of gratitude for his letters and gossip about how he spent his time to William Pynchon. To William Brown he wrote a five-page letter explaining his reasons for leaving America—though unable to “engage my dear domestic friend to accompany me”—detailing his voyage, and telling of the founding of the New England Club—all fully covered in his diary.

6. Of the first edition of Richard Price's *Observations on the Nature of Civil Liberty, the Principles of Government, and the Justice and Policy of the War with America*, published early in 1776, 60,000 copies were sold in a few months. S. Austin Allibone, *A Critical Dictionary of English Literature*, 3 vols. (Philadelphia, 1870), 2:1678.

for 3d, being on a small type and small fold and the 6th Edition. I walkt back again and at 12 o'clock arrived [*6 words*]. Whilst at dinner Mr. R. Clarke passed by, on seeing him I arose and went out, inviting him in; his visit was to procure more convenient Lodgings for his son Jonathan who had been indisposed and was recommended to a freer air than London; we accompanied him, and at length found one in Wells's row which suited. Returning Mr. P[ickman] left us, and we proceeded to report to the young man who seemed rather inclined to choose one in the spot Dr. Pitcairn mentioned in Cross Street, which we went to view. It was called the Queens house, said to be an old palace of Queen Elizabeth built on a small scale, low and in the taste of 16th Century; the remains of the Porters lodge at bottom of Garden, in a peculiar style yet continues; the rooms are large, and in one of the lower rooms is painting on the windows with the date of 1588. From thence returned to stand of Coaches, where taking up one we arrived at the House and taking our sick man in, were proceeding to his new lodgings when I discovered Mr. R. Russell, and Capt. Hay going to my House. Alighting I joyned them, being glad at heart to see them, the Captain informing me of what my curiosity prompted me to ask, and what he thought proper. Soon after Mr. Clarke arrived and after drinking tea departed once more to see his son, and I with my 2 visitors down the City road to Shephard and Shepardess, where entring the long Chamber, we regaled with a bowl of punch, our taste; at our ease with an organ; placed in the room for the amusement and pleasure of the Company. At length I descended, and returned back by way of the fields, leaving them to pursue their walk into the City.

Thursday April 4. Moderate and clear day, wind Wly. Walkt up to London, at New England dinner club where 25 persons were present. Rode back to Islington in the 7 o'clock Coach, and as usual, with an headach, went to bed early waked out of sleep by my Companion who came into my room at 12 o'clock.

Friday 5. Cloudy, wind Nly., raw. Being good Friday, had at breakfast *Cross buns*, or buns with a cross marked on the top, it being a custom, the reason of which I cant explore, our customary bread was small roles in lieu of which on this day mutually is substituted as beforementioned. Walkt up to London. Yesterday was the Jewish Easter, or passover, which recollecting, as I passed in the neighbourhood of the Portuguese Synagogue, I turned in, and having waited a

small space of time was admitted to view the pentateuch, of which there are many roles included in silk bags and bound round with a broad golden lace. They are fastened at each end to 2 rollers in the top of which are placed, (to take off and on,) roundish or oblate bodies of silver in which are small golden bells which when moved make a tinkling sound; the characters are fair, and on asking what the many roles meant, were told they were Copies of the Law given by different persons, all of which are received and deposited in the Ark or Closet, and if one single letter is by time or accident injured, defaced or shortened, the Copy is laid aside. The people are extremely pleased to be enquired of and are very civil and communicative. Talking with a Master, was informed that the common people amongst them cannot read without points, though the pentateuch contains only Alphabetic Characters, that they were invented about the time of Christ, in the reign of Tiberius, and that they are necessary to ascertain the sense, which in many places would be wholly unintelligible without them, and that it would cost 6 monthes to study to understand the language so as to follow them in their prayers. The manner of worship is very indevout, talking, walking, gazing, whistling, and praying all in a breath—their heads covered.

Was this day at the Poles chappell service, the Preacher one Mr. More, his text from 1 Timothy 1.15, "*This is a faithful saying and worthy of all acceptation, that Jesus Christ came into the world to save sinners.*" By chance we met our Company Judge Sewall &c. who in strolling stepped into the chappell where seeing one of my companions staid there till service was ended, from whence passing through Oxford road to Tyburn, and through Hide Park to Kensington Gardens we returned back to Brompton row to Judge Sewall's where we dined, to us arrived J. R[ussell] and S[amuel] P[orter] the latter of whom agreed to make one of a party to go tomorrow to view Lord Tynely House in Epping Forrest Essex. Walkt back to Temple barr, where taking coach we arrived at home about 9 o'clock.

Saturday 6. Cloudy, raw air, a little sprinkling, walkt up to London in order to meet our company who had agreed to be at the 3 Nunns Inn at Aldgate Street at 10 o'clock. After waiting some time Mr. Flucker and Hutchinson appeared; taking coach we departed leaving a line at the Inn for Judge Sewall and his company from whom, since, I have not heard. Arriving at the gate, the first object that engrossed our attention, was a Lady in a riding habit running on the Lawn, and

at a distance 2 horses bridled and saddled on the full tilt pursued by 2 or 3 men. Our curiosity prompting us to enquire of the Lady she informed us that a young lady had been thrown by her horse which she had mounted by way of trial soon after coming up to us. We found her face scratched but happily no Limbs broken.

Proceeding forwards, Mr. Pickman and I arrived at the House situated about 200 rods from the gate, a broad coach way through a lawn bordered by trees in rows, extending to a piece of water containing at least an acre or more of an oval form, round about which is a gravel road leading to the avenues of the house surrounded by an open Iron fence. Being admitted into the House under the steps by three flights leading to the great Hall and passing underneath which, we went out of the back front door opening onto a lawn bordered on each side by a thicket of high trees at a great distance, continued to a small running stream beyond which, and bounding the view is an elegant house belonging to a Mr. Webber. Leaving this on our right hand, we passed on through a serpentine walk so called being a winding path slovenly kept, to a declivity, on which we crossed the lawn to another path leading to a gate made of a Scythe, hedge shears, dung forks, reap hooks, &c. to my eye making a very odd and uncommon appearance. At the end of a winding foot path our eye was saluted by the iron gate of the grotto, a first description of which exceeds my ability to give. It seems to be a body formed of earth stones stumps &c. excavated and formed into a room of about 15 feet diameter and a Concave roof of the same height in the center of which is an aperture with a balcony of glass windows, forming a sky light, the sides have 6 windows, and in compartments or spaces between, and oval specutions. The Roof and sides are covered with Shells, stones, petrified substances &c. &c. which the whole earth seems ransacked to have furnished; the flooring of small pebbles not bigger than the top of one's thumb of a variety of colours and figures. There are three passages into it, one being from the gate, the other from the apartment of the Keeper, which is a beautiful little room or rooms and the 3d under a Concave or Arch lined with irregularly laid stones as if dug out of mines, and leads down to a plain of 8 feet wide, on the border of the running stream, furnishing a variety of fish. To this most agreeable retreat sportsmen often go. The situation is in a solitary spot, far from noise or interruption. Returning back, we entered the House under the guidance of a female, appeared for the purpose of showing it to strangers on this day of the week by my Lord's allowance (who resides at Rome and has done so

for these fourteen years on account (it is said) of an unnatural crime committed by him here). The great hall extends to the wings on each side and is royally executed and furnished being filled in with the most superb Tapestry and Furniture, from hence you are conducted to the right wing passing through many rooms containing superb furniture, in one is the family pictures at full length, among other the founder of the Family, Sir Josiah Child father of the first Lord Tylney, the present owner being the 2nd. Returning back, we were conducted through several fine apartments to the ball room forming the whole left wing, being 72 feet in length about 45 in breadth, and 18 or 20 in height, the walls on one side covered with 2 pieces tapestry 10 or 11 by 15 of the most lively tints imaginable, being the story of *Telemaque engaged in battle*, the other just arrived on the *Island of Calypso, amidst her and her maiden throng, Monitor lying at a distance, on a rising ground, watching his behaviour*. 2 or 3 of the rooms are also covered with fine Tapestry, though much excelled by this; the ceilings covered with paintings of sundry devices finely executed by Mr. Kent whose portrait at full length with his portrait and pencils in one hand, is placed over the Chimney. This is faced with marble, excellently polished and filled with imagery in bas relief. The back suite of rooms contains the saloon or largest state dining room, the sides are adorned with copies of the most capital painters, well executed, the next is the state bed chamber hung with crimson damask, the bed and window curtains lined with a crimson coloured silk, flowred in the way called deckered, which I am told is india work and cost 2000 £. In the saloon are 3 pictures about 10 by 8 the frames cost, as our Guide says, 1500 £. They are Copies of Titians, but what, I have forgotten. In the same suite are 2 rooms hung, the one in figured Velvet on Satin ground, the other in crimson Velvet with very broad gold lace, the whole in fine preservation.

Having taken a full view and payed the customary fee to the porter, which we mistakenly exceeded, and returning back to our coach, arrived in London by 4 o'clock dining at Bm: Kenton's Tavern, White chappell, afterwards walking to Exchange took coach, and were carried to Mr. Jonathan Clarke's lodgings in Wells row with whom we drank tea Mrs. Borland⁷ in company and taking, soon after, our

7. Anna (Vassall) Borland (1735-1823), widow of John Borland of Boston who died in 1775 during the blockade of that city, leaving nine children; she subsequently married William Knight of Portsmouth, New Hampshire, and died, again a widow, in Boston.

leave departed on foot for our own lodgings where we passed the Evening.

Sunday 7 April. Walkt up to London, was at Old Jewry Meeting House, Mr. White preached from 1 *Chapter Colossians 10*, "*that ye might walk worthy of the Lord unto all well pleasing.*" Attended the Communion invited by Gov. Hutchinson and with him we dined, departing from his house we stopped in at Mr. Joseph Greene's and drank tea, passing the remainder of the Evening till 10 o'clock we arrived at Smithfield, taking Coach and paying the sunday fare of 6d above the common turnpike fare of 3d arrived at our lodgings a little after 10 o'clock.

Monday 8. At home till 1 o'clock. Paid Jonathan Cl[arke] a visit after dinner walkt up to London, viewed a small woman of 22 in. in heighth in Holborn, she is quick and lively, smart, speaks and tells stories, frequently uses the words on my honour and jokes about marrying large men to mend the breed. Called on Mrs. Savage, drank tea at Furnivals Inn Coffee House.⁸ Returned home by Coach, where we passed the Evening. Cloudy raw day, some small sprinkling of rain, wind Ely. This is a day of Festivity here, many old customs observed. Lord Maior attended service at St. Pauls, and in the Evening treats with a splendid ball and supper.

Tuesday 9. At home till after dinner. Cold and raw, wind Ely. Walkt to White Conduit house; took a view of the House, Gardens and Company; which not pleasing, being a Collection of ordinary and low folks, we soon left, and proceeded to Bagnigge Wells⁹ [3 words] though superior in a very small Degree, however, walkt in the gardens, appearing in much better order though the site be low, and yields no prospect, which from the other is agreeable, having in view both Hamsted, Highgate and the adjacent feilds. Staid tea, and from thence we walkt to Haymarket, to Breslaw's exhibition, for dexterity and slight of hand in Cards and money exceeding whatever I had seen; a general account of this Man's act is mentioned in the advertisement I have on file amongst many other insignificancies. Returned back to Holborn where taking coach, we arrived at home by 10 o'clock.

8. Furnival's Inn Coffee House, 139 Lower Holborn, No. 432 in Lillywhite, *Coffee Houses*, a favorite haunt of Curwen's in 1780.

9. A view of Bagnigge Wells in mezzotint by T. R. Smith in 1772 shows a room crowded with people of fashion, but "the quality of the visitors quickly deteriorated." Wheatley, *London Past and Present*, 1:88.

Wednesday 10. Walkt up to London to view West's the History painters pictures, the gallery through which we passed to the picture rooms were romantic and agreeable consisting of lengths about 9 feet in width arched 16 or 18 feet in heighth lighted by sky lights only which this poetic painter tells me is most favorable for viewing Pictures and is filled with original designs of his own; amonst others, which filled 2 large rooms, were the original of the death of Wolfe sold to Lord Grosvener for 600 Guineas, about 7 by 5 feet in high estimation, though censored by an anonymous writer in yesterdays advertiser. Lord Clive's receiving the Dewannak from the Nabob; the persons in miniature is about 12 In. in heighth and the likeness of the principal figures said to be very justly preserved; in size about 15 feet by 8 and many other groups of modern persons in ancient characters, the death of St Stephen the protomartyr at the period of his being received after his death by his friends and relatives, the figures 7 feet, the size about 7 feet by 16 designed for the Altar of St. Stephen Walbrook; the performer to receive 600 Guineas, which he esteems so small a price that he looks upon it as a gift to the Church. From thence I went to Mr. Barnardiston's in No. 42 Friday street for acceptance of a bill of 10 Guineas remitted to me from Dartmouth by J.R[ussell] which one in the store told me they had received advice of the draught and entered as payable the 2d of May. Mr. B. not being at home if I would leave it should be accepted but being straitened in time told him I would call for it tomorrow, but he saying if I needed the money it should be payd without delay, which declining, he told me accepted or not, it was good and should be paid at the day. I departed trusting to the honour of the House, and arrived home just as our family had set down to dinner. Soon after Mr. P. and my self departed for Hornsey Wood tea House, said to be 2 miles distant but by misinformation taking a Circle of 7 miles at length arrived there and drinking tea, returned homeward stopping into Mr. Jonathan Clarke's lodgings to which Mrs. Bromfield soon entering brought 12 oranges with which we were treated. His Brother arriving brought the New Lloyds Evening post containing particular account of the ship Dickensons arrival at Bristol being designed for Nants to exchange her Cargo of flour &c. for small arms, powder, salt petre &c. but the Mate and men pretending they were forced, rose and confined the Master, and brought her into Bristol; after beating up Channell for 14 days, by which she is forfeited to the public, agreeable to Act of Parliament. At 9 o'clock taking our leaves we departed, and soon entered our own lodgings, where I now am, jaded enough with my walk.

Thursday 11. Cloudy, raw air, and windy, walkt to Gun dock Wapping, in search of R. Russell's Lodgings, which I found in Salter's Alley, Green bank. Returned and dined at the Plough, meeting Capt. Hay in the Minories to whom I delivered his letter from J. R[ussell]. After dinner walkt to John Baptists head Aldermanbury, drank punch, read the Papers, and from thence home; where I arrived about 6 o'clock, stopping at Church to enquire into the choice of a lecturer which was not declared. Mr. Boylston called on me in his way to Highgate, and invited me to come and dine or lodge, as it should suit me, which I promised. He informs me he can introduce me to a sight of Caen wood House and Gardens, Lord Mansfield's seat, distant from him about 2 miles. Drank tea and afterwards walkt out, found the choice of the lecturer had fallen on Mr. Gaskin; the names of the 2 unsuccessful competitors were Davies and Walker.

Friday 12. Walkt up to London, paid a visit to Mr. Flucker, meeting there Judge Sewall and Mr. Wiswall, with whom we went into the park, Mr. Fisher joyning us; from hence with him we departed for the City leaving him in the Strand, as we passed in the Mall a Girl gave me a smile and speech but who she was I know not, the wretched condition to which the multitude of poor Girls with which this great City abounds who have been unfortunately seduced from the paths of modesty and chastity are reduced to, is a melancholy and mortifying consideration to an humane mind. Proceeding on, we arrived at Mr. Kane's house to which I had been invited to dine with 5 of my Countrymen one of whom is a Mr. Bourne from Halifax late arrived. He appears a grave solid man, whose acquaintance I presume I shall esteem, having received an Invitation to see him, and gave one in Exchange. Returned home a foot through Moorfields, just as the day closed.

Saturday 13. Cloudy and fair by turns, wind Nly., and brisk. Walkt out to Copenhagen Tea house, being designed for the Kentish town, lying at the foot of Hampstead hill, and from thence home, by the way of Pancras commonly called pancridge, but short in time we took a draught of ringwood ale and turned back passing through Cut-throat lane under Justice Altham's (say Squire Altham's) Wall, where we arrived before dinner, in the interim Mrs. Fox came on a morning's visit. In conversation a topick was started which brought on a dispute and wager of her and myself against Mrs. Bradley. On the result we

lost, and are to receive payment at Mrs. Fox's house when Mrs. Wilson gets well enough to go out. After tea Mr. F[lucker] and I parted. We went up to London doing a few errands and returned back by the City road, meeting nothing memorable.

Sunday 14. Cloudy but moderate, wind N.Wly., attended divine service at Islington, Mr. Jennings preached from *132 Psalm 15 Verse*, "*I will abundantly bless her provision; I will satisfy her poor with bread.*" Mr. Tate came up to our lodgings; with him B.P. and myself walkt over to Newington Green attending Dr. Price his service and Communion which is celebrated in the P.M., he having the care of Hackney Church in the fields in the Morning. Mr. P. and I staid and drank tea at the Doctor's House. My company entered in a long conversation or rather talk about American affairs, but their sentiments were very widely different. Returned back to Islington before dark and passed the Evening at Mr. Jonathan Clarke's lodgings. Dr. Price preached, his text was taken from *2d Peter 1 Chapter 7 Verse*, "*And to Godliness Brotherly kindness; and to brotherly kindness, charity.*" The number of Communicants not exceeding thirty six, his address to each Communicant was, "*Receive this in graceful remembrance of Jesus Christ, who died for the sins of the world,*" differing from Mr. White of the old Jewry, who applys to each while receiving the elements some proper expression of Scripture, or pertinent sentiment of his own, scarcely two alike through the whole service.

Monday 15. Mr. Boylston calling on me before I rose, acquainted with it I came down, and having agreed after breakfast to follow him down I accordingly did, and met him at his lodging in Draper's Court from whence we walkt up to Parliament Street to see the procession of the Peers to Westminster hall to attend the tryal of the Dutchess of Kingston,¹⁰ but to our disappointment it had passed; the

10. The so-called Dutchess of Kingston was born ca. 1720 Elizabeth Chudleigh and was maid of honor to the Princess of Wales in 1743. In 1744 she married, privately, Augustus John Hervey, later the 6th Earl of Bristol, who died 23 Sept. 1779. He divorced her early in 1769 "a mensa et thoro" which she (erroneously) considered to have annulled the marriage. On 8 March 1769 she "went through the form of marriage to Evelyn Pierrepont, Duke of Kingston, who died in 1773. Thereafter she was tried for bigamy in April 1776 before the House of Lords and found guilty, but pleading her privilege as a peeress, escaped sentence, being, as it was said, branded on the hand with a cold iron. Leigh Hunt wrote of her: "Hating prolixity and mock modesty, her maxim . . . was to be 'short, clear, and surprising,' so she concentrated her rhetoric into swearing, and dressed in a style next door to nakedness." George Edward Cokayne, *The Complete Peerage*, 13 vols. (London, 1910-1940), 7:308-309.

Lords were in their robes, the Peeresses and Ladys in great multitude attended; the Queen 2 Eldest princes and 2 or 3 princesses, (the King did not, being to take the air on horseback), went through Westminster Abby with Mr. B.; being the 2d time since my arrival, after waiting some hours, I returned home in the temple barr Coach, having spent 5 or 6 hours in London to very little purpose.

Tuesday 16. Cloudy and windy, fresh at S. At home till dinner. Wrote a letter to J. R[ussell] at Dartmouth, in answer to his, inclosing bill of W.G. and about his uncle R. for whom I wish I could procure an employ. Spent the Evening with Mr. Fisher at his lodgings in St. Jermyn's Street agreeable to an appointment. Returned back to Islington by coach from Holborn. Received and entertained very kindly, he says, if he can, he will procure me a sight of the Peers and Peeresses assembled at Westminster hall on the tryal of the Dutchess of Kingston (which I presume is the grandest and most brilliant appearance on earth) next Friday to which it is adjourned; this day, since the easter Holiday, being the first of the parliament's sitting: the budget or the grand Financiers scheme for the future year's supply being to be opened.

Wednesday 17. B.P. and S. C[abot] rode up to Highgate on a visit to Mr. Boylston with whom we dined and from thence walkt over to Canewood Lord Mansfield's Seat. The House is elegant not large; in the Center is a noble portico, the walls of the Hall, saloon Chambers &c. covered with paper of India or Chinese figures. The Library is a beautiful room having a delightful prospect of St. Pauls distant about 7 miles, through a wood, and over a lawn, ending in a fine piece of water, bounded by a Mock bridge. It is oblong, perhaps 36 feet long by 24 broad, the ends are semicircular in which are shelves filled with books gilt and lettered which make a fine appearance, to the number of two or three thousand, in the sides are placed very beautiful glasses in gilded frames, one being the largest plate I have ever seen, of french manufacture, not less in my conjecture than seven feet in heighth and $3\frac{1}{2}$ in breadth. In the great Hall are two tables of jet black marble of a most excellent polish. The walls of 2 apartments are hung with portraits of the Familys of Lord Mansfield and the Lady, who was a daughter of the Finch's, Earls of Nottingham. The gardens containing nothing remarkably elegant, we satisfied our curiosity by a superficial view through the windows of the apartments as we passed them, and departing thence soon arrived at

our friends lodgings, where taking a dish of Cowslip tea, of the smell of bergamot and taste of french balm, being my first taste; and for my choice may be the last, taking our leaves, we very leisurely walkt home, designing to attend the Islington assembly having a Card of invitation, B. Pickman and S.C., left us by Mr. Church, the company expecting the Gentlemen agreeable to a custom should appear in swords; and we having none, nor able to procure any, were disappointed, passing as very usual, the evening at home.

Thursday 18. Cloudy now and then a sprinkling, wind W. but mild and pleasant. Rode up to London, dined with a small company of 8 at Crown and Anchor from thence rode with B.P. to Drury lane Theatre to see the Runaway the 16th night, abounding in strokes of decent humour, in one scene the Justice being called upon to attend on business declines to leave his Brother Justice Hargrave who is on a party of bottle pleasure till a Messenger informs of a poor fellow who had killed a horse in his own garden; when the Justice falling into a violent passion is for hurrying away instantly to punish the poor Culprit declaring that the laws enacted solemnly by the Supreme Legislature of the Kingdom consisting of King Lords and Commons for the security and preservation of the, of the, the, the horses should be for the general safety, and amusement of the Gentry by no means by no no no means suffered to be violated, on which such a clap and shout continued for minutes as made the whole House echo—after which followed Shakespeare's Jubilee, or procession of the principal characters in each of his plays, intermixed with some strokes not worthy the author in whose honour it was instituted and first exhibited at Stratford the Town that Shakespear was born in on the Avon. After which we walkt to Holborn; and from thence taking coach alighted at our lodgings at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 11 o'clock, all except old Mrs. W[ilson] being gone to bed.

Friday 19. Walkt up to London, at Mr. Fisher's lodging but he had been gone out ever since 7 o'clock. Wrote a line and left it at Mrs. Nesbitts opposite St. Clement's Church Strand, and departed for Old palace yard where I met a Gentleman the most free and communicative of any I had yet spoken to, he informed me Lord Cambden was like to succeed the Chancellor who, 'tis reported designs soon to resign, and a new sett of Members to succeed Lord North and the present, to try their abilities upon the American quarrell. After many tedious trials to obtain a view of the Lords in their robes, and the

Ladies in their brilliancy in Westminster Hall for the trial of the Dutchess of Kingston on the bigamy Act, I returned discouraged, and writing to the Norroy King of Arms Mr. Heard my desire (he and his Lady being absent) to procure, if practicable, a peep for a few minutes left it at his House, which, if it succeeds I shall rejoice, if otherwise I shall despair to make any future attempt. Returned home on foot meeting Miss Oliver the younger in St. John Street whom I accompanied to her door, very much pleased with my companion. The day is clear, and warm, and very pleasant, arrived at 5 o'clock.

Saturday 20. Walkt up to London. From the Herald's office by coach in company with Mr. Bigland the Garter King at Arms, and Mr. Heard, Norroy, I was conducted to House of Lords, where I saw them in their robes, and after an hours delay in the Lords Lobby among the Mace bearers in procession to the Hall, to the amount of more than 100, the first in order was the Masters in Chancery, 2 and 2 Judges, Peers younger, followed by Elder sons, then Barons, Viscounts, Earls, Dukes and at last the High Steward with his white wand. Previous to this by the interest of the 2 Gentlemen with whom I came, I was led by them on either side of me to the Hall in which I stayed a few minutes only, to take a view of the arrangement disposition of the seats &c., all of those allotted to the Ladies were filled, and made the most brilliant appearances that imagination can form a conception of, a few Lords only being present. On my return back to the Strand met the funeral procession of young Wallace an only son drowned in the Thames a scholar at Westminster; the procession was lead by 6 Men on foot with black rods, like halberts the heads covered with white, next a man with a Tablet on his head covered with black cloth and charged with tufts of white ostrich feathers, then followed the Hearse, on the top were 6 or 8 tufts of the same feathers, carried by six horses covered with black cloth and white ostrich feathers on their heads, the father following, attended by 10 or 12 Coaches. Called at Mr. Greene's and left word with Mrs. Greene to press his coming to dine with us at Islington on salt fish. After dinner walkt with him to Hornsey wood, tea House, and drank tea, proceeding to the Bottom on Mount pleasant, where Taking leave, we departed homewards, receiving an Invitation to pass the following day with him.

Sunday 21. Walkt up to Highgate, arrived at Mr. Boyleston's Lodgings by 9 o'clock, with him I breakfasted and soon after crossing the

fields went over to Hamstead. For want of right information we dropped into a Methodist dissenting Meeting House, the House scarcely reputable, crowded into a bye place through a narrow lane, the congregation small, and that not of the most agreeable appearance, consisting as my Companion told me, of 46. On entering they all devoutly sent up a short ejaculatory petition, or appeared so to do, they stand in singing, the clerk reads 2 lines at a time, the parson whose name is Codes wore no band, preached a sermon of 1 ½ hour in length, to the edification, I hope, of some of his hearers, from 4 *Chapter Malachi 2d Verse*, "*but unto you that fear my name, shall the Sun of righteousness arise with healing in his wings.*"

From thence taking a turn over the terrace walk, so called, on a level with the Cross on St. Pauls, as I am told, yielding a most delightful and commanding prospect of London, and the circumjacent country, under fine improvement beyond the healthy ground over which it passes; on the back of the heath is erected a kind of open Obelisk, standing on the top of an artificial mount which we ascended in a gyral line greatly enlarging the view. From thence returning back, we passed an House called, for a reason I do not know, the *Spaniard*; being a Sunday Ordinary, or an House of entertainment for the Idle people to pass the day in jovial mirth and festivity, as is very common here, especially amongst the servants and tradespeople of London, and along a very pleasant rode back to Cainwood, reached Mr. Boylston's lodgings.

After dinner attended worship in a small House of no very different Appearance from the other, and the Congregation of nearly the same size, the number which my Companion's curiosity tempted him to reckon was 49, the preacher of a different complexion, his name Towers; keeps a booksellers shop in Forestreet London, sensible, and apparently serious. His discourse and prayer were judicious and instructive and to me pleasing, the text from 17 *St. John* 17, "*Sanctify them through thy truth; thy word is truth.*"

After service my friends by invitation carried me to a Mr. Palmers, a London Stock Broker, with whom we drank tea; his lady sensible and extremely well behaved; a warm supporter of American policy, and thinks them justifiable in aiming at Independency. Before the lady's return from an airing to which she went in the crack after service, we were introduced to the Gardens, consisting of 2 plains, the inner one, or that nearest the House was the flower garden; neatly kept; the more distant, lying in a level below, and separated by a brick wall;

within which was a pleasant Grotto, furnished with chairs Table &c., hot house, and places for garden utensils &c., the view of it was a very agreeable amusement till we were called in to tea. On taking leave the Gentleman was pleased to give me an invitation to call on him whenever and as often as I should visit Highgate, repeatedly telling me he should be glad to see me.

Leaving Mr. B[oyston] at the grove I set forwards arriving at home at 8 o'clock. Soon after my arrival our Landlady called the Family and continued reading Henry on the Bible for $1\frac{1}{2}$ hours or to my fatigued imagination it so appeared, Mr. Pickman coming in from London in the midst.

Monday 22d. Brisk air but clear, wind Nly. In pursuance of a design between B.P. and myself to visit Mr. Hughes at his seat at Hoddesdon, an Hamlet in Herts about 17 miles distant from London, on his invitation, I took coach at my lodgings accompanied only by one female whose chatty humour not a little entertained me; dropping her at the Exchange I proceeded into 181 Bishopgate street, Mr. Whitelock's which by appointment was to be the rendezvous between me and my future fellow Traveller who soon after appeared, setting down to a friendly repast were quickly called by the arrival of the Ware Stage.

After stowing ourselves and packages, we found our Company consisted of 2 females, the one a fat jolly Ware lady, the other a Broker's wife of Bartholomew Lane, London, which my companion's curiosity prompted him to obtain a knowledge of, both good humoured and conversable; of a contrary complexion was a 3d, a lass of 18, whom we took up at Shoreditch, from whom could be scarce squeezed the short monosyllables of yes or no. She however on being repeatedly pressed to guess at my age, yielded, and said she thought 70, after which though I essayed many times to talk, my words found no access to our female companions ears whose whole attention was now turned to my younger companion.

Passing through Kingsland Newington, fordhill Tottenham, called the high cross from a small brick structure by the roadside of an octangular or roundish form consisting of 2 stories beside the base and top, about 3 feet, which widening out descends, is at bottom about 9 feet, the top has a fane, with 4 points on which are fixed the E. W. N. and S. in height about 16 feet, a cross having formerly been fixed near the top pointing to the 4 Capital Winds. From thence through Edmonton and to Enfield wash; alighting at the bell we drank tea,

and taking fresh horses soon set forward passing Waltham Cross, Chestnut Street, Wormsley, Brookeburn, Hoddesdon, the ne plus ultra of our Journey.

Alighting at Mr. Hughes' Seat we entered and were very kindly received passing a very sociable and pleasant evening after taking a turn through the Gardens that are laid out in a very genteel taste, surrounded by high brick walls, as all the avenues are covered with fruit trees of the best kinds, beside espaling the borders &c. adorned with great variety of flowers with which the lower Garden is encompassed, the kitchen garden plots abounding in great plenty with all sorts of produce for family's use. The avenues are laid out in fine gravel walks and grass platts, kept in nice order. The House of brick, is of a moderate size genteely finished and furnished; stands pleasantly and commands in front and back pleasant views, the front a view over the river Country and bounded by the hills in Essex and in view of the Church at Nasing, the back through a part of Irongates to the hills covered with cornfields. The grounds about it are delightfully situated, inclosed with hedge and ditch fences, furnished with canals of fish, and a trout brook, which the inhabitants however, do not allow the owner all the benefit of.

Tuesday 23. Clear and pleasant, wind Nly., set out on foot to Ware to which place we arrived in an hour being 4 miles distant, and through fine roads, meads, and now and then in the pleasant banks of the New River. It is a Town of 500 houses and returns weekly a very large amount in Malt to London for which it is famous, containing very many Malt Houses the Cows in the tops of which to strangers afford a most odd sight, viewed from an Eminence. My Curiosity lead me to a sight of the great bed of Ware so called, kept in an Ale house or tavern in an upper or 2 pair stairs room, is 12 feet on each side wanting 2 inches, making nearly 144 square superficial feet within the posts, which are of an enormous size, carved as its called, with white and red roses said to have been first erected at the Union of the 2 houses of York and Lancaster. The figures 1463 are painted in the center of the head board and with the teaster are of wood, in the same taste, laid out in compartments, and carved with roses &c. except 2 on the head board which are painted, though by time so defaced, that the strokes of the pencil are scarcely visible, and my curiosity did not prompt me to make an enquiry. The wood of which the posts, frames, top and head boards consist appear to me very

little short of half a ton weight. Enquiring if it exposed to a penalty to lye on it, and being told in the negative, I stretched myself at full length thereon; lying heads to toes it will hold 20 persons. It is kept in nasty order.

Paying the customary fee of 6d for the sight of it and 6d for a Mug of beer, we departed; going through the Churchyard I observed the following inscription on a Tomb Stone which I thought worthy of note—"Here lyes buried the body of *William Mead MD who died 9 October 1652 aged 148 years and 9 months.*" Crossing the New River which runs through this Town we arrived at the gardens of a Mr. Scot, a learned Quaker, and writer, which after some delay being admitted into, were conducted through a serpentine walk in a shrubbery bordered with a variety of flours, in an easy ascent to a field, on the borders of which we stood, and had a commanding prospect of a delightful Country, finely improved, and laid out in grass and corn grounds and the New River, and town of Ware. From thence descending into the lower ground again entered the shrubbery, to entrance of the grotto, lying to the South which we entered, through a portico faced with shells, petrifications, and small flint stones, on the sides of which are placed chairs. The Grotto is faced with a great variety of shells and floored with small flints in very pretty taste. It is almost 8 feet over, and ends in a dome, the center is about 15 feet in heighth and admits a faint light through the portico. Returning back on the left we entered a passage lined with rough and much larger flint stones leading to the arched way, faced and floored as the portico, 25 feet in length ending in the first Cave, a room of 10 or 12 in diameter of the heighth of 15 feet and same form as the Grotto lighted by a passage of 2 feet wide 10 or 20 long through the body of the hill. From thence through an archway of man heighth in another direction in which silence, cold and darkness rule, you are conducted to a 2nd cave; like the first, the light here is admitted by a hole in the top bored through the body of the hill; and from thence through a third passage, in which such a small glimmering only, of light appears as brought to my mind that well known line of Milton in his discription of hell "no light but rather darkness visible." From thence through another arched passage like the former but in a different direction, ending in what is called the temple, of the shape &c. of the other 2, but larger; and from thence in a strait line out into light on the other side of the Grotto. Passing the Walks, we struck into the lawn, and so to the great walk in the center or middle of the Ascent ending in a

circular narrower walk to the garden, in which is a reservoir of water brought from the New River.

Paying Mr. Gardener his fee, we departed to take a view of the Spring head of the New River in $\frac{3}{4}$ mile distance, on the Hartford road. It is a square piece of water of what depth I know not, railed in, almost 80 feet over, joyning a Canal which passes through a Squire Byde's Land from the River Lea through a pipe [2 words] in diameter for which permission the proprietors are at a yearly rent of 400 £. From the Springhead both canals join in one, and from thence form or assume the name of the New River. Within the rails stands a small stone structure of the Obelisk kind about 6 feet in height on 3 sides of which are inscribed the ground in feet, belonging to the Proprietors and on the 4th these figures 43 Miles meaning the number of miles it runs in its various courses before it arrives at what is called the new River head in Islington, from whence it sends out its waters through wooden pipes to the various parts of the City.

Retracing back with weary steps, besides incomod by the heat of the sun beating vehemently down upon our heads, and choaked, almost with the dust of the roads by the continual passage of Carriages, gladly availed ourselves of 2 empty seats in the Cambridge Stage Coach returning to London, and jumped in, being conveyed to the black Lyon at Hoddesdon, and arrived at home just at dinner time, meeting an elderly Gentleman named Dauteville an agreeable and sprightly Companion, and very well bred, 74 years of age.

Wednesday 24. Walkt through the rye fields to the Rye House, made famous for being the rendezvous of those who met on what is called the Rye House plot; in the room wherein the plot was said to be concerted I went. It was the house Chappell now the poor bedroom; it looks like the remains of a famous Seat, built of brick, and is moated round, consisting of 2 round high towers joined together by a line of defence and has holes in the walls for arrows &c., and on the top battlements by now converted into a wash house in a most nasty plight and just nodding to its fall. I observed in the house a number of young boys spinning yarn on the high wheel. Paid the mistress 3d, glad to escape from the stretch and filth that almost overpowered my senses.

Passing on through a common field or plain of near a mile we at length reached *Stansted Church*, a low small building; seems of 2 or 3 Centurys standing; the Tower of same width as the body of the

Church, about 18 feet; of Cement and small flint stones less than one's fist. The body of the Church is principally of Mortar, old bricks and small flints. Being admitted we paid Mr. Sexton 6d. I was surprized to see the slovenly, mean, despicable appearance, 2 men with arms extended could measure its width; the floor of tile, extreemly broken and uneven; the pews, pulpit, and altar rails, of a piece, in a tumbling situation, 2 pictures in black frames over above the altar, the table covered with a piece of old blue cloth and narrow yellow fringe; the heigth of the stud perhaps 12 or 13 feet, and about 45 long; in an addition built by Squire Field the Impropiator, is placed on the wall an handsome funeral monument of his Family, the only thing that looks modern, or even decent about the Church. The living yields the Vicar 100 £ a year and is the parish Church of Stansted town, lying at a miles distance containing many reputable, and even wealthy people, and is said to return weekly to London a very considerable amount of malt, its only manufacture. About one mile to the South stands a Church of a respectable appearance, belonging to Rayden.

Returning back through the same field and pike we took the banks of the new River in its course here nearly approaching the Lea, being scarcely 100 feet distant therefrom; at the bridge called the Rye bridge; at the house we stopped for some time amusing our selves and drank a pint of beer. Arriving at home we found John Inman,¹¹ our Countryman Ralph his brother, who dined with us; of a blunt humour, easy laughing and jolly. After dinner with him and a Mr. Musgrave we set off to drink a bottle of Arrack at Mr. Dauteville's, who had invited us the day before, which being dispatched in a couple of bowls we departed, and passed a merry evening over a 3rd at Mr. Hughes's, Mr. P. having privately withdrawn himself before it came on being already full charged.

Thursday 25. Clear and very fine though somewhat brisk air. Walkt over to Lord Monson's Seat, a large building containing 3 sides of a square covered with mortar of an inelegant appearance; his stables of brick are a quadrangle, contain many offices and, I am told, they cost 10,000 £, more I believe than did his Mansion House. There are no Avenues in front and his Gardens have nothing remarkable. The present Lord is a young man, in ill health, and is gone or going to

11. John Inman (d. 1788) was an addresser of Hutchinson and Gage and left Boston at the evacuation. His brother Ralph, also a loyalist, remained in America under some difficulties and in 1784 was one of the incorporators of the Boston Episcopal Charitable Society.

Bath for the recovery of it. His Family is a Mother, and 3 sisters whom I have seen.

Through his park and Lands we walkt on to Wormsleybury the Seat of Sir Abram Hume fast by a Churchyard in which stands a Church of [1 word], a noble structure of brick, in the modern taste. Could not be admitted to a sight of his house, the steward not being to be found, had a sight of his Pheasants of which he has now only one golden, the other escaping, 'tis a most agreeable bird to view.

Leaving his house we took the road, from whence turning again into his grounds through which a river is winding through a serpentine walk in the shrubbery we came to a statue of Hercules naked standing on a pedestal about 3 feet in heighth, and leaning on his club bigger than the life, partly covered with a Lion's skin. Returning back into the road, we stopped in at Mr. Dauteville's in Brookesburn, drinking by way of Cordial a small draft of ratifia, and from thence taking leave strolled home.

After tea walkt over the meadows; passing the new River, and Lea which here again almost embrace each other, to a farm called Nether hall, belonging to a Mr. Archer, where still are the remains of a palace said to have been of King Harold, before the Conquest. The House which was very large, has lately been pulled down; what remains are two lofty brick towers with a wall of equal heighth crowned with battlements, as high as the brick wall; and within, a moat or wet ditch, surrounding about an acre of lands covered almost with ruins. In one angle of the Wall is a watch tower, now converted to an hen-roost.

We returned through the same meadow to the cut in the River Lea in which is a lock. Just as we arrived, came up a barge laden with malt and coals from London bound to Ware, affording us the opportunity to see the lock opened and the barge go through, being performed in the following manner: above the lock consisting of flood gates placed across the river are 2 smaller ones on each side and which drawn up by chains and rowlers, lets the water through a passage cut into the bank to the main stream below, till it is reduced to a level with that below, when the Horse being [1 word] in to a rope fastened to the stern and running along the gunwale draws the barge through the gates which his strength alone is able to open; the second pair of gates is opened in the same manner. When it is through, the side and front gates are easily shut, the water in the lock space between the gates being about 2 or 300 feet remaining at that heighth it was left till wanted to float or

admit another barge. This is the method when going against stream. Passed the evening at home.

Friday 26. Having eat milk, it rendered me too heavy and sleepy to walk abroad; therefore laid within, till time to attend Mr. Hughes into his gardens and grounds. After dinner to which Mr. P. returned from Mr. Bydes park alone, with John Inman accompanied by B. Pickman I walkt to Rye House on the River Lea, near the lock, and by our Companions where we had a pan of eels fried, and from thence through the moors to Netherhall farm, and from thence back to Mr. Hughes by the same way we went, where at our arrival back were entertained with the diversion of taking and shooting young rooks from their nests in Mr. Hughes rookery at the bottom of his inclosed gardens. This sport being concluded, we passed the evening within cheerfully; the air abroad being cold and chilly.

Saturday 27. At home and in the grounds till after dinner. I took a solitary walk to the Rye bridge on the River Lea to divert my self with fishing but the people belonging to the Turnpike House having no tackle, I strolled up the river banks accompanied by 2 boys going to Ware, in my rout as far as Stansted. Treating my young guides with a pint of beer at parting, I returned back by Bybie Lake Esq. his Seat, and through the pleasant road in the rye field, home to my company whom I found in the same situation I had left them in.

Sunday 28. At Brookeburn Church, the parson whose name is Stockwell preached a very ingenious discourse from *17 Jerem. 7 verse*, "*Blessed is the man who trusteth in the Lord and whose hope the Lord is.*" The Congregation was respectable for numbers and appearance. The Church within makes a very decent show, and has many funeral monuments, particularly of Lord Monson's family, who has a park and estate in it's neighbourhood; and is situated within the bounds of the parish, being, I think, the Impropiator. Attended worship in the P.M. at Mr. Hughes's Chappell in Hoddesdon, having the forenoon parson for our preacher who is the P.M. preacher here this being a Chappel of ease to the Brookeburn Church; yielding him a yearly profit of £35 from the pews he hires out, to the Inhabitants, and paying the owner 10 £ for repairs, or, in his language, dilapidations. Prayers were read by a Mr. Masters the Lecturer at Brookeburn, who performed in the most negligent careless and slovenly manner, that

greatly hurt and offended me. The text was taken from *1 Cor. 11 Chapter 24 Verse*, "*So run that ye may obtain.*" It was a small but neat structure of brick, singing tolerable, not much visited by people of fashion, chiefly servants and tradespeople belonging to the hamlet of Hoddesdon and Iyes in the parish of Bracksburn. After service was ended we returned home, and found our Host and 2 Companions J. G[reen] and Mr. Dauteville as we left them at the table. Instead of tea we were served with a great bowl of excellent syllabub. Regaling ourselves with each 2 tumblers, we left the house strolling through the improved grounds, but B.P. and myself parting from our friends continued our walk to the neighbouring woods to hear the melody of the nightingales, and taking a large compass, returned home just as our Company did and passed a cheerful evening till 11 o'clock; the Company departing we retired to rest.

Monday 29. Cloudy and fair by turns, brisk wind at NE. Set out on foot, and walkt to Wormley about 2 miles when meeting the Hoddesdon Coach we took seats and rode to Hamiltons Gardens at Waltham Cross, where we alighted and took each a small bason of Chocolate and toast, and from thence through a fine road to Newington, where again taking coach we arrived at Mr. Whitelock's door between 4 and 5 in the P.M., staying till tea. [*Marginal note illegible.*] Soon after Mr. Hughes arrived carrying our bundles, and attended by a servant we sett of for the Exchange and taking coach arrived at Islington.

Tuesday 30. Wind N.E., windy and cloudy. At home all day.

Wednesday. Ditto, ditto.

Thursday 2: May. Wind Nly., cloudy and fair by turns, moderate and sometimes pleasant. Walkt up to London, visited Mr. Hughes, saw Mr. Van Coulster in Bishopgate street, with whom I exchanged cards, and engaged to visit him at his lodgings, No. 2 Craggs Court Charing Cross. Yesterday being May day the Milk maids appear in fine and fantastic attire and carrying on their heads pyramids of 3 or 4 feet in heighth finely decorated. The young Chimney Sweepers with their sooty chalk's faces, dressed out with ribbons and gilt paper, a grotesque and merry andrew appearance, coal [*1 word*] and brushes making a kind of musical sound, raising contributions on their employers and others. Returned back to Islington and dined.

Friday May 3. Walkt up to London, dined with H.H. Esq., Capt. T. and B.P. at the Jerusalem Tavern¹ in my way meeting Mr. Elisha Hutchinson who informed me of Mr. Browne² and Sons arrival. Afterwards departed for Islington.

Saturday 4. Walkt up to London before breakfast to visit my friend Mr. B[rowne] who had sent a message the Evening before by Mr. P. to invite his 3 Countrymen to his lodgings. He acquainted me with some facts relative to the unfortunate abandoning of Boston by the Kings troops, which after all, has the appearance of being forced out. Would to God this ill-judged unnatural quarrell was ended; I fear thousands of useful innocents must be sacrificed to the wickedness pride and folly of unprincipled men. During our stay, many of our countrymen came in. Returned back to dinner; after which I again walkt up to London in my way, in Ave Mary Lane saw a garland so called, being a pyramid consisting of 7 or 8 stories in the 4 angles of which stood a silver tankard; and in the sides, between each, lessening in heighth, as the stories rose, stood a silver salver the top crowned with a chased silver tea kettle round which were placed sundry small pieces of plate the whole adorned with wreaths and festoons of flowers, gilt paper &c., carried on a bier and handbarrow, being a custom amongst the milk men and maids, to collect of the customers a yearly contribution. The worth of the wrot silver appeared to be many £ 100, and is borrowed of the silver smiths for the occasion. Returned back after a visit to Mr. J. Greene where I and my companions called in, and drank tea.

Sunday 5. At home all the A.M., dined, and attended service at Islington's Meeting House. Mr. Jennings preached from 63 *Isaiah 15 V*, "*Look down from heaven, and behold from the habitation of thy holiness and of thy glory: where is thy zeal and thy strength, the sounding of thy bowels, and of thy mercies toward me? are they restrained?*" From whence I walkt up to London and over blackfriars bridge to the magdalen hospital. The Reverend Mr. Dod preached from 15 *John 17*, "*These things I command you, that ye love one*

1. Jerusalem Tavern, Cowper's Court, No. 626 in Lillywhite, *Coffee Houses*.

2. Colonel William Browne left Boston 26 March in the packet *Lord Hyde*, arriving at Falmouth 31 April with Thomas Hutchinson, Jr., and his family and Dr. Peter Oliver, Jr., and his. The day before the *Hyde* sailed from Nantucket, Hutchinson's son Andrew was born. He became the father of Peter Orlando Hutchinson, editor of the governor's *Diary and Letters*.

another." The Doctor gave us a most devout, sensible, serious, and pathetic discourse, enough to have warmed an heart not callous to the impressions of pity. I own my eyes flowed with tears of compassion. Returning from thence met with more than the dew of heaven, having after some difficulty procured a coach, into which I put a Lady committed to my care, and in the midst of a fine rain rode home alighting at 9 o'clock.

Monday 6 May. At home all the A.M., and wrote to Mr. Isaac Smith of Exeter in answer to one received from him. After dinner walkt over to Hackney and drank tea with Mr. Peacock; returned and passed the evening at home.

Tuesday 7. Walkt up to London. Was at the rehearsal of music at St Pauls for the benefit of the sons of the Clergy, obtained Anthem and book of Constitution in the Vestry by the direction of a Gentleman. Dined at Dolly's beefstake House and attempted to get into Drury Lane theatre to see Mr. Garrick in the character of Archer but the Croud was so greet that suffering thumps, squeezes, pushes, elbowings, and almost suffocation, for near two hours, to save bones, perhaps life, was obliged to return without effect. Passed to Mr. Silsbee's lodgings, where I drank tea and returned home by Coach, taken up at Moorfield stand having partly agreed with Mr. Gonthit Dry Salter in Star Court Broad Street, Mr. S[ewall]'s Landlord, for new lodgings, being determined to return back to London—heartily tired of my old one for reasons well known to my self. Rainy evening.

Wednesday 8. Walkt up to London, paid a visit to Mr. Fisher, who very politely received me and appeared glad to see me. From thence to Gov. H. who was alone, having before called at Col. Browne my Townsman his lodgings, whom I did not see, being gone abroad, and from thence to Judge Sewall in Brompton row, but meeting Mr. H. Gray near the House a coming down, was told that neither he nor Mr. Porter were at home. Returned calling again at Col. B.s lodgings where we found Col. Saltonstal;³ stayed till Mr. Cl. &c. arrived. Took a walk into the park and on returning stepped into the palace where

3. Col. Richard Saltonstall (1732-1785), Harvard 1751, of Haverhill; served in the French Wars and at Ticonderoga under Amherst; sheriff of Essex County; left Boston at the evacuation and spent the remainder of his life in England, dying unmarried.

in the coach yard saw a great number of coaches belonging to the Nobility. Departed, the Court being just over, and returned back to Haymarket, Col. B.'s lodgings, met him, who agreed to go and dine with Col. Saltonstal and me at Dolly's beefstake house and from thence I accompanied them as far as London bridge, they never having been in the City before. Returned back as far as Fleetmarket, where taking my leave I departed and arrived at my lodgings about 8 o'clock.

Thursday 9. Walkt up to London and met Col. Browne as by agreement in St. Pauls Churchyard, the church we entered, he and his company and I taking different seats, heard the most excellent music, the same as the rehearsal, but this better performed. Dr. Porteous (since appointed Bishop of Chester) preached *from 4 Chapter 2d Kings 1 Verse*, "*Now there cried a certain woman of the wives of the sons of the prophets unto Elisha, saying, thy servant my husband is dead, and thou knowest that thy servant did fear the Lord,*" and the [1 word] to a very respectable and crowded assembly, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London, the Lord Mayor and 2 Sheriffs, in their formalities present. Dined with 10 of my new England acquaintance at Dollys beefstake House, and afterwards returned home arriving by 8 o'clock.

Friday 10 May. Walkt up to London, met at Mr. B[rowne]'s Gov. H. and Judge S[ewall]. After some stay, with Mr. B., Col. S[altonstal], Judge S. proceeded to Westminster Hall, entered the Scaffold and Courts of Justice, Vizt. the Exchequer Court, Common pleas, and Kings bench; all of which were filled, heard the opinions of the Judges of the Common Pleas, vizt. De Gray, Gould, Blackstone and Nares respecting a verdict, from the Hall into Commons Chamber and House of Lords and through the Park of St James, green park and Hyde park rambling through Kensington gardens, and from thence returned to Judge Sewall's where we dined, and from thence I returned home on foot, just as day light shut in. Day pleasant, wind N.E., P.M. clear.

Saturday 11. Walkt up to London, and received my bill of 10 guineas without acceptance, and Mr. R. R[ussell]'s of 20 £. Returned back to Islington by dinner. The sun out and in by turns, air moderate and pleasant, wind Nly. Yesterday advice of the arrival of a

vessell from Philadelphia by consent of the Congress the owner paying a duty to them of $\frac{1}{3}$ of the cost of Vessell and Cargo, that Arnold is made a Major General, and still remains before Quebec; 5000 men have been sent to join him from Philadelphia, to enable him to carry on the siege. In P.M. walkt back again to London and visited Mr. Clark and Mr. Copeley, drank tea with them, returned back by 9 o'clock.

Sunday 12. Walkt up to London, being after service time, was at sundry dissenting Meeting Houses, of various denominations. The principal Antepudo baptist house is in Pauls Alley, Han Court, Aldersgate Street; where being I was violently attacked in the abdominal region, which obliged me to apply to the good woman with whom I was talking, and by whom I was conducted to a necessary apartment. From thence, through a sprinkling shower or showers, in which today consisted, I passed to a nonjuring Meeting House in a one flight of stairs room in Aldersgate street, built in the style of the 2d century since and a small fire, no pews, the Congregation consisting of 13 males 11 females; the Parson a Scotch man, the service the Church liturgy, leaving out in the prayer for the King, the present regnant prince, and mentioning only the Royal family. No prayers for parliament though now sitting, no sermon in the morning. Returned back to Islington after service, in a rain, being extreemly disturbed all the A.M. by a most excruciating internal commotion, which prevented my going to service in the P.M., but growing better I walkt to London and had tea with Capt. Callahan, calling at Mr. Greenes where I found Mr. Cl[arke] Mr. and Mrs. C[o]ply. Soon after Mr. G. himself returned with some Company from the Foundling Hospital where they had been to hear music, which begins at 5 o'clock P.M. each Sunday. Returned back to Lodging at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 8 o'clock.

Monday 13. Walkt with Mr. Silsbee to Pancras Churchyard, wherein I observed many Tombstones with Crosses, and some inscribed with a glory, and this inscription "requiescat in pace" denoting that a roman catholic lyes buried there, for which this Church yard is notorious. Proceeded to Little Brittain, and from thence to Islington to dinner, from whence I soon after departed and walkt to Walworth, the Gardens of a Mr. Maddocks, a noted Florist, wherein I saw the greatest variety of most finely variegated tulips I believe in England, and from thence over Londonbridge to Cheapside, where

meeting Hardings Coach I jumped in, glad to relieve my fatigue and in $\frac{1}{2}$ hour arrived at lodgings. Fine pleasant day, wind Nly.

Tuesday 14. Walkt up, —— delivered a Letter addressed to Richard Ward or ——, for my wife; to young Champion for Mr. Burgess, with particular desire it may be delivered her; or if that should fail, he would (if he passes through Salem) call on her and acquaint her that I am as well as usual. From thence I hobbled to the Exhibition room in the Strand, where were more than 50 people viewing the pictures models &c. as contained in a book delivered to each at entring; there were many performances and some very excellent in their kind, of which the view of the eruption of Vesuvius, and a few night pieces struck me the most. Returned back by coach though I did not arrive till after dinner. Moderate hot cloudy. Remained at Lodgings all P.M.

Wednesday 15 May. Walkt up to London, was at Pinchbacks to view staine glass, most elegant figures, finest tints, in the new revived Art, by a Mr. Jervais, among which were 2 full lengths of a Christ and Moses; bought at 70 guineas each by a Clergyman, and presented to Westminster Abby. From thence to the Exhibition room of the royal academy in Pallmall, where were to be seen a most curious collection of elegant and capital performances in oil, Crayons, enamel, sculpture &c. &c., a considerable number of well dressed persons present. Meeting Col. Browne and Sears at the door of their Lodgings agreed to meet them at the Exchange at 3 o'clock, taking B. Pickman along with me to the Tower to which I carried him to his no small pleasure. Dined with my Company and after accompanying them to the Burton ale house, in Grays Inn lane, took a draught which they were pleased with. From thence, to Monmouth Street, where taking leave, they proceeded to an appointment and I to Mr. Sears Lodgings with whom I drank tea and from thence to Islington, attended by him even to our door, not able to persuade him to enter.

Thursday 16. At rising, I found my lame leg very weak which prevented my going to London. Cloudy, raw. At 5 o'clock walkt up to London, put 2 letters into Post Office, one for Isaac Smith, and one inclosed to L.N. for J. Russell from New England and from thence to St. Clements Coffee house where in company with 11 persons new Englanders I dined, and from thence with W. Cabot rode back in a

rain to Islington, leaving my companions to pursue their different and several inclinations, business, and amusements.

Friday 17. After dinner walkt up and settled with Mr. Bray, Mr. Palmers housekeeper, my terms of board which were 13/per week, absence of a week to be allowed, or deducted, no breakfast except of tea, and dinner, no supper, but maid to go of my errants and wait on me. From thence to Islington, drank tea at Mr. Joseph Greene's, H[arrison] G[ray] with Company and from thence returned home.

Saturday 18. Cloudy, raw wind at E. At home all A.M. After dinner walkt up to London and finally closed the affair of board. Drank tea with Mr. Silsbee who kindly returned back with me to Islington being the last time (I hope) of my returning back to that purgatory or worse.

Sunday 19. Cold, raw, very windy and rain. Took salts, a very violent head ach, and constipated state of bowells. Remained within all day.

Monday 20. Alternately cloudy and fair. About 12 o'clock took final leave of my most disagreeable lodgings at Islington, neither Town, place nor company suiting, after an abode reluctant of 7 months; and at 1 o'clock arrived at my new lodgings in the Herald's office, at one Mr. Palmer's; the terms 13/per week, to have dinner and breakfast, for the [1 word] Watergruel, milk porridge, boiled bread and milk, Chocolate 3 times in the week, to find my own wood and Candles and have servant on occasion to go of Errands. Mr. Sears and young T. drank tea with me, and soon after took leave and departed. I passed the Evening alone, setting to rights my things. This night my head was filled with many dreams respecting America which I most devoutly pray might be soon again restored to peace and safety.

Tuesday 21 May. Moderate and clear, wind S.W. At Salters House lecture, Reverend Mr. Farmer preached from 15 *Ch. 2d Samuel part of 26 Verse*, "Behold, here am I, let him do to me as seemeth good unto him"; from which words he gave a most excellent and seasonable discourse on the duty and privilege of resignation to the divine will. Adjourned to the Boars head Tavern, Cannon street to view the very room or rather spot in which Prince Harry with Falstaff used to as-

semble, with their friends Nym, Bardolph &c. to hold their nocturnal frolicks. Agreed to make a company (if feasible) next Thursday to dine. Returned to lodgings to which came Mr. R. Routh and soon after B.P.

[*End of volume 3, in which are bound together volumes 1, 2, 3.*]

4TH VOLUME JOURNAL

BELONGING TO S. CURWEN

BOT AT & BEGAN IN LONDON 27TH MAY 1776

S. CURWEN

This journal is intended for the inspection of my Friends, whose candor in making due allowance for haste, want of method and order, deficiency in expression &c. I doubt not, things facts and occurrences being put down just as they came into memory and often many days after they happened, if they shall afford the least amusement and entertainment, I shall have my purpose answered and to them I commend these papers.

Monday 27. Walkt up to St. James's park, intending for Brompton row, but being detained too long, about the Queens palace amongst the people, of whom there were great numbers waiting to see the Kings children take coach for Kew, I returned back, meeting Mr. Blowers in passing through the Palace, who informing me Judge Sewall and some others were gone to Col. Browne's lodgings, I proceeded forwards, and arrived just as they did; after a short stay, we all returned to the number of 7 or 8 into the park, and arrived at the Queen's palace just as they viz. She and the King were setting off for Kew. From thence we all departed to Shakespear's head,⁴ Covent Garden, under the piazzas, where we dined at a very extravagant

4. Shakespeare's Head, 27-28 Russell Street, No. 1192 in Lillywhite, *Coffee Houses*, the scene of some of Boswell's amorous exploits.

price, which I had apprized the Company of beforehand; well knowing the exorbitant demands of these sort of folks in that [*1 word*]; the Company adjourning to Drury Lane theatre to attempt to enter the boxes in order to see Garrick in the character of King Richard the 3d. I left them, and pursued my way home alone, where I arrived at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 6 o'clock. A moderate air, cloudy and fair by turns, wind Nly. Passed the evening alone in reading.

Tuesday May 28. At home till midday. Fine and pleasant, wind at N. Walkt to Bishopgate Street stepping into the New England Coffee house and Exchange in my return, leaving a letter. I had wrote W.C. to forward me 2 letters lodged at Islington for me, which the woman brought to my present lodgings but declined to deliver them to the servant in my absence, 14d being due for them. After dinner a Mr. Blizzard of Antigua came to see me by appointment, with whom after an hour's stay, I went to show him Newington Butts; he being informed of an academy there kept by a Mr. Crawford. He was absent, but his wife invited us to a dish of tea which we accepted of. In company was a Lady just returned from Cambridge, with whom I conversed about the place, customs and buildings. From thence we crossed over to Walworth, to take a view of Friend Maddock's ranunculuses, of which he had an incredible variety; and plenty of the most beautiful ones; and from thence to the road that leads to the Obelisk; where he and I parting, I pursued my way over London bridge for my lodgings, where soon after my arrival the servant belonging to the House I lately left at Islington, brought the 2 letters. Passed the evening in reading History of Europe, or rather war, in Annual Register.

Wednesday 29. Delightfully pleasant air, clear, wind S.Wly. and Sly. Visited Gov. H. whom I found alone, but a Gentleman whose name was Blackman,⁵ soon after arrived, and amongst other discourse acquainted us of a removal at Court in the domestic department, Vizt. the 4 persons concerned in the education and government of the Prince of Wales and Bishop of Osnaburg were removed, or in the Court language resigned, Vizt. the Bishop of Chester, D. Markham, preceptor, in whose stead is placed Dr. Hurd Bishop of Litchfield and Coventry: the Earl of Holderness Governour, to whom succeeds

5. Hutchinson in his *Diary* refers to him as "Mr. Blackburne of the Marshalsea." 29 May 1776, in Hutchinson, ed., *Diary*, 2:59.

Lord Bruce, the Tutors by 2 others, whose names he did not remember.⁶ He gave us a very entertaining account of the dress and conduct of smugglers who frequent about Covent Garden &c. which arose from an observation I made upon an injurious mistake strangers to American Commerce entertained, that Boston had been the grand mart of smuggling; when in truth, the trade was comparatively nothing to Philadelphia and York. Leaving them I departed to Sir John Fieldings, it being his Examination day but nothing remarkable happened. After dinner I went to the Burton ale Warehouse, and engaged the man to send me 1 dozen; being a liquor I am fond of, and indeed the only malt drink I can relish; and is here much cheaper than at the Peacock in Grays inn Lane but I think hardly so soft. Drank tea with Mr. Greene and Elisha Hutchinson and returning home passed the evening in reading.

Thursday 30. Cloudy, windy and unpleasant, wind N.Ely. At home all day alone.

Friday 31. Cloudy, moderate, wind N. and N.Ely. Walkt up to the British Museum, forgetting it was Whitson holiday, till reminded by the porter who informed me it had been shut up since Sunday. Proceeding on to Marybone Gardens, the ticket keeper told me they were to be opened for the first time this season next week. In my return through the new streets I met a very conversible and sensible Gentleman with whom I held a long chat about America and other matters. This I mention as an uncommon instance, the shyness reserve and unconvertibility of native Englishmen is notorious. I can say nothing but they are disdainful especially of the Gentry, and the Nobility. Arrived at Lodgings by dinner time, to which came Mr. J. and B. Pickman. With the latter agreed to attend the fireworks &c. on Tower hill next Birthday Eve on the 4th of the following month, and take another short tour to Hoddesdon the seat of our old Social Friend Mr. Hughes, having taken a ——— in the A.M. I returned home, after taking a walk with Mr. Palmer my Landlord, to engage some port wine of a Mr. Wilkinson in Fenchurch Street, and thence

6. Hutchinson details these royal domestic changes in his *Diary*, commenting: "Upon the whole, this affair is not pleasing. The K. has been observed to be very pensive some time past. Misunderstandings between the K. and the Prince are to be dreaded. They have been more frequent, not to say general, in the English than any other history." 31 May 1776, in Hutchinson, ed., *Diary*, 2:60. Prince George, later George IV, was at this time almost fourteen.

passing over Blackfriars bridge to the Tea House called the Dog and Duck. Here I staid a short time amusing myself with some of the Company in the various diversions of Bowls, drinking tea, punch, and walking, and then departed homewards over Westminster bridge with a moderate pace. I had frequently heard that House was of no reputation, and indeed the Company I saw there did not meliorate its character. Passed the evening at home in reading.

Saturday June 1. Cloudy, wind at E. Walkt out and paid Mr. Berry a visit, and afterwards Mr. DeBerdt, from whence I returned to my lodgings in the rain, which continued the whole day, and confined me within.

Sunday 2d. Cloudy but moderate, or rather warm, wind at N. Attended worship at old Jewry Meeting House, the preacher was a young man, name unknown, since, I have found his name to be Browne whom I saw at Sidmouth July 23d, his text in *11 Ch. Acts 26 Verse*, "*and the disciples were called Christians first in Antioch*," an ingenious discourse. Dined at home, in the P.M. at Salters Hall Meeting House, heard the P.M. preacher Mr. Worthington from *5 Chapter 2 Corinthians 15 Verse*, "*and that he died for all*," a most serious warm, and sufficiently orthodox and ingenious discourse. A very large full and respectable audience to my surprize. The Churches there are most found thin enough, even amongst dissenters. Walkt after service to the Tower, which on this day admits all promiscuously in; to go through the streets and ramparts. Saw a Yeoman who on my enquiry informed that they were daily coining Gold and half pence; and would admit strangers to the sight for the small fee of a gallon of beer. Returned home, in order to set away for the Moravian Meeting House at Fotter Lane, but stopped on Bonnet Hill by Mr. Clarke, Browne and son, who were coming to my Lodgings to be conducted to Salters Hall evening lecture, whereupon I accompanied them, and arrived after Dr. Furneaux had begun his sermon, the subject of which was justification by faith, a most excellent, pious, and sensible discourse. From thence through Watling Street and came to Herald's office, where they staid and drank 1 bottle of Burton ale, but could not prevail with them to stay to tea. On their desire went to Leicester Square, Mr. Copeley's, the house of Mr. Clarkes abode and soon departing, was perswaded to proceed forward to No. 11 Haymarket Mr. Browne and Saltonstall's lodgings where I passed the remainder of time till

12 o'clock; and from thence, paying 6d, was admitted into the Herald's Office, it seems to be the custom for all who do not come in till after that hour.

Monday 3d. Fine, warm, pleasant day, wind W., clear. Walkt out, having by accident met Mr. Browne, whom I had agreed to accompany to the Tower but his delay had discouraged my longer waiting for him, attended him thence; through which and the ramparts we ranged, with the view of the whole he was greatly pleased; and to the Custom house, which we entered, and amused ourselves sometime in the long room, from whence we departed to Billingsgate and through that to the Pastry Cooks, Corner between Great Church Street and Leadenhall. Took a turn in the Exchange, and from thence coming up Cheapside met G. G. who first informed me of the arrival of the N.Y. May packet bringing advice that the Provincials on the 2d attack on Quebec had been repulsed with great loss, told A. Dalglish corner of St. Pauls Churchyard, who invited me to his house in the evening saying, he expected letters from thence by a ship said to have arrived last evening. Dined at home, in our way we saw Wilkes Canvassing for the Chamberlainship against Midsummers day 24 Instant. Mr. Blizzard, an Antigua planter came to my Lodgings, drank tea with me, walkt down together to Princes Street where separating, we agreed to meet at New England Coffee House, but after some stay not finding him to arrive I departed loitering along Cheapside till Mr. Donaldson's shop brought me up, where I read the new Lloyds Evening post, he not receiving any letters as expected. Returned home, and passed the Evening as usual alone, in reading.

Tuesday 4 June. Walkt out early to T. Richards in Strand on an errand, and from thence to Mr. B. and Col. S[altonstall]'s lodgings to escape going to Marybone gardens. After some stay Mr. Browne accompanied me as far as St. Pauls, where we separated, he going into City, and myself home, to take my marking letters to be exchanged for others more suitable; to which I soon after returned back. A warm and pleasant day, wind S.Wly. but cloudy, and somewhat brisk. Walkt out after Dinner to the Strand to finish my errand, to the Mall, and St. James, to see the King and Queen, waited till I was tired and returned home, to which I arrived at 6 o'clock without seeing them. There were collected a very large croud from whom I received 2 or 3 mortifying affronts; no more mix in mobbs without absolute necessity. Returned home, where soon appeared B.P. and W.C. who drank

tea with me. With them I went to the tower to see Fireworks, but was disappointed there being none, by the King's order at the request of the inhabitants. From thence with S. and Mr. E. I went to Marybone but it was late, and the Doorkeeper imposing, my companions refused to enter and we returned home meeting a very pretty town girl in high Holborn, who would fain have engaged us, which I prevented by telling my age. Stopped in at Astlye's punch House¹ on Ludgate Hill, and 11 o'clock arrived at lodgings.

Wednesday 5. Cloudy, brisk wind, and at N. The change of air since yesterday is as great as is common in our Country at this season; from warm to cool. Staid within all A.M. and alone. P.M. walkt out to Mr. Greene's, soon after Major Brattle² entered; taking coach we all three rode to Drury Lane theatre to see (if practicable) for the last time, Garrick in the character of Richard 3d by command of their Majestys but being too late, the House was overfilled. Taking up B.P. whom by accident we found there, proceeded on to the Les Ombres Chinois in Panton Street, an entertainment of Dancing on the slack rope, with feats of balancing on it, and puppet shows; some of which Vizt. the dancing of puppets was extreamly just, keeping fine time, and their motions natural and easy, and the whole amusing enough. Returned home at 10 o'clock in the rain, luckily fortified against it by my sourtout, my company exposed.

Thursday 6. Cloudy and raw, wind E. Wrote an answer to my friend Isaac Smith³ at Exeter; within all day alone. 3 Thunder claps, not loud; no lightning that I saw; the air rather cool, had a fire all the P.M. and evening. Every day furnishes me with new reasons for wishing a period to this fatal difference between Great Britain and

1. Ashley's London Punch House, Ludgate Hill. No. 1588 in Lillywhite, *Coffee Houses*.

2. Thomas Brattle (1742-1801), Harvard 1760, of Cambridge, son of William Brattle the loyalist. He was proscribed in 1778 but returned to America in 1779, recovering his patrimony in 1784. Clifford K. Shipton says that he "fled to England where he posed as a refugee and whence he later returned to prove, with great difficulty, that he had always been an ardent Whig." *Sibley's Harvard Graduates*, 7:22.

3. To Smith at Exeter he wrote a four-page letter, full of rumors from America and reading in part: "London though my favorite place of abode, is, as the peasant said, a sad lickpenny, and truly, one cannot breathe the vital air without great expense. The numerous applications to the treasury board by Americans whose pretensions are so much beyond mine exclude the most distant hope of relief for me, should inadvertence or more unjustifiable principles of conduct reduce me to the melancholy necessity of asking a favour which I am determined at all events to defer to the longest period should it please the great disposer of all events to prolong my uneasy abode in this country of aliens for many days yet to come."

the Colonies: would to God, those men if any such there be whose interest and lust of power prompt them to continue the confusions were removed, far removed from the Councils on both sides the water.

Friday 7. Walkt into the City, from thence to Westminster Hall, and so on to Brompton row having in my program stepped into the porter's lodge in the Queen's palace. From him I learnt I might tomorrow at 4 o'clock P.M. be admitted in with my company, which I after made up at Judge Sewall's. With him Mr. S[amuel] S[ewall], B.P., S. P[orter], I returned back to the Halls where for some little space I staid at Kings Bench and Exchequer; but nothing of importance being on the tapis⁴ I left the Company and came home. It proved a drisly forenoon, we were detained twice in coming down, but my perseverance carried me through. Wind Ely., cloudy, and in the P.M. brisk air and cold. After dinner walkt out again, and for a variety stayed an hour in new England Coffee house reading news. Received a letter from C[harles] R[ussell], passed the evening at home alone.

Saturday 8. Walkt out to the Society for Charitable purposes office in Piccadilly, from thence to Westminster Hall to hear General Smith and Mr. Hollis's sentence for bribing a borough last general election, which was, to pay 1000 marks and imprisonment 6 months. How crouded would the prisons be were every Member to be treated as these Culprits are! By much I fear the greater number of those which compose this, and did the last house, would suffer similar ignominy. Meeting S. S[ewall] and W. B[oyston] I stopped them from proceeding, and returning back into the park after a small delay on account of the rain which in showers descends every 30 minutes, we stood for Brompton row to dine with Judge S[ewall] with whom, his wife and sister, Mr. Blowers and wife, S. S[ewall] and W. B[oyston] I was admitted into the Queens palace in St. James Park. The rooms are large, lofty and extreemly well filled with pictures, many of which are said to be capital, and originals of the best masters; amongst others are the 7 Cartoons of Raphaels, and a most curious and large collection of miniatures in gilt frames and under glass. Some of the paintings our guide did and many she could not acquaint us with, the subject of nor who performed them. The King is so excessively fond of Clocks that not a room but has one and some 2 or 3 in a variety of

4. "On the tapis" means under discussion.

shapes and forms and movements. Paying customary fees we departed for Col. Browne's lodgings with whom we drank tea, dismissing first our ladys; and from thence adjourned over to the Opera House being entertained with the opera of *Antigone*; the principal performers Signor Rouzini, and Signora Gabrieli with interludes of exquisite fine dancing. Arrived at my lodgings by 11 o'clock, finding a letter from R. Ward at my own house by Mr. Dalglish⁵ and Hastie⁶ and directing where to find them.

Sunday 9. Alternately cloudy, rain, and fair; wind Wly. Attended worship at the old Jewry Meeting House. A Mr. Nat White preached from 27 *Mathew 3 Verse*, "*Then Judas, which had betrayed him, when he saw that he was condemned, repented himself, and brought again the thirty pieces of silver to the Chief Priests and elders.*" Received the communion. In going I met Mr. Hastie and Dalglish just arrived from Salem by way of Halifax whom I invited to come after service in P.M. and drink tea with me. Attended in the P.M. at little Carter Lane Meeting House. Mr. Taylor, Mrs. Abney's Chaplain of Stoke Newington Custom's House, preached from 16 *Luke 8 V.*, "*For the children of this world are in their generation wiser than the children of light.*" Returned home, to which came after some time, B.P. and Mr. Dalglish, W.C. and Mr. Hastie, Colonels Browne, and Saltonstall and drank tea with me; after their departure, Mr. Hastie and myself abode together, he informing of many particulars relating to my Family, (with whom he dined 2 days before his departure) friends and town, to the 16 of April.

Monday 10 June. Cloudy, wind Wly., raw and uncomfortable, within all day alone, reading *Common Sense*,⁷ a pamphlet published in America and republished here in favour of American independence; and *Plain Truth*,⁸ an answer to it, Provost Smith's Oration on the Quebec Heroes, Montgomery &c.⁹

5. Andrew Dalglish, shopkeeper of Salem, addresser of Gage and Hutchinson but repudiated the latter; went to England and was in Glasgow and Edinburgh in the 1780's.

6. Probably James Hastie the English and India goods merchant of Salem.

7. Thomas Paine's famous pamphlet *Common Sense*, *Addressed to the Inhabitants of Philadelphia* was published in Philadelphia on 10 Jan. 1776.

8. James Chalmers' *Plain Truth . . . Containing Remarks on . . . Common Sense* (Philadelphia, 1776).

9. This day Curwen wrote a five-page letter to Charles Russell at Antigua, full of political gossip and opinion, in which he noted: "Six Vessells laden with refugees are arrived from Halifax, amongst whom are R. Lechmere, I. Vassall, Col. Oliver, Treasurer Gray &c. &c."

Tuesday 11. Cloudy wind Wly., moderate. Paid a morning visit to my Townsmen Dalglish and Hastie and from thence to Salter's Hall Meeting House Lecture. Dr. Price preached from *6 Mathew 11 V.*, "*give us this day our daily bread,*" an excellent seasonable discourse for me. Returned home and dined, having in my walk heard of the confirmation of the news of the defeat and retreat of the provincials from Quebeck. The King at the review on Blackheath having there received the dispatches, was so overjoyed, that he caused General Harvey to read the contents of them before the troops; and indeed it is very important news for Administration. Stopped into New England Coffee House and read the news, and from thence returned home. After dinner walkt out to Haymarket to pass the evening at Foots theatre to see the Minor. Was disappointed the House not being to be opened till next day. Calling in at Mr. B[rowne] and S[altonstall]'s Lodgings, they were not within. Retired home, passed the evening alone.

Wednesday 12. Cloudy and fair by turns as usual; Wind S.Wly., moderate. At home till dinner. Visited by Mr. Blizzard, who opened his whole circumstances, which are not enviable, being very much in the power of an austere creditor. Walkt out at 5 o'clock to Mr. Green's, and from thence to Foot's theatre where by the Kings and Queens command was acted the Commissary. A very full house. Returned to my lodgings by 10 o'clock.

Thursday 13. Walkt out early to visit my 2 Townsmen from whence I returned home. Capt. Poynton paid me a visit, and with him I went again to our Townsmen's lodgings, where we met Mr. Hastie who delivered me a letter from Mr. Pyncheon informing me that my wife and family were well and at ease; I pray God it may continue; but I fear the calm is of no long continuance. After dinner I walkt over Blackfryars bridge to the white glass house, from thence to the polishers, and from thence to the Engravers in the green yard, Pepper alley, near London bridge, on Southwark side. The flowers, figures and letters (all of which I saw wrot) are performed by little copper blocks moistened with oyl, on wheels, and executed with great ease and surprised celerity. From thence home, where I passed the evening. Mr. Thomas Danforth¹⁰ late from Boston by the way of Halifax, and Mr. R. Russell, called in and staid till 11 o'clock.

10. Thomas Danforth (1744-1820), Harvard 1762, lawyer of Charlestown, son of Judge Samuel Danforth, staunch loyalist, refugee to London, proscribed in 1778, died in London 1820.

Friday 14. Staid indoors till 5 o'clock. I walkt out to Craigs Court Charing Cross to visit Mr. Van Courstor the Bengal Indian, a few years since at Salem, who was out. Returned directly home again, and passed the evening alone.

Saturday 15 June. Moderate, but cloudy, drisly and dry by turns. Walkt out with Mr. Danforth to accompany him to Gov. H.; from thence (they and their friends going to see the Queen's palace shortened our visit which was apologized for) we proceeded on to Brompton row; stepped in to Judge Sewall's house during a small Shower, he absent, and from thence to enquire after new lodgings; however, did not succeed in it. From thence, hasted, as the weather permitted, home; taking him to a homely repast, our good folks having just finished on our arrival. He passed the P.M. with me reading my friend Mr. Isaac Smith's letter from Exeter, and discoursing and planning about removing for the sake of frugality into a remote Country, perhaps the West. After his departure abode at home alone, copying out my letters into a book from the scrips on which they were first set down.

Sunday 16. Cloudy and rain, wind Sly. At home in A.M. After dinner walkt out to Silver Street Meeting House with Mr. Palmer, heard a stranger preach from *19 Chap. Luke 10 Verse*, "*For the Son of Man is come to seek and to save that which is lost.*" A thin Congregation. Agreed with him to go to the Moravian Meeting in Fetter lane Fleetstreet but on entring the College Square saw Mr. R. Clarke, who seeing me I returned back and staid till it was time to go to the Salters hall lecture for which end he came; at 6 o'clock set off. Dr. Furneaux preached a most excellent discourse from *25 Mat. 8 V.*, "*And the foolish said unto the wise, give us of your oil; for our lamps are gone out.*" Invited by Mr. Clarke to go and drink tea with him at Leicester Square, but declined, on which he turned down and visited Gov. H. Proceeded home and passed the evening alone.

Monday June 17. At home all the forenoon till 4 o'clock P.M. in writing out my letters into the copy book. Dressed and walkt up to meet Mr. Danforth by appointment, in order to procure new lodgings at Brompton row, but after several trials finding all inconvenient or too dear, returned reinspecting and recollecting that a chamber in the House I lodged was empty, soon pursued after Mr. D. who was going to the New England Coffee House and there meeting him

brought him back to them who struck up a bargain with my landlady, for 7/ a week.

Tuesday 18. Cloudy and fair by turns, very moderate and pleasant. Delivered my dark suit to be cleaned and new buttond. Walkt out and paid Mr. Hughes a visit who invited me to a second visit to his seat at Hoddesdon, showed me a New England or Massachusetts libel for a transport from London, signed by the new Judge of Admiralty T[imothy] P[ickering]¹¹ Jr. and a letter from Dr. Silvester Gardner,¹² bitterly lamenting his unhappy situation at Halifax with a deplorable account of his losses at leaving Boston &c. Dined at home, walkt out with Dr. Danforth to show him the spot in Smithfield whereon John Rogers the protomartyr in Queen Marys reign was burnt. From thence by Sadlers Wells to Shakespears gardens, and White Conduit House, and from thence to Mr. Pater's lodgings No. 7. Coldbath Square, where we staid, and drank tea and wine, and at 9 o'clock returned home by Hatton Street. Passed the remainder of Evening alone, Mr. Dalglish going to revisit his former lodgings.

Wednesday June 19. Accompanied by Mr. D[anforth] I went to the British Museum. We were fortunate enough to receive 2 tickets for admission at 11 o'clock by the Porter, being the second gained on my first application and without customary delay, sometimes of a fortnight or three weeks. In the library I saw King John's original charter called Magna Charta, a book of prayers of Queen Elizabeth written out by herself the covering of red velvet worked in flowers by her own hand and executed finely, the writing very plain, letters fair and well made, and well preserved; the Alexandrian manuscript Copy of the bible, said to be wrote in the 4th Century, containing the gospel of Nicodemus, a forgery composed in that age, wrote on parchment in capitals without distinction of words, or verse, or sentences, also the many letters of K. Charles the 1st among which, Dr. Gifford showed me, the original of his to Glamorgan, a biggotted papist, in Ireland promising to make good his engagement to him in establishing

11. Timothy Pickering (1746-1829), Harvard 1763, succeeded Curwen as judge of admiralty, commanded the Essex regiment under Washington in 1776, served for a time as secretary of state under Washington.

12. Sylvester Gardiner (1717-1786), wealthy Boston doctor; married the widow of William Eppes of Virginia and daughter of Col. Benjamin Pickman; addresser of Gage and Hutchinson; fled to Halifax, then to England; returned to America at the peace and died in Newport.

the Roman Catholick religion there and toleration of it in England, the whole letter wrote out at large, except this referring to his promise, which was wrote in characters, and which I had myself long since learnt and could well enough decipher but it was ready done to my hands. Mr. D. and I departing, I retreated homewards and he as his fancy led, or business required. Dined at home and there abode till 6 o'clock with R. Russell who came to see me. I walkt to Blackfryars bridge and soon returning drank tea and staid till 9 o'clock when he departed for his lodgings now at Ratcliff highway.

Thursday 20. Fine clear warm Morn, wind at E. Accompanied by Mr. D. I walkt out to Judge Oliver's lodgings in Jermyn Street and with him and son proceeded thugh the park to Westminster Hall expecting to hear Lord Rochfort and Mr. Sayre's case but it did not come on.¹³ Staid there till the Court broke up, and then returned to Common pleas, just looking into the Chancery, which I observed, the Judges going out of Kings Bench as they passed, turned about and saluted with a bow. Chief Justices Lord Mansfield train was born up by a Gentleman. Lord Chief Justice Sir William De Grey of the Common Pleas made a long speech on a plea for a new Tryal, between a Mr. Popham and on an election affair; there had been roguery on both sides, too much the Judge thought, on the plaintiff's side to entitle him to commence a new Action. Returned home alone to dinner, after which strolled down as far as the New England Coffee House, and from thence home; having met a Townsman Samuel Grant being the first time of seeing him since his arrival from Missasipi, a Scooner lately come from Cape Ann but I hear no news but that the people are all employed in making salt petre, one of whom in Newbury port, 'tis said, makes a pound a day; another from Halifax brings advice that the troops are reimbarcking, but none know where designed for.

Friday 21. Cloudy and sprinkling. At 11 o'clock walkt out to Mr. B[rown] and S[altonstall]'s lodgings whe.e I saw Col. Marion¹⁴ and Mr. Johnnot¹⁵ for the first time since their arrival being two of the

13. See entry for 27 June 1776.

14. Colonel Francis Marion (1732-1795), of South Carolina, member of the Provincial Congress, 1775, the Constitutional Convention of the state, 1790, and later the state Senate. Known as the Swamp Fox, he played a distinguished role in the conduct of the Revolution.

15. Peter Johnnot (1730-1809), distiller of Boston, of French Huguenot ancestry, loyalist addresser; he left Boston with the British troops in March 1776 and remained in England.

Boston refugees. From thence to Westminster Hall, abiding there till 2 o'clock, no remarkable cause. Returned both of us home, being twice stopped by showers, and dined. From thence to the Jews Synagogue in Dukes place; on my arrival home I found a letter from Mr. T. Barnard junior, left by a Mr. Bourne, one of my Countrymen, and brought by the Cape Ann Vessell, 'tis dated Salem 24 April acquainting me, to my great comfort, that my wife was then in good health, and all friends well; my friends advices concerning the discipline and number of the provincial troops and the number and strength of the American Navy will prove, when put to the test, to be, I apprehend, a delusive fancy; civil warrs in time make good Generals and soldiers, but the immense inequality will, and sooner than in common cases of wars between the Contending parties, I suppose, put an end to this war before they will have time to qualify; in any case and on every supposition America must be ruined, perhaps desolated, may it please God if it be consistent with the wise and righteous purposes of his governing providence to prevent it by inspiring all with a spirit of moderation and ardent wishes for a reconciliation and oblivion of past confusions; may the righteous flourish as the palm tree, and may the wicked wither and their root consume away. Passed the evening in my chambers, with Mr. D.

Saturday June 22d. Cloudy and fair alternately; wind brisk and at W. Walkt out to Mr. B[ourne's] lodgings to accompany him as per agreement to Brompton row but not finding him at home proceeded alone. At Judge S[ewall's], from him acquainted with the circumstances of his robbery by his servant, who had taken some plate and almost all his household and wearing linnen, part of which is recovered, and the fellow in Newgate. In part agreed with S. Porter's landlady in case he leaves his lodgings to take one at £35 per year for lodging and dinner, and boil tea kettle, dress my breakfast, and find bread and butter 3 days in a week. Returned back through the park in which I saw Mr. Madan walking and the Queen in her Coach accompanied by the Dutchess of Ancastor. Dined at home, walkt down to great town hill, to Mr. Bournes lodgings, staid and drank tea with him. Returned home and agreed to find my own breakfast and dine abroad, paying my Landlady only for lodgings, experiencing an inconvenience in conforming to the family hour, being unfavourably early, except Sundays, when I choose to dine there in regard of attending divine worship in the P.M. which I make it a rule to do.

Sunday 23. A very fine day, wind Wly., but being too early Mr. D. and I proceeded to Lincoln's inn where after a few turns in the Square we entered the Chappell but could not for some time be admitted into the pews until the service had begun. Mr. Br., and R. Cl[arke], Mr. Johnnot, Judge Oliver and son, Mr. El[isha] H[utchinson] and Mr. Lloyd entered and sat with us. Dr. Hurd the Bishop of Litchfield and Coventry preached a most ingenious discourse from *13 Mathew 55.56.57 Verse*, "*Is not this the Carpenter's Son? Is not his mother called Mary? and his brethren James and Joses, and Simon and Judas? and his sisters are they not all with us? Whence then hath this man all these things? and they were offended in him.*" Adjourned home and dined; and from thence to Dr. Giffords Meeting House in Eagle Street, near Red Lyon Square Holborn, who is a very learned Man, principal Librarian in the British Museum, his text from *2 Peter 1. 10*, "*Wherefore the rather, Brethren, give diligence to make your calling and election sure; for if ye do these things, ye shall never fall.*" Returned home to tea after which Mr. Palmer, Mr. Danforth and myself set off for the Moravian Lecture at their House in Nevil Court Fetter Lane Fleetstreet; the preacher a Swiss whose name was ———; preached from *14 Luke 17*, "*And he sent his servant at supper time, to say to them that were bidden, come, for all things are ready.*" A small house and congregation, the men alone and the women below; not being suffered to mix. A small but good organ; their tunes in quick time. We arrived after the first prayer was ended and rose after sermon, which was extemporaneous: catholic and not mean. After service we took our course through Holborn and so on the length of old street through City road to Bunhill burying ground. From thence stopped in at the antinomian Meeting House, where we just had the end of their service, concluded by an hymn; and from thence to Whitefield's Tabernacle, where we were entertained by the preacher who was in a Clergyman's gown; his exhortation was very fervent, and his gesture overacted; staid till service was ended; and then departed through a large multitude with which the House was filled; and returned home by way of Moorfields.

Monday 24. Fine pleasant day, wind Wly. Accompanied by Mr. D. and Mr. B. who came for the purpose. I walkt down to Guildhall to see the elections of Sheriff and Chamberlain, which last though annual Mr. Wilkes has strongly canvassed to obtain against Mr. Hopkins the late chosen officer. It is annual, but the choice a meer matter of form,

hitherto no unsuccessful competitor having ever since its first establishment made a second attempt to recover it, or displace the elected one; among the croud and in Coopers hall, Hopkins company, where I was conducted by a Mr. Hall my Countryman, I filled my pocket with papers published on the occasion.

Dined at an ordinary for the first time since my new bargain, and from thence with my 2 Companions stopped over London bridge, through St. Thomas hospital, Guys, and Barnaby Street to the Spaw, where we were entertained with some very good paintings, particularly a butcher's stall and poulterers, masterly executed, a north britton in frame, covered with a semblance of broken glass the best *decepto visu*, or deception of the sight, I ever beheld, with a miniature of a boy in the same manner, and a basket of fruit, especially peaches and grapes, which no pencil in my eye could exceed.

Leaving this after we had regaled ourselves with a dish of tea and buttered roll, we took the road to the Asylum by the way stepping into the noted tea house called *the dog and duck*¹⁶ well filled with company who were entertained with the music of an organ; proceeding home over Westminster bridge, on which I met Capt. Poynton and after, Mr. Fisher in his sourtout, enquiring the reason, he told me, he was just recovered of a fever that had lasted 3 weeks, and kindly and civilly complained of my not having been to see him. The neglect I excused as well as I could. In Fleet Street meeting Mr. R. C[larke] I was informed that the Lt. Governor of Quebeck Mr. Fleming had advised Administration that Gov. Carlton had with the 46 and 49 Regiment marched out of Quebeck almost to Montreal, leaving orders to dispatch the troops as they should arrive, to him, without landing; that 4000 had 2 days after arrived and General Burgoyne was at au Condre within 2 days sail of Quebeck with the remainder of the fleet, being 22d May.

Passed the evening at Lodgings, Mr. Heard, one of the Heralds called in to see me and pressingly urged my coming to his house, being the 3d time since my abode in the office.¹⁷

16. The Dog and Duck was a place of entertainment of some notoriety which first acquired celebrity from certain mineral springs held in great esteem. In 1771 Dog and Duck water was prescribed by a doctor to Mrs. Thrale. Wheatley, *London Past and Present*, 1:509.

17. To his wife Curwen wrote with gratitude to hear of her welfare. Still pessimistic of the future, he advised that if the war continued, and she should "remain, during the summer and fall, free from alarms, dangers and destruction and have provincial and continental bills more than sufficient for [her] support, [she should] purchase land with the overplus or part with it at all events for what it will fetch of

Tuesday 25. Clear blew sky, with here and there a white cloud that obscures the sun, air brisk, and some what cool; wind at N. Attended divine worship at Salters Hall Lecture; Dr. Price preached from *21 Ch. Luke 1,2,3,4 Verses*, "*And he looked up, and saw the rich men casting their gifts into the treasury. And he saw also a certain poor widow, casting in thither two mites &c.*" A most ingenious and useful discourse. Accompanied thither by T. D. and Mr. B. afterwards we departed for Guildhall, where we staid till near 4 o'clock to see the result of this days election, which in event was 368 in favour of Hopkins against Wilkes for Chamberlain being the 2d day. Dined at Bartholomew Lane eating House, adjourned to Mr. Greenes, where we drank tea, and saw several of the late imported Bostonians. Near 9 o'clock we returned home. Mr. Richard Russell came and passed an hour with me.

Wednesday 26. A moderate and pleasant day, sun out and in, wind Wly. Attended Sir John Fieldings examination of Judge Sewall's servant Dick who was brought to the bar for stealing linnen, table and wearing, stockins, plate &c. and sundry other Criminals among which was one for Robbery and coining. Saw there many of our Countrymen. Adjourned with my 2 Companions to an eating House in Fleetstreet, and afterwards to Guildhall, which had just broke up, the excess in Hopkins' favour against Wilkes almost $\frac{1}{2}$ Vizt. 2036 H. to 1124 W. Carried Mr. R. Russell, Mr. B. and Parson P[eters] to my lodgings to tea, and abode at home the remainder of Day and even.¹⁸ Air raw and cold and cloudy.

Thursday June 27. Wind Ely., cloudy, but Moderate, from morn to night rainy and chilly. At Westminster hall all day, in order to hear

worth beyond the limits of the continent, for should Government not recover its authority it will never support its credit or [suffer?] its currency." To John Prince, merchant in Halifax, he wrote a congratulatory letter on Prince's business success, but lamented the plight of his countrymen, adding: "Tis said, but I know not with what truth, the Court is in treaty for 12000 Russians, if that should take place the united Colonies may soon, too soon alas, become again an howling wilderness. The thought is terrible, it is unsupportable."

^{18.} To Isaac Smith at Exeter, Curwen wrote a long letter of American gossip, adding: "I am determined to take a journey westward and shall therefore esteem it as a favour if you will direct how I shall find out the good woman you are pleased to recommend . . . I shall depart hence as Abram did from Ur of the Chaldees, not knowing whether I go; fain would I trust in the same kind protecting hand that guided that good old patriarch. Would to God I had his faith, but I fear my future allotments will be poverty and pilgrimage."

Lord Rockford, secretary of State, and Mr. Sayre's case for false imprisonment and seizing the latter's papers. The jury Verdict 1000 £ if the Court shall judge no probable cause for seizing him, and bail legally offered to have been refused. Returned home at 6 o'clock, the crouds and noise too great in the Court to hear distinctly, $\frac{1}{2}$ Guinea the price of a seat in the gallery of Common pleas; before Chief Justice De Grey of the said Court the cause was tried, being the first day of the sittings after Trinity Term, an hiss when the Verdict was read. Mr. Blizzard meeting me in St. Pauls Churchyard came home and drank tea with me. Passed the evening alone, which was so chilly that I was glad to retire to bed soon for comfort and warmth. Poll for Chamberlain at Guildhall H 2606 W 1360.

Friday 28. Walkt down to Guildhall, which was thin till noon, the poll this day not more than 350, H 2610 W 1513. Returned home, and from thence to White Swan ordinary in Salibury Court fleet street for cheapness, which however, is the last as it was the first time of dining there. Walkt down to Guild Hall to see the result of this day's polling, and from thence home again, where I abode, being raining. In our way homeward we stepped into Doctors Commons Coffee House in St. Paul's Churchyard and there staid till we had read this days news papers.

Saturday 29. Cloudy, raw air, and somewhat damp, wind Ely. Mr. Dalglish calling in desired me to accompany him to Brompton row which I complied with, taking Mr. D[anforth]; leaving them on the way I stepped in to Judge Sewall's to consult with him about applying to the treasury which he advises me to defer till the sitting of parliament. On this judgment I consent to do, being, however, determined as soon as I shall receive an answer to my letter for Mr. Smith to sett out for my western journey, in order to take up my residence at or near Exeter for the following 6 months on the plan of economy. After an invitation to dine with him tomorrow I took leave and proceeded to Mr. P.'s where paying Mr. Blowers and wife a visit, Mr. D. and I returned, dining at Bunch of Grapes eating house, Fleetstreet. Adjourned down to Guild Hall to see the result of this days contest which stands H, 2738 W, 1599, a small addition to yesterdays amount. Returned home and drank tea, Mr. Blizzard meeting me in St. Paul's Churchyard, accompanied me home telling me he was going to my house.

Sunday June 30. Went to hear Mr. Romaine at St. Anne's. black-friars who preached from 2 *Collossians* 6, 7, "*as ye have therefore received Christ Jesus the Lord, so walk ye in him, rooted and built up in him, and established in the faith; as ye have been taught, abounding therein with thanksgivings;*" a crouded house, wind East, cloudy. Dined at Mr., say, Judge Sewall's brompton row, after passing an hour at Mr. Browne's lodgings. P.M. clear and pleasant. Returned home at 8 o'clock through the park, not being admitted into the Lock hospital which we attempted but in vain.

Monday July 1. Breakfasted with Col. Saltonstall; being the day before invited by Col. Browne, who was now gone to Windsor. Went to Judge Olivers to have a sight of Dr. Eliot's letters,¹ conceived in the Whig strain, but he was just gone out. From thence meeting Treasurer Gray in St. James' Church which we entered, and viewed, and departing, proceeded to Guildhall to entertain ourselves amongst the rabble from whom I picked up some scurrilous publications and then adjourned to change, and dinner at Simpsons eating house and from thence home, where I abode till the Evening. With Mr. D[anforth] I went to the Robbinhood, hearing the speeches on this question wether the late act of parliament substituting Labour in taking sand balast out of the River Thames &c. has a tendency to prevent villainy and promote industry and labour, was after taking up an hour on other points foreign to the question, voted in the affirmative with 6 or 8 dissentients. Returned home at 1 o'clock.

Tuesday 2. Walkt out to Mr. DeBerdt's to give order about my bed, received information that I might board at Croydens for the cheap rate of £30 per year full board. At Salters Hall lecture, Dr. Kippis preached from 2d *Ch. Genesis* last part of 7 Verse, "*And breathed into his nostrils the breath of life; and man became a living Soul.*" From thence returned home in the rain, wind S.W., cloudy and moderate. Dined at Simpsons ordinary, Salisbury Court, and from thence to Capt. Poynton's lodgings Orange Court, Leicester fields, drank tea, returned home at 8 o'clock.

1. Dr. Eliot was presumably Andrew Eliot (1718-1778), Harvard 1737. He was minister of the new North Church of Boston and an ardent whig. He corresponded at length with Thomas Brand Hollis (d. 1774) in England about conditions in America and it may have been this correspondence to which Curwen refers.

Wednesday 3 July. Walkt out to Mr. Danforth; to return McTingal and consult about new lodgings at Croyden. Returned back to lodgings to which Mr. Browne came with whom we went to Banks eating house, Addle Street, which we found cleanly and cheap; from whence we proceeded through the City road, by Shepard and Shepardess to Hoxton where we drank tea; and returned by Moorfields taking the Tabernacle in our way, wherein we entered an abode a few minutes, and from thence through the back streets with Mr. B. to Exeter Exchange. Taking leave we departed for our lodgings, to which we arrived at 9 o'clock, left him to pursue his way laying in a contrary direction. Cloudy, wind S.W., moderate, sun out though faint and rarely. Calling at Mr. B. to view Judge Russell's grave in Bunhill burying ground, we passed the Tomb wherein lay the remains of the well known John Bunyan author of the Pilgrims progress; who died 1688, without any flattering inscription. Mr. Hughes and Whitelock came in my absence to drink tea with me and left an invitation to attend at Mr. Hughes annual dinner at Blackwall. Passed the evening at home.

Thursday 4. Walkt out with Mr. D. and Bourne to Spital fields with a letter from I[saac] S[mith] to a Mr. Dalbear, with whose son, accompanying us, we were admitted to the looms of the workers in Sattins, Taffaties, modes, lutestrings, pessions, Brocades and Velvets: whom we saw at work. To describe them is beyond my ability, though clear enough in idea, the flowered brocade was wrot by no less than 36 shuttles and an apparatus of Threads. From thence taking leave of our guide we departed, and soon arrived at Bartholomew Lane chop House, where we dined, afterwards directed our course over London bridge conducting my 2 companions to the glass engraver in [*illegible*]yard, Pepper Alley, Southwark. Passing through the Borough we strolled through the Camberwell and Vaux hall roads; at length put up at an ale house in Lambeth near the palace resting an hour and refreshing with 2 quarts Cyder which incommoded and hurt my stomach. In the Churchyard I observed a Tomb newly repaired, on reading the inscription I found was built 1660 for the Tradescants, Grandfather, Father and son, remarkable in their days for collectors of natural productions, being fallen into decay, was lately repaired by subscription. Passing along the terrass walk by the Archbishops palace we arrived at Westminster bridge. Passing by, we took the road to Magdalen Hospital and through the fields into the burrough over Londonbridge and so through Thames Street. I came

home, from whence I quickly departed to pay Mr. Hughes a visit, and excuse my waiting on him to his annual feast at Blackwall tomorrow, finding Mr. Whitlock with him and at his request I passed the evening there, drinking port wine, &c. Returned to my lodgings between 10 and 11 o'clock.

Friday July 5. Walkt over to the Dog and bear, Southwark where the Croydon Coach inns, from whence in company with two very agreeable young women and 3 men of whom one was sociable and clever I sett off for Croydon, passing through Newington butts, Kensington Common, Stockwell &c. (where the Duke of Bedford has an hunting seat. In this place he and the Marquiss of Blandford, 2 youths each of 12 or 13 years of age are at a boarding School) I arrived at Croyden about 11 o'clock at Mrs. Grosvenor's, the Lodgings of the 2 Ingersolls, D. and Jared² to the latter of whom I had a letter from D. DeBerdt, recommending me to this house which was full and so I am disappointed. Having time on my hands I walked abroad through the market filled with Cowes and Calves, being fare day or the day in which the Fare or Fair is kept which for the smallness I judge is very frequent or not much attended and but for information I should not judge had been more than common, and from thence to the Church. The Vicar is Mr. Apthorp, my Countryman; it is kept in excellent repair, in a separate corner, are the Tombs of 6 Archbishops, Vizt. Grindall, Whitgift and Sheldon, with monuments erected over them and placed against the wall, all in decumbent positions in episcopal habits, and crown's on their heads, the latter of white marble excellently polished and on the entablature or square composition beneath the statue are the emblems of mortality in middle relief consisting of the human scull in a variety of views, and bones of the body, executed in a most masterly manner, in Italy; the three others are Wake, Potter and Herring in Flat tombs, and their names &c. inscribed, save the middle one, over whom is a naked parcel of bricks. Dined with the 2 Ingersoll's at Mrs. Grosvenor's, passed an agreeable P.M., drank tea, and took my leave, returning back in company with

2. David Ingersoll (1742-1796), Yale 1761, eminent lawyer of Great Barrington, Mass. Originally a follower of Samuel Adams and James Otis, he became a Tory and was an addresser of Hutchinson, banished in 1778, exiled in England, dying at Thetford.

Jared Ingersoll (1722-1781), Yale 1742, lawyer of New Haven; appointed stamp distributor in 1765; boarded in the same house in Philadelphia with John Adams in 1777; burned in effigy in Connecticut; died in New Haven. His son Jared was a candidate for the vice-presidency in 1812.

the 2 female travellers that came down with me whose innocent modest and sociable enough deportment rendered this days excursion doubly pleasing. Arrived home just at 9 o'clock.

Saturday 6. At home all the A.M. and till repast 2 o'clock. Cloudy, drisly, and moderate, wind S.Wly. Dined at Bartholomew Lane eating House and from thence returned home where I abode the remainder of the day.

Sunday July 7. Attended the communion at old Jewry Meeting House. Mr. White preached from the *1 Ch. Math. 21 Verse*, "*and thou shalt call his name Jesus; for he shall save his people from their sins.*" Dined at lodgings, in P.M. attended worship at Christ Church. A stranger preached from *1 and 2 verses of 6 Romans*, "*What shall we say to them? Shall we continue in sin, that grace may abound? God forbid: how shall we that are dead to sin, live any longer therein?*" After service Mr. D. and I proceeded to Foundling Hospital being entertained with a fine anthem sung by a blind Girl and the young female who had been on the stage the foregoing winter, with one male voice accompanied by the organ. Prayers ended we returned; missing my Companion in the rain I stopped into the House of Mr. Green and drank tea, passing an hour and half very pleasantly with him and his wife, and from thence home. Passed the evening with my fellow lodger. Moderate but cloudy and sunshine by turns, as is common here, wind Sly. In the gallery, meaning the gallery of Christ Church where I attended in P.M., on each side of the organ which is an excellent one, are seated the blew Coat boys belonging to the Hospital, all with clean bands to the amount of, (as I was told) 800, most of whom sung with the organ, and made a sound loud enough to pierce the very skies. In passing through Smithfield we turned aside and entered St. Bartholomew the great, a very old Church, as by the style of building it seems of the 3d or 4th century since there are some funeral monuments, amongst others, its founder one Raherus, whose statue in a decumbent posture remains fresh and in good order. Repaired 1510, died about 1150.

Monday 8. Paid a visit to Mr. Fisher, Col. Saltonstall, and left a Card at Govr. H. who was in the Country. Walkt out to the borough in the P.M. Passed in my way home through the pavements lying on the bank of the river just before the Fishmongers' hall a little above bridge,

which is extremely pleasant and the resort of much Company of both sexes. Drank tea at Mr. Heard's and passed part of the evening there.

Tuesday 9. Walkt out to Molesworth's office to accompany Mr. Bourne and from thence to Exchange where I loitered 2 hours, with him and 4 or 5 other New Englanders. From thence home and afterwards to the Boston ale House in Grays Inn lane where we drank a pint at Mr. B. expence. A fine day, and warm, wind Southerly. P.M. walkt out to the Park sitting on one of the benches I saw Mr. D. and accompanied him and his friend to the Queens stables in which the Elephants are kept, to a sight of which they were admitted for the usual fee, and afterwards to Brompton row in order to confer with Judge S[ewall] on an important business relative to my self,³ whom I did not find at home. Returned back we met Mr. Blowers, on whose invitation we accompanied to his home, meeting Judge S. and his family or rather overtaking them, he entered with us, passing a couple of hours pleasantly, and drinking tea at 8 o'clock. Departed attended with the 2 Gentlemen as far as the first park gate.

Wednesday 10. Warm morning, sun out, but somewhat hazy, or rather thin White clouds, wind S.Wly. At 12 o'clock walkt out to Guildhall attending for a small space of time the two Courts of Common Pleas in which sat Chief Justice Lord De Grey and Kings bench, Lord Chief Justice Lord Mansfield, the former of whom addressed the Jury in a case of defamation and slander in a most agreeable and fair manner, the noise and croud rendering attendance unpleasant and inconvenient, I soon removed myself, and having dispatched my business with Mr. Danforth I returned home, and from thence at usual time to Bartholomew Lane Ordinary, and from thence after dinner to Squire Bowles Crown glass manufacture near Ratcliff highway, who soon discharged us from any further attendance in a very Cavalier way by saying I show my works to nobody, which without a figure, was a flat falsehood. His expression should have been, but to those I please; my reception here is of a piece with what I have several times before experienced, and has at length opened mine eyes to see the impropriety of asking such favours of such sort of Gentry; interest only is the charm that procures admission to the sight of any manufactures

3. The business at hand related to Curwen's application to the Crown for relief, subsequently granted in the amount of £100 yearly.

not wrot in open view. A letter from a customer would have rendered out Squire complaisant, though not by nature of the softest mould.

In our way back steppd into Mr. Browne's lodgings and drank tea. Speaking of the Standard in Cornhill sometimes referred to in books relative to distances I called on an Inhabitant there, but could meet with no satisfaction, he telling me he had to no purpose enquired himself about it, and so was left to guess it out but very few are acquainted with the curiosities raritys &c. &c. The knowledge of them is confined to the few who are skilled in city history, and with these 'tis not my luck to be connected.

In returning from Shadwell we passed through Prince's Square, in which is the Swedish Chappell, and Wellclose Square, wherein stands the Danish chappell into both we entered. The pulpit, altar peice and frame of Common Table is almost covered with gilding: of the first the pannels are carved groups of imagery in middle relief doubly gilt. Over the Communion table is a large piece of painting containing the last supper; on each side are two images somewhat less than the life; on the right is Aaron with his rod, and before him the 2 tables whereon is inscribed 1ma and 2da Tabula continens officio erga Deum officium erga, Proximum with the Chapter and Verse in Deuteronomy in the Center, a text from 2 Corinthians 10,16 in the Danish language and beneath the Supper, 2 texts from 1 John 17,29 in the same language; the altar is closed by iron gilt rails, and on each side stands the Font, and the Bust of Christian the 5th, King of Denmark, by whose beneficence the Chappell was built. Within the altar is, say within the rails that circumpass the altar and on one side stands, the Ambassador's pew inclosed and glazed with the finest chrystial I ever beheld. The Organ's finely ornamented; opposite the altar and raised up so high near the ceiling as to admit seats on the floor of the gallery, the whole appearance within is rich neat and gaudy, the floor of the sounding board is a Dove displayed in the Center of Rays which fill the whole under surface, and nicely touched of, 'tis kept in neat order.

Thursday July 11. Cloudy and rainy in showers. Dined at the three tuns with Mr. B. and D. and from thence home, where I remained all the remainder of the day.

Friday July 12. Walkt out in A.M. to do sundry errands by way of preparation for my intended Journey to the West, and on my return home found Mr. Peters who with Mr. D. and myself went to Bar-

tholomew Lane eating house, where we met Mr. Bne and with him after dinner walkt to the Foundery, buying in the library John Westleys answer to Dr. Price; and from thence to Shakespeares gardens; and from thence to Mr. P. lodging and from thence to Sadlers Wells, amusing ourselves with feats of rope dancing, tumbling, harlequins fooleries &c. &c. and from thence cloyed, (at least I was), each retired to his respective homes.

Saturday 13. Breakfasted by particular desire with Mr. Oxnard and Silsbee; departing from them I went home passing the time in stowing away my effects in my trunks; forming lists and writing directions, in order to leave my little affairs here as free from perplexity as I can.

Dined with Mr. Danforth at his first lodgings in Fleet Street and on the same meat for quantity and quality as he did, and with this difference only, he had a pint of Porter, the cost of which is 2d and I had no drink; our reckoning was the same, observing this the waiter for answer replied, a penny is always charged for drink wether called for or not; determined to examine their whole plan of conduct, on going down I stopped at the bar, and questioned the Landlady, the Mistress or Hostess what was charged for a dinner. She answered 7d for meat and sauce, and not says I for meat alone or without greens roots or &c. She replied the same, this I note as one amongst innumerable instances of the like kind of imposition and by custom unnoticed in the city of London.

Leaving them to their iniquitous practices one day hereafter to be accounted for, we proceeded to Westminster, passing through Tothil Street and George Street at the end of which is a Chappell of ancient date standing at the furthest end, into which we entered but found nothing remained enough to engage our attention long. In the right hand of the road further on we passed an Almshouse originally built by a Mr. Emery Hill, in center of the front is an inscription imparting the founder's request that the charitable reader would contribute to promote his benevolent purpose and indeed a good woman of the house to whom I unwarily popt a question, was not wanting on her part to second the founders wish by acquainting me of the insufficiency of the fund. Going further on, we arrived at a raised foot path between two ditches and within, edged on both sides by shady Wilows; at the entrance on it, is an advertisement on a painted board placed aloft with these words "this is not a bridle way" which my

Companion interpreted to mean, a way not to be used for travelling by horses. About the middle meeting three men I accosted one of them by asking how far it was to Chelsea, and was answered in the true New England style "I do not know, about half a mile." This I note as the first instance to my remembrance of the like answer I have met on this side the water.

Passing through the Hospital we soon came to Don Saltero's Coffee house,⁴ furnished with a great variety of natural and artificial curiosities. My Companion having, on my application, handed to him a catalogue, entertained himself for more than an hour in examining them very much to his delight which, with the happy situation, standing in the row of very handsome houses on the North bank of the river and having a prospect as far as Clapham, the new church of which, and beyond, in full view, rendered our excursion hither pleasing; add to this a free conversation with a couple of conversible Gentlemen not commonly to be met with; the better sort, or Gentry, being too proud or too refined to mix with those they dont know; or indulge a promiscuous chat.

Bidding a dieu to our Companions we left the house and proceeded on, to take a view of Sir Hans Sloane's funeral monument in the Churchyard which I have before mentioned, and from thence over the bridge which is a toll, and of wood covered with earth, and of the length of London bridge, the river keeping its width even beyond. Returning back by Ranelagh we entered the Park, almost devoid of company, arriving at lodgings a little after 8 o'clock where I abode but a few minutes, being to determine where to leave my great trunk which by reason of its bulk is too inconvenient and its weight too expensive to be carried with me.

I went to Mr. D. DeBerdt who was absent from home, and from him to Mr. and Mrs. Mills, who kindly consent to take care of it during my absence from London, the House is No. 7 Drapers Court, I mention this in case of mortality in my abode at Exeter, or its neighborhood which I intend for some months. Visited Mr. Joseph Greene and wife. I took my leave of them before my journey.

Sunday July 14. With Mr. D. I worshipped at All Hallows Lombard Street, the officiating Priest was Mr. Peeters the refugee from Hebron

4. Don Saltero's Coffee House, 18 Cheyne Walk, Chelsea, No. 352 in Lillywhite, *Coffee Houses*, mentioned in Fanny Burney's *Evelina*, was by this time a museum of curiosities. It was one of the sights that Benjamin Franklin went to see when a journeyman printer in London. Wheatley, *London Past and Present*, 1:511.

Connecticut his text was taken from the 3d Ch. and 10 V. of the 2d epistle *according to St. Peter*, but grow in grace &c. After service walkt to and round the Tower and ramparts, allowable on this day only for all. Returned home, Mr. Peeters being invited the day before, dined with us, and in P.M. with our Landlord Mr. Palmer, we all attended at Dr. Fordyces Meeting House who preached from 7 Jerem. 3, 10 Ch. 11 V., 25 Ch. 5 V. and 26 Ch. 3 V., if so be they will hearken, &c. a most excellent, sentimental discourse; respectable audience. After a short stay at home, Mr. D. and I attended the Salters hall evening lecture the text taken from 27 P. 9 V., the meek will he guide in judgement, the meek will he teach his way, a most judicious, sentimental seasonable discourse preached by Dr. Furneaux which with Dr. Furneaux had almost ravished with delight Mr. D.

Monday 15. At 9 o'clock engaged a seat in the Salisbury machine at the Bell Savage Inn Ludgate hill. Remained at home till dinner which Mr. D., B. and I eat; took at Simpsons eating house in Salisbury Court Fleet Street, and from thence walkt down to the Royal Exchange; where I met Capt. Cordis (to whom I delivered a letter directed to my dear wife⁵ Whom I pray God to bless and preserve) and there staid till change was empty, and then returned home taking Mr. Mills house Drapers Court in my way, to whom I gave Particular charge concerning my trunk, and from him and her I received assurances that it would be taken good care of and be as safe as their own goods. Walkt out with an intention to pay my respects to Gov. H. before I left London whom I met in the park with Mr. Flucker; of them I took my leave and received from the former a copy of two letters with leave to show Mr. Smith, one being to himself, and the other to Mr. Hollis, from D. or E. intercepted by General How. Richard Clarke I met who after $\frac{1}{4}$ hours conversation very kindly wished me a pleasant journey and abode. At parting passed the evening with Mr. D. at home.

Tuesday July 16. Rose at 3 o'clock and departed from Heralds office with my trunk and at 4 o'clock entered the machine in the Bell Savage Inn from which I went by myself. In Piccadilly we took up a woman and her parrot at the Black bear and a little further on at the

5. Curwen advised his wife of his intended journey to Exeter, adding: "To me London has lost its novelty and therefore pleases no more; I need something new to support my spirits, perhaps I may find it in the country; from Marybone to Blackwall is almost as familiar to me as Salem, and from Lambeth to Rotherhithe, would I had not purchased the knowledge of it at so dear a rate."

Old White house Cellar four passengers more of which number two only took seats within, vizt. a lusty but decent behaved woman and a rather meagre Female who would have set well enough for a second Mrs. Honour and two devonshire lasses, divided with themselves the seat, all in the train of the Dutchess of Chandois as I afterwards learnt.

Passing through the turnpike at the park gate, Knightsbridge, Kensington, Hammersmith, Turnham (a little beyond it is a level call'd Turnham green,) Brentford old and new, Hounslow, on the desert heath to the right and about the middle stand three monuments of human folly and devine justice, as many Gibbets with the remains of so many wretches, hanging in chains. A little beyond at a distance appears in view an high obelisk crowned with a large gilt ball erected by the late Duke of Cumberland at his lodge in Windsor park, the edge of it being to be seen as one passes the road, and in the other hand and further on the heath perhaps at a distance of 20 Rods from the road another obelisk ending in a blunt point. 2 miles further stands on an eminence and on the same hand a more lofty one, scarce finished, consisting of 4 stories illuminated with square windows; the ascent to it from the road is now just begun, and the eminence forming into a round or oval, the design of the present Duke.

After leaving this dangerous forlorn spot of 4 or 5 miles, the road through which is excellent, however, we passed over a bridge called by my informants, the Dukes temperate bridge which I suppose she meant temporary. We were soon brought to the Village of Belfond, through which we passed and so on to Staines and over the bridge across the River Thames, not more than 5 rods in width, and from thence to Egham a town consisting of perhaps 150 houses, where we alighted, breakfasted, and had a small specimen of Mrs. Honour's delicacy and self importance, and I fancy much more had she not been under some small restraint from the presence of the fat better bred Housekeeper. Verry unlike were the two girls who were gigling romps, who among other merry conceits said the guard (who to be sure was a likely fellow) had put them into such good spirits, but in what I was not informed.

'Tis customary for all Coaches that go out in the evening, night or early, to be attended by a man armed with a pair of pistols and two blunderbusses double charged; by which precaution travelling by night is rendered less dangerous. This place is distant from London 17 miles, which we left about 7 o'clock.

At Marrall Green we alighted, and took fresh horses, and another

coach and Driver, discharging or rather leaving the former with the customary fee of 6d and for it had a bow and thanks, and after a delay of $\frac{3}{4}$ of an hour spent by my female fellow travellers in regaling themselves with a dish of cold ham roast beef and a few pots of ringwood beer as bitter as alloes, we again took our places and departed not without a significant look or two from Master and Servant who took me for a servant no doubt having declined to taste part of the cold collation having scarce 2 hours before fully breakfasted. Passing by a spot called Warton house but what it was or where, a drowsy fit prevented my seeing, a small Village called Overton consisting of small houses perhaps 20 or 30 in number thatched and built on the side of a hill not unlike many situations in Marblehead. Here or a little beyond this hamlet, are the paper mills of a Mr. Porter in which is manufactured the paper used for bank bills. Here also is the Silk Mills in the same construction with Derbyshire, one, or nearly like, as I was told.

The next is Basingstoke a small town, but of very decent appearance, with many tradesmens and goods shops, through many heaths, commons, plains, moors, downs or wolds call 'em by which name you please, passing by the Earl of Portsmouth's seat we entered the race grounds of Andover surrounded on one side by lofty hills naked or destitute of trees or shrubs, but to appearance covered with verdure and on the other by inclosures of earth and live hedges, we met and overtook multitudes of people of all ranks, orders and degrees of both sexes in their best attire, some on foot and some on horseback single and double, in waggons and carts covered and open, in chaises coaches and chariots, to see and partake of the diversions of the race, which was just about to begin as we passed by, and for that purpose many tents were erected; and the posts set. The races hold 3 days, of which this was the first and, to begin at 5 o'clock. Being $\frac{1}{2}$ hour too early we lost the sight of the diversion, to my disappointment. The Grounds seemd almost covered with tents and people. Andover is a pleasant enough Town, standing lower than the race grounds, which lye to the eastward of it, all the towns or most in England seemed by design to be placed in a bottom. One goes in an easy gradual descent into the Town; where on our arrival, we discharged our five females, and a deal of baggage, belonging to her grace the dutchess.

From hence I departed alone for the remainder of the Journey, about 17 miles. The houses here are in good repair; has a town hall with a market underneath, and a balcony and spire, for a woollen

manufactory has been long established here; from the town we rise into the downs or plains extending a length of 8 or 9 miles, to a village called Wallop, without scarcely seeing one house on the road; being almost an unbroken level; no inclosures on either hand as far as the sight can extend; the soil is light and barren, many spots but thinly covered with a sward, and in others bearing a white honeysuckle and gold or butter cups, as we in New England call them, no higher than ones finger, and low thistles, not one in ten above 7 or 8 inches in heighth.

The road from hence to Salisbury is most delightfully pleasant, and hard as a garden gravel walk, being a mixture of gravel and chalk. At 3 or 4 miles distance is to be seen the spire of the Cathedral, remarkable for its extraordinary heighth; being supposed to be the highest in England. The further end of this delightful road through an unprofitable soil for the husbandman promising but a poor return for all his labour, is called Wallop Common; the level, as you pass, narrows and the distant prospect mends, affording a view of many fine improvements. The land rising gradually from the plains till the sight is bounded by a ridge of high hills from the rising filled with inclosure, rows and clumps of trees and many farm houses, at 7 o'clock I alighted at the Red Lyon Inn, Salisbury, being alone and dirty I soon called for supper to comply with custom, and being favoured with Landlords company I passed the evening in my chamber tolerably. To this place the road in general is very level and delightful though for a great part lying through unimproved heaths and downs, I don't recollect but one noblemans Seat in view of a traveller from Holland house, about 7 miles from London in Kensington or Hammersmith and that is the Earl of Portsmouth's about 6 miles distant from Andover, or 22 or 25 miles from hence, and but 4 or 5 Churches Vizt. Staines, Egham, Basingstoke, Andover, Whitchurch.

Wednesday July 17. Arose early in the morning and having dispatched a messenger for my Friseur who presently attended and performed his part, and having also discharged other necessary business previous to going abroad, descended from my night abode, and entered the post chaize; which by agreement with my Landlord stood ready at the appointed time to receive me; and departed for Stonehenge, being at a distance of 11 miles.

The morning was inviting and the road for the first 5 miles like a garden gravel walk, finely improved lands inclosed with live hedges,

and laid out in parcels of 5 to 20 acres with trees planted in rows and in clumps; and with farm houses and barns interspersed here and there, rendered it inexpressibly delightful. At the distance of 203 miles from the City, and on the right hand is to be seen an eminence apparently of an oval figure lying beyond the improved grounds, inclosed with hedges &c. which seems to be raised by art or formed into its present shape and figure at least by the hands and industry of man. The ascent to the plain on which it's base stands and is above the level of the improvements on the hither side, is an easy slope in a line making an angle of about 45 degrees with the plain on which it stands and measures round one mile, on the rimb of the first slope are cornfields, with in is a slope of the same figure as the lower rising nearly of the same heighth as the lower; in a plain on one side is planted a small knot of trees. This spot in former days was the Scite of old Sarum, containing about 60 acres unless I am misinformed, without one house on it; in the present day, entialed however to send two members to parliament; on the lower plain and bordering on the slope stands one house where dwells a family supplying the curious, who sometimes go thither with punch wine and tea. 'Tis said near the neighbourhood dwell a few families, perhaps within the precincts or liberties of the old town. The view under this and the long range of hills with a great extent of Country as far as the eye can reach, presents a most pleasing and variegated prospect.

Turning out of the road over the lawn, void of trees, bushes, stones, and as even as a bowling green, we soon arrived in sight of the object of our pursuit. Its first appearance resembles a company of men; in different views it assumed very different shapes, about a mile from Stonehenge encompassing it in a circular line stand many of those bodies of earth called Barrows or tumuli supposed by some to have been the burial places of the ancient Druids. Their form is globular nearly one half of a globe from 9 to 12 feet in heighth and from 35 to 40 in diameter; their surface smooth all of the same shape and not very different in magnitude; they have been thought by some to be produced by internal causes, but the regularity of their shape, and their situation renders it but little to be doubted that they are the work of mens hands.

Arriving at the destined Spot I alighted, and having viewed and examined them well remembered it was said that they could never be counted; now thinks I from whence can this mighty difficulty arise, it may with ease be accomplished; but it was a vain imagination; hav-

ing again and again walked round and divided 'em into such portions or parts as would render the enumeration of them practicable, I set about the task full of confidence of success; at first the amount was 80, the 2d as below, the 3d and 4th attempts were different. At length I began to grow superstitious and fancy the Demon presiding over these sacred ruins puzzled and confounded the minds of all those who made the impious attempt to, I therefore left off this unsuccessful work convinced though not of the impracticability yet of the Difficulty of counting them.⁶ By my 2d reckoning they are in No. 82, the outside row is an imperfect oval which with those within standing in different directions are in number 18. The upright about 16 to 18 feet in height out of the ground, four feet or thereabouts wide, perhaps 2½ feet thick not all of equal bigness; 8 very large, as big though not quite so long lying flatways on the tops of outside row; 9 of very nearly the same on the top of those within; 14 small upright stand within, in different directions or lines; 28 perhaps more lying and out of the ground; 2 lying in the ground on the west, looks if in their natural bed; but I fancy the spot is of a loose contexture, which their weight has sunk them into; 1 of the largest size stands upright at the distance of 100 feet to N.E.;⁷ 1 about half the distance of the last.

The ground of an uneven surface, at one end at equal distance from the sides is a small hollow called by the superstitious country people the Devils pisspot much of the size and shape of what Don Quixot took for Mambrinos helmet. In the former near the ground is a small hollow of the bigness of a pint bason said to have been impressed when the Devil threw the rock at the Fryar and struck him in the heel. There are many traditions, tales and follies related by the credulous and superstitious about this wonderful pile.

There is no appearance of the chizzel or hammer but in 2 of the rocks, one very large rock lying, has on or near its each end an excavation or hollow about 16 inches long 10 over and about 7 deep evidently designed to be placed on the upright ones, the upright one of which the former lyes at its foot has on the top, a circular or oval

6. From Curwen's description of Stonehenge it is apparent that there were in his day many more stones standing than before the recent restorations. See R. S. Newall, *Stonehenge* (London, 1959).

7. Gerald S. Hawkins, in his *Stone Henge Decoded* (New York, 1965), p. 54, says of this stone, the so-called Slaughter Stone: "It may have been still standing when Inigo Jones and John Aubrey sketched it, in the seventeenth century, but we cannot be certain." From Curwen's account there can be little doubt; Ward unwittingly cut the knot by changing Curwen's statement to read: "Two columns of the largest size and of an uneven surface stand upright."

rising just of the size with those below and seem as if intended to be let or received into the hollows to keep the cross stones or those lying on the tops of the uprights steady and secured from falling off; I doubt not the cross stones lying still on the tops of the uprights are secured the same way. There is 1 small one erect at West. There are evident vestiges of its having been once a regular or spot dedicated to some purposes in human affairs; the entrances to it are still visible and there remain to this hour plain marks of design in the arrangements and order of the uprights of different sizes both within and without.

This surprising Pile stands on a lofty eminence of very great extent and has on it neither tree, bush, shrubb, or stone, within many miles on either side, and is called the plain of Salisbury. The size, magnitude, and weight are extreemly different, from 30 or 40 tones to $\frac{1}{4}$ of a ton. Some are erect, others lying on the top of the erect ones, on the ground, and others reclining; some from 16 to 18 others from 6 to 3 feet; having fully gratified my curiosity here I remounted my seat and returned crossing the road to the right, about 2 miles distant from Stonehenge and athwart the Downs in the road to Wilton lying at a distance of 7 miles where by the dispatch of my Driver I soon arrived, alighting at the Inn just by the porters lodge of Lord Pembrokes Seat, and ringing was admitted; being required to sign my name and place of abode, being a custom here in England at admission into most of the Great mens houses. This I did in the following form "S. Curwen, an exile, of Salem Massachusetts Bay New England" and was conducted by my Female guide into the court; round about are placed some bustos and statues, and in the center a noble equestrian Statue, for a description of which as well as the curiosities I must refer to the book bought for the purpose and is to accompany this Journal.⁸

The House is a noble building round a Square, the South Front is a plan of Inigo Jones and looks over a Lawn through which runs a natural river, greatly improved by art; through the lawn are interspersed trees, and clumps of trees, statues and bustos, vases and obelisks and in full view of the House a noble bridge built of Portland stone all together rendering this spot delightful beyond description. I was attended by a very well behaved Gentleman who continued with me almost to the House and would have been willing to have attended me 3 hours longer had my curiosity lasted but having seen all the antiques

8. Curwen probably had purchased the catalogue prepared by a "Mr. Richardson" in 1774 entitled: *Aedes Pembrochianae: or a Critical Account of the Statues, Bustos, Relievos, Paintings, Medals and other Antiquities and Curiosities at Wilton House . . .*

I felt no relish for pictures. His settled fee is 2/6 which he seemed perfectly satisfied with. The rooms are filled with antiques, statues, busts, vases, urns, sarcophagi, &c. &c. &c. without number and without end; amidst other things I cant help mentioning a curalis sella made of Iron and brass. The stone Coffin that Terences remains were deposited in, and the urn that contained the ashes of Horace; here is also to be seen an exact model of the Venus of Medici and the Apollo of Belvidere:⁹ was it not for the complaisance that is due to the fair sex I should prefer the latter to the former, and I verily believe to that priciple alone it is that antiquarians are so lavish in there praises of the Goddess.

Departing from Wilton on the borders of which stands my Lords Seat and distant from Salisbury 3 miles through a fine road, in half an hour I was set down at my Inn and having dined I strolled to the Cathedral, it being the hour of prayer when the doors are open to all comers and then only. Service is performed three times in a day vizt. at 6 o'clock A.M. 11 AMer. and 2 o'clock P.M. The Church is large and has extensive cloisters round part of it. The form is a cross: there are but few monuments in it, some appear in the style of 3 or 4 centuries past; one I observed had lost its head, in a decumbent position; near the West door is an erect one to the memory of Lord Windham; Ireland in the character of a weeping Lady is pointing to an urn below her, supposed to contain the ashes of the deceased, her left hand supported on a pedestal and her head leaning thereon, 'tis of white marble excellently polished. There is also of the same marble a Bust of one whose name I could not find, but I read these words Capitalis Justiciarius; a Gentleman coming out of the yard I met, who told me there was an ancient tomb of St. Osmyn, as he called him, built about 1399, and some more of ancient dates; the pulpir is of Stone and is in the body of the church, the reading Desk in the Choir is a brass Spreadeagle, the inside is extreemly neglected and looks as if in the hands of those who regarded its revenues more than respect to the tabernacle. The Congregation at service were about 8 miserable people beside the reader, Clerk, 5 or 6 Clergymen, the Dean and 8 singing boys. Being more disposed to gratify my curiosity than attend the service I walkt about examining and viewing the monuments. The Ceiling is curious, and finely painted and gilded, laid out in compartments of many figures, and roses &c. in the center, but I think no open work. The Steeple is

9. In 1964 the Venus and Apollo were still at Wilton House. Horace's Urn was not, nor was it sold at the auction of certain Wilton antiquities at Christies on 3 July 1961.

said to be 3 yards higher than the cross at St. Pauls London. On the Tower which is lofty rises a cone to the fane under which is a cross. On the angles on the top of the Tower are placed Vases and obelisks; the windows are many of them filled with paintings. It is an ancient gothic building, supposed of 5 or 6 centuries since, and in the same style for windows buttresses and pillars and decorations as Westminster Abbey. It stands in the midst of a place called Salisbury close surrounded by walls, having 3 gates that are shut every night; it has privileges and rights distinct from the town; and is the residence of the Bishop, and his clergy, besides many private families.

Returning back I settled with my Innkeeper and being informed a coach was just setting off for Blanford 24 miles distant I departed paying my reckoning and the servant's fees, one of whom not being in the way came running after me near $\frac{1}{4}$ mile in a sweat and almost out of breath and with "Sir you have forgot the waiter." I soon dispatch'd him charging him if there were any more demands to send soon, otherwise they would loose their claim. I quickly took my seat amidst three women, two of whom we dropped at Blanford and the other was my Companion to Exeter.

Our road level and pleasant lay through the following vizt. Martin a Village in which is a church, the Downs, over Handley hill affording a most extended prospect, below is a Village of the same name with the hill lying on the right; Cranborn Downs, Thorney Down Village on the right hand, Cashmornen Village; Thickthorn down belonging to Chittle; Torrenhinton lying on both sides the road over Blandford race ground; Pimporn Village lying on both sides the road standing in the midst of a rich finely cultivated spot till you reach Blandford where we arrived about 7 o'clock at the Red Lyon Inn. A fracas happening between my fellow passenger and the Keeper I was embarrassed, but by my endeavours I brought them together, thereby preventing further consequences, though my Female Companion declares she'll never more put up there, and I think they were causelessly offended.

Thursday July 18. At 10 o'clock I was awaked and called upon to arise and prepare to depart which we obeyd and soon entered our vehicle where my Companion and myself were confined for 2 hours in darkness. Passing through the downs, Whitchurch 5 miles, Milborne 3 miles lying both on the right hand, we arrived at Dorchester distant 26 miles. We here took fresh horses without alighting. [3 lines

in manuscript crossed out] Dorchester where we stopped without alighting is the County town, has 2 Churches, a Court house and a prison and is noted for its ale; from hence we departed for Bridport distant 12 miles. It lyes near the Channel, and is famous for making White lines such as codlines, twine &c.

Here we breakfasted and took another Coach, Driver, postillion and 6 horses, being to pass through an uneven hilly road but free from rutts and stones. Having paid our reckoning and the Coachman his 6d we departed stopping sometime at Axminster where is a manufactory of carpets eastward from the Town; of a peculiar sort and wrot by Needles which I was prevented from seeing by a misinformation of my Companion who told me there were of the same in Exon. At 1 o'clock we set down at Honiston, and there dined, distant from our last stage 16 miles through an improved pleasant country, abounding in Mudwall houses; continued even to Exeter, where we arrived at 7 o'clock concluding a journey of 92 miles in 15 hours being the end of my travelling for the present; set down at the half Moon Inn fore-street where I abode some time, leaving my trunk and sourtout which composed all my baggage and after some enquiry found the house recommended by Mr. Smith.

I was received by the 2 Daughters, young Ladies of between 18 and 21 (eldest 24, youngest 19) as I suppose, the Elderly Lady, mother of the 2 being absent but soon returned. Having continued there a short hour, and drunk a dish of bohea tea with the older of young Ladies, I returned back to the Inn to bring away my trunk. After some time it was brot, accompanied by an ordinary fellow having in his hand a sheet account and looking on it very gravely told me I must pay 3/6. To this I quickly replied it is an imposition I will not submit to, he answered he could not help it, the Clerk had so charged it, the weight was 42 and 16 was allowed as customary and 1 1/2 d for the over and above, to this I said 'tis not worth my while to dispute with you, I know to whom I can refer this matter, and if the owner Mr. Iliffe demands more than the 1d agreed for with the Clerk in London I'll pay it but will advertise, and I would have you tell the Clerk so, upon which he said the clerk will settle it with you, and pray then let him be called said I. O sir by all means, run and let the clerk know that the Gentleman who came in the London stage desires to speak with him. Appearance of great hurry and dispatch were soon to be seen but he not appearing another and another was seemingly sent off, the innkeeper expressing great dissatisfaction that a Gentleman should be imposed upon; but the whole was management farce and

craft, and well understood, and if a shilling or more could be squeezed out of a Stranger it was so much lawful plunder. This delay for an hour at least rendering me impatient, made me at length determine to go to Mr. Iliffe one of the owners. I resolutely demanded in what street he lived, upon which Mr. the Clerk soon crawled out of his retreat, and being interrogated why he had attempted to impose on a Stranger not however unacquainted with the customary demand for luggage, replied he had charged but $1\frac{1}{2}$ to which I replied that the London clerk had repeatedly told me it was but 1d a pound over and above the allowed weight, and if he was not content to take that, my trunk was at his risque, and I would seek redress from his Master, which he prevented by agreeing to take $2\frac{1}{2}$ the customary price, by which resolute behaviour I saved $1\frac{1}{6}$. The extravagancies and impositions on the road are so many that I was almost discouraged; this however was so Gross and impudent, that it really excited my indignation too much to dispense with it.

Taking away my Trunk and Coat by the porter I bid my Host goodby, whose seeming concern, however deceitful, required a return, and making him acknowledgments for his kindness departed to my temporary home; where at present I am. The house is said to be in the churchyard which is not more or less than an open Space surrounding the Cathedral, the Saint to which its dedicated to is St. Peter and at about 100 feet on the other side is a parish church dedicated to St. Mary in the midst and about 200 feet distant therefrom, having a southern aspect; before it is an hard gravel walk with rails and trees planted in rows, and is the resort of Gentlemen.

The City is situated endways on the river Exe, on a considerable eminence in the center of a bottom of a very extensive bason, bounded by distant high hills. Its streets are generally very dirty and narrow, has many gates vizt. Southgate, Eastgate, Westgate and many arches and gateways within like Salisbury. It has a Close or considerable tract around the Cathedral, privileged beyond the rest of the City and independent of it, containing one or more parishes encompassed by walls and has 4 or 5 gates shut every night at 11 o'clock. Within this space dwells the Bishop in his palace, an old Gothic structure, the Dean &c. The houses wherein dwell private people, are I fancy (and since informed) rented of the Cathedral belonging to it. There are many pleasant walks about the City and one just without the Castle gate on an eminence called Norney or Northern bay, yielding a most agreeable prospect through vistas cut in the trees, on which the Gentlemen and Ladies walk and the troops, of which there are always

some here, we were advised. There is a new Bridge building close by the old one of a reddish stone very like the colour of brick and extremely narrow, the avenues or street leading to it extremely so. The rains in 12 hours so overflow the river as to put a stop to the workmen and for ought that appears unless some additional works be added to the new Cut by which the stream is turned, or other methods taken to sink the foundation, it will be a work of time to finish it; but little progress having been made therein for a year. On the other side lyes a large parish called St. Thomases. The City consists of 19 parish churches and 6 meeting houses including Baptists, Methodists, Quakers, beside an Roman Catholic chappell.

The Cathedral is a large noble Structure, in the form of a cross, truly gothic, but wanting those nice distinctions without, to be seen in Westminster, and even Salisbury, except on the West end which is ornamented with a multitude of images scarcely as large as the life in a variety of attitudes and either made of soft stone or of very ancient mutilated and in a state of decay; but the inside is more than made up for that defect. It consists of 3 aisles, wherein are many funeral monuments of very high antiquity, some in decumbent postures, in the military of garb, in which William the Conquerour is generally represented in, and I fancy, have had their existence ever since his and the next following age, but this however is left to be guessed at, they being without inscriptions; the windows are fitted with paintings very excellent but most of modern, say late date; about part of it are cloisters; the part of the building forming the cross are two towers on the 4 angles of each rise 4 low Spires whereon are placed 4 Fanes. The body of the church is supported by buttresses, the stoutest of any I have yet seen. The organ is said to be one of the best in England; I am sure it is one of the finest and the Centerpipe adorned with a royal crown. The key now building on the river Exe about 80 or 90 feet wide is of Pentland stone. The old castle has lately been pulled down, and on part of the ground is built the Sessions house, (wherein also is held the Assizes) of Pentland Stone about 100 feet in front plain, and in the center is a pediment, which with the foundation of it projects a little, it is wholly void of ornament.

Friday July 19. Rainy, wind Sly. and S.Ely. Within all day writing.¹⁰

10. Curwen wrote this day to his friend (unnamed) at the Herald's office: "Tis true I met with no professed highway robbers, but a multitude of house sharks at the

Saturday 20. Wind Sly., cloudy, drisly and fair by turns; within till 4 o'clock P.M. Mr. Hyalt a fellow lodger took me out, passing through the Cathedral which before I had not entered, service was then performing, but our views not being devotional, we were not delayed; proceeding to the Key and from thence over the river to an House at some distance kept by a Mr. Richards sometimes frequented as a tea house, the road to it lying for a considerable length on the river is a very pleasant walk yielding agreeable prospects of houses or seats, improved lands and of the river down almost to Topsham—where we drank tea with clouted cream in abundance, and from thence across the fields to the Village called Arthington through which we passed and so to the great road from Plimouth, lying through St. Thomasses, over the Bridge, and along the wall of Bartholomew yard, Norney, Sudney or Southern bay, another open Space improved as a walk for the citizens, lying lower and adjoining to the Edge of the close, and within the walls, where also Lammas Fair is kept, and so home, where I passed the remainder of the Evening.

Sunday 21. Cloudy and sprinkling, wind Sly. Attended worship at the Mint Meeting, the House wherein the late well known Mr. James Pierce¹¹ officiated; the preacher entertained us with a very sensible and judicious discourse (who was a Mr. Jarvis preceptor to Lord Shelborne's 2 sons) from *13 John 17 Verse*, "*If ye know these things, happy are ye if ye do them.*" A thin audience. He used an expression peculiar I fancy to himself that "God would make one amongst us." In the P.M. was at Georges Chappell so denominated from the present King, having been built in his reign, the same preacher from *19 Ps. 13 Verse*, "*Keep back thy servant also from presumptuous sins.*" A large handsome well finished house, numerous and respectable assembly. After this service in my way home I stopped into the Cathedral and was admitted by one of the Vergers to a Seat near the Reader, and generally used and appropriated to the clergy of the Diocese when present. There was performed an anthem, "by the

Inn, the Art of fleecing, once confined to Lawyers and usurers, is now perfectly understood on this road; not the most errant clown or simple Country lad but knows his advantage and how to avail himself of them; by way of illustration take two instances out of 2 dozen: pauca disunt my frizeur who I unadvisably disturbed of his mornings nap, by requiring his assistance at the early hour of 7 o'clock A.M. modestly refused 6d telling me his [duisante?] was 1/."

11. James Pierce (1674-1726). See inscription on memorial tablet quoted by Curwen 4 Aug. 1776.

“rivers of Babylon,” composed (as I found by the book put into my hand) by Dr. Boyce; after which was a sermon preached by a Mr. Arnold one of the prebends from 9 *Acts* 6 V., “*and he, trembling and astonished, said Lord, what wilt thou have me to do,*” just so so, and from hence home where soon after my arrival, and having read the service lately used by the Dissenters in Liverpool, which Mr. Bretland¹² at my desire had brought from Meeting for my perusal; the Eldest of the young Ladies Miss Sally entertained us with a sermon, it being still the laudable custom among the religious Dissenters all over England to close the Lord’s day by reading a Sermon and praying in their Families after the P.M. service.

Monday 22. Having the day before engaged a post chaise and taken an early breakfast at 6 o’clock Miss Sally Bretland and I jumped into it calling on her cousin young Mr. Bretland late a settled Minister in Exeter but now a teacher of youth in classic learning who by agreement joyned us in being to stay at Sidmouth for a week or 10 days, we departed for Sidmouth a watering place on the South Coast distant from this City 14 miles, to which we arrived through 2 Villages and 2 or 3 downs in 2¼ hours, alighting at Mr. Smith’s boarding house just at 9 o’clock; with him I dined and passed the day, and at 7 o’clock remounted, taking leave of Sidmouth for this time, and at ½ past 9 o’clock was set down at our door in the Church yard with my female Companion Miss Sally Bretland.

Tuesday 23. Cloudy and sometimes sprinkling. All day within writing. Micajah Towgood,¹³ one of the Dissenting Ministers of George Meeting House was pleased to come and see me, making me offers of his service, and inviting me to his house; to him I delivered a letter from Mr. Smith first making an apology for not having waited on him. About 7 o’clock walkt out to Norney and the northern road as far as Squire Northmords Seat and so back to take a view of the new bridge which I found by the flood overflowed.

Wednesday 24. Walkt out to deliver Mr. Smiths letter to Mr. Samuel Cross who very kindly invited me to dinner, accompanied me to

12. Joseph Bretland (1742–1819), dissenting minister of Exeter, preached at Mint Chapel and George Meeting.

13. Micajah Towgood (1700–1792), dissenting minister at Exeter, preacher at Bow Meeting House, George Meeting, and James Meeting, and author of numerous theological works.

the London Inn to enquire into the report circulated here this day of a defeat of the Americans at New York which we found to be groundless. A Gentleman was returning from Plimouth to London with his wife and 3 Young Ladies, his Daughters who had been taken in a ship from the West Indies laden with Sugar and rum, and carried into Boston, but were returned in a small vessel he purchased there says he was not ill used, the Captain of the privateer was named Adams, but brings no news relative to General How. After dinner a Mr. Shepard came, into Mr. Crosses who had been in Salem, was well acquainted with many in the City. From dinner I retired home and drunk tea, from thence walkt through Sudney to the Southgate to see the diversion of cudgelling performed on a stage amidst a very numerous mob or croud of common people of both sexes, and but few of others. Being soon satisfied I proceeded a mile or two on the road to Topsham which was pleasant the air being clear and mild, wind N.Wly., meeting very few either going or returning.

Thursday 25. Walkt down to Topsham alone, met and crossed but few, the road level and pleasant, distance near 4 miles, the Town is much better built than Sidmouth, has some very good houses, and almost all covered with slate or tyle, supposed to contain above 500, has a church and meeting house and 1 Quaker Society, lyes on the river Exe, and opposite the key is half and much more than $\frac{1}{2}$ as wide again as the Thames at Londonbridge; is the shipping port of Exeter, lying within the barr, about 6 miles; at the mouth of the Exe is Exmouth, on one side, and Starcross on the other. Dined at the Salutation Inn, the usual hour in this part of the country is 1 and half past. Immediately after I departed, returning the same way and manner I came. A very warm clear day wind South.¹⁴

Friday 26. Fine clear and warm day, Wind at S. Waited on Mr. Jonathan Green who invited me to tea. At Moll's Coffee House heard a Country Gentleman read a letter from a friend dated on board the Renown 200 leagues to the West, of 16th July advising that by a Vessel from West Indies they was informed General How had made good his landing at New York and forced the American intrenchments. Without hesitation I declared this news was improbable, there not being time sufficient, since by the last authentic accounts from him, he did not sail from Halifax till the 10th of June; that 600 Pro-

14. A brief note to Isaac Smith containing domestic details.

vincials had joyned General Carlton was likely, and that Hopkins an American Sea Commander was blockt up at New London; with regard to the situation of the last I heard several very extraordinary guesses, one saying it was in Virginia another in Bay of Fundy, these mistakes I took upon me to rectify. Dined on Fowls which cost 5d and 7½d. This dish, with cyder and brown household bread makes my table look very like American. Drank tea with Mr. Green and with him and Mr. Sheppard walkt down to the bridge, where we found great numbers collected on the same errand with us, and from thence home.

Saturday July 27. Cloudy and drisly wind N.Wly. Reported that 2 Dispatches from America this morning departed from this place in their way to London with advice that an engagement had happened between General How and the Americans with a loss on each side of 1800 men and so great was the carnage that one regiment had not 5 men left. The officers said they belonged to the 38 regiment but on enquiry at the London Inn they gave so blundering an account that I believe it a mere forgery, and given out to make people stare and talk. Drank tea at Mr. Jonathan Green's, and afterwards walkt over the Bridge to a Village called Idea. In my way I passed a small square raised room in a quiet retreat in which 'tis reported som of the Spectators were written by Eustace Budgell.¹⁵

Sunday July 28. Attended divine Service at Bow Meeting House, Mr. Manning preached a very ingenious sermon from 1 *Ch. Proverbs 10 Verse*, "*My son if sinners entice thee, consent thou not.*" In P.M. at the same place, Mr. Towgood the elder, a venerable Gentleman of 86 years, preached a serious sensible sermon from 1 *Ep. John 1 Ch. 4 V.*, "*and these things write we unto you, that your joy may be full,*" after which a Mr. Sheppard came to our house and drank tea, and from thence conducted me to a Methodist Meeting House where a Mr. Holmes officiates lately a Merchant in this City, now giving up his worldly affairs without any further than a due care to preserve the bounty of providence which amounts to £20,000 oblige him. He built this house; preaches as before only on Sunday evenings, is of a very respectable character; text was in 3 *Ch. 1 Cor. 22 V.*, "*All things are yours, wether Paul, or Appollos, or Cephas all are yours.*" In this assembly were some very well dressed Ladies. 'Tis remarkable in nine

15. Eustace Budgell (1686–1737), cousin of Addison, contributor to the *Spectator*, alluded to by Pope in the *Dunciad*.

of the churches in this city, perhaps all, are placed in compartments or tablets against the walls in many places collections of texts of Scripture, 'tis the opinion of the Inhabitants that the cathedral has been standing 900 years, and indeed it has the appearance of a very ancient structure, and the military garb some of statues are dressed in, are very like those used in the 9th and 10th Century.

Monday 29. Mild air but cloudy. Rose later and breakfasted alone. Visited Mr. Micajah Towgood. Went with Mr. Shepard to hear the Judges of the Assize their commissions read at the Castle, and Guildhall, but was unluckily too late, it having been already done, and they retired to their lodgings. This was a mortifying disappointment, having earnestly wished to have heard them on our return. We stopped into Mr. Weymouth's for a few minutes, and was by him repeatedly urged to walk in, and drink a glass of wine; but being intent on writing to my late fellow lodger Mr. Danforth which I have lazily deferred from day to day declined, and proceeded home, where I drank tea. Sky continues clouded and unpleasant. Took a walk, as usual, to the Bridge, and afterwards home.

Tuesday 30. Attended divine service in the Cathedral to hear, as is the custom, the assize sermon preached before the judges, who were Barons Eyre and Hotham. The preacher was a Mr. Simmons curate of heavitree, his text taken from *14 Ch. Prov. 34 verse*, "*righteousness exalted a Nation*," a very serious sensible discourse. After service staid to hear, and see the Bishop confirm, to the number of more than 200. The office began with a short prayer by a clergyman; the Bishop then came forward, and directing the catechumens to kneel, read a prayer, a few responses followed; and then he came down, and putting each hand on the head of two pronounced the words of confirmation, hereupon they rose and retired to make way for him to pass along the ranks as they kneeled; going through the whole by two at a time, and then ordering them to kneel and seriously to attend read 2 prayers and pronounced the blessing, on which he retired back to his velvet chair and the assembly departed. It proved a very fine day but my head aking I lost the relish of it. In the intermission the Judges repaired to the castle, and gave the charge to the grand Jury, which it upsets me to have lost the hearing of. Returned home, and there abode the remainder of the day, suffering the excruciating pains of a serious nervous headach. This evening at 10 o'clock happened a total eclipse of the moon, it proving a fine clear air, was visible and continued till 44

minutes past 1, was 2 hours totally obscured almost. Retired to rest at 12.¹⁶

Wednesday 31. Walkt up to the castle, but the croud was too great to hear, and unable to procure a convenient seat left it soon. Dined at Mr. Jonathan Green's house. Returned home, and passed the P.M. in my chamber writing, or rather endeavouring to compose a letter to Mr. D[anforth] in London which I find a difficulty in. About 8 o'clock I walkt out with Mr. Sheppard and spent the evening with him at a Tavern in Southgate street at his expence, supping, at this house I tasted the best cyder since my coming into this place.

Thursday August 1. Attended the assize at the castle having fortunately for part of the time a convenient stand in the gallery, being the first I was able to obtain; the cause before Baron Eyre was a suit of Lord Clifford, a Roman Catholic peer, against a Mr. Prade for incroaching on the rights of his manor of Ringmoor within which is part of the Town of Tingmouth, lying on the river Tyng (Teign), Lord Clifford claiming up to high water mark, below which for 178 feet he had built and inclosed; but on the trial Lord Clifford having made an offer to compromise (I hear he had done it before on easier terms) allowing Mr. Prade to enjoy one half his incroachment for 3 lives or 99 years paying yearly 10/ surrendering up the other half. By this my Lord has received his rights and obtained a small rent for a spot before, perhaps, of no value. Passed the P.M. at home in writing, and evening.

Friday August 2. Fine warm Morn wind S.Ely. Went with Mr. Smith (who came to Town the evening before) to the castle where was the nomination of a Shire Knight (as tis so called here) in the room of Sir Richard Warn Bampfylde lately deceased, when Mr. Walter was proposed without competition, hereupon were 3 cheers repeated 3 or 4 different times. He is at present a member of the City, but relinquishes it for the County, in which cases, this is looked upon as certain, it being, perhaps, unheard not to succeed, if, at the nomination there be no competition. Returned home afterwards and wrote. In P.M. I spent at Mr. Micajah Towgoods house with Mr. Smith by promise, and the evening at home.

16. Curwen wrote under this date (though it must have taken him more than one sitting) a thirteen-page letter to Thomas Danforth, Brompton Row, detailing his trip from London to Exeter—a review, with a few additional details, of his diary record of 15–18 July 1776.

Saturday 3. Breakfasted with Mr. Wymouth a druggist. A fine pleasant day. Wind S.Ely.

Sunday 4. Fine day wind S.Ely. At the Mint Meeting House Mr. Hog the minister of the Society preached from *15 John 16 V.*, "*that whatsoever ye shall ask the father in my name he shall give it you.*" Received the Sacrament, attended at the same place in P.M. Mr. Manning preached from *13 Ch. Hebrews 5 V.*, "*Be content with such things as ye have; for he hath said, I will never leave thee, nor forsake thee.*" Before service I took down the following, being an inscription on a funeral monument of white marble on a black ground placed on high in the center of the West wall of the Meeting House, in the upper tablet or compartment in the form of an urn encompassed by a Curtain in folds, surmounted with another on each side, from which rises a flame, and in the center, between, is a larger one in the field or middle is represented the family arms of the deceased, properly emblazoned, with a blaze or flame rising up.

This monument is erected
by mournful friends
as a lasting testimony of their high regard
to the memory and honour
of the revered pious and learned
Mr. James Peirce
a most worthy and indelared pastor of this Church:
a rational, judicious and affectionate preacher:
a very laborious and sagacious Interpreter
of the Holy Scriptures:
a Sincere lover and strenuous defender of the truth:
a Courageous sufferer while living
for maintaining the doctrines of the gospel
of Christ
for asserting the liberties of christians;
and after death denied a just encomiam
on his tomb in St Leonard Church yard
by the Rector of the parish
The great and good man departed hence
in peace.
March 10 1726
in the 53d year of his age.

In an oval compartment below a little swelled is the following

Phil 1.21

Rev 15

To me to live is Christ
and to dye is gain
Blessed are the dead
that dye in the Lord.

It has been observed that there was in the city during the last week, the greatest concourse of people ever known, and indeed the streets were crowded, Lammas Fair on Thursday, Friday and Saturday, the Assizes, and the Nomination for County representative happened all at the same time. It seems to be the custom for the Sheriff to notify the County some time before the day of elections, that a member is to be chosen soon, the persons nominated at this meeting are to be candidates, and they only, no other presuming to make an interest but such as openly solicit and offer themselves at this previous meeting.

Monday 5. Cloudy but moderate, wind S.Ely. At 8 o'clock took a post chaise with Miss Reed and Mr. Pringle, rode down to Sidmouth a watering place in the West where I propose to reside some time with Mr. Isaac Smith, who officiates as Minister to the dissenting congregation partly made up of the company resorting hither for the benefit of bathing and drinking the waters. I am now in Mr. Folletts house.

Tuesday 6. Fair and pleasant, walkt out to see Mr. Peirce,¹ and take a turn on the beach, a walk being found gravelled and rolled making it very pleasant; at distances are placed two long seats for the benefit of the company and about the middle a Shed; in this the ladies sit, in fine days at work, public tea is drank, and parties at cards are there formed and at a distance, beyond the walk, is another shed called travellers rest, in which the women who assist the ladies in bathing shift their wet clothes, the machines covered over while drawn up by a rope fastened to a wheel are thereabouts placed. In the neighbourhood are two lofty cliffs, one called Salcomb and the other Peak; to one or other the Company sometimes walk or ride; through the Town runs a river called Sid (but in New England would not be dignified

1. Probably Samuel Eyles Pierce (1746-1829), minister of Lady Huntington's Chapel from 1776 to 1780.

by an higher appellation than brook) lying under an high ridge, in rainy seasons supplied with so many streams pouring into it, that on such occasions it overflows its narrow banks and by its rapidity carries away all before it.

Wednesday 7. Passed the day in much the same manner as the preceeding invited by one of the ladies to tea.

Thursday 8. Ditto as before. Finished my first long letter to Mr. Danforth, and dispatched it by Miss White's conveyance to Exeter.

Friday 9. Rainy, at home all day, proceeding in my second.

Saturday 10. Walkt up to Salcomb Hill alone. This eminence yields a most extensive prospect, Portland lying fairly in view. Invited by Mrs. Davis to tea with some of her Shipton Mallet friends and from thence took a turn with the ladies to the beach, but some returned the air being damp and chilly.

Sunday 11. Rainy, wind at Sly. Attended worship at the Meeting House. Mr. Smith preached from *13 Heb. 15*, "*by him therefore let us offer the sacrifice of praise to God continually, that is, the fruit of our lips, giving thanks to his name,*" and in the P.M., the same preacher from *1 Peter 3 Ch. 10, 11, 12 verses*, "*For he that will have life, and see good days let him refrain his tongue from evil, and his lips that they speak no guile. Let him eschew evil, and do good; let him seek peace, and ensue it, for the eyes of the Lord are upon the righteous, and his ears are open unto their prayers; but the face of the Lord is against them that do evil.*" After service walkt down to the beach, and retired to my room 'till called down to tea to Mrs. Saunders and her company; after which they returned to the beach and I to my room.

Monday August 12. Rainy all day. Playd backgammon with Mrs. Davis in A.M., after dinner walkt out to Mr. Peirce's, and played with him all the P.M. He won the end game. Drank tea with his neice Miss Hicks. Mr. Smith being sent for, we stayed the evening and played commerce and Quadrille, won 6d. Returned home at 4 o'clock. Sidmouth is a small town consisting, perhaps, of 100 houses or more, built of mudwalls and thatched roofs, except a very few with cornish tyle and one of New England shingles; very low; situated in a bottom or

vale the lands about under good improvement. On each side stands two ridges of hills ending in clifts, the foot washed by the tide, in the town is an old Church with a clock, and a Meeting House, the inhabitants chiefly hired out to the Newfoundland traders and for the most part, in low circumstances. The town is within the manor of Sir Wilmot Prideaux whose ancestors having deeply mortgaged the estate to the ancestors of a person now insane, the leases cannot be renewed, and therefore the houses are going to decay; none inclining to rebuild, or repair more than is necessary, at an uncertainty.

Friday 13. The evening and night preceeding fair, and the morning till 9 o'clock, the sky was overspread with dark clouds; and the rain came on, but it soon clearing away, Mr. Smith and I walkt out to the furthest head land of Peak hill; and should have continued longer but for the wind which freshning up, prevented us. Walkt out after dinner, and from thence returned home; passing through a rope walk wherein all the spinners were females to the number of 9. Drank tea with the ladies at Mrs. Ames invitation.

Wednesday 14. Clear and pleasant. Walkt out on the beach before breakfast, and another turn after dinner, played at Quadrille with Mr. Ames, Mrs. Davis and Mrs. Broadrip, lost 9d. Passed Evening at home, did not leave company till 11 o'clock. Received a letter from Charles Russell at Antigo, inclosed in one from S.B. at Exeter, and a bundle, by Mr. White.²

Thursday 15. Walkt down to the beach before breakfast; the sea was rough; only 2 Ladies bathed. Clouds and sun alternately. At Noon very pleasant. Walkt with Mrs. Sanders and Miss Jenkins on the beach

2. Curwen's goodheartedness is pointed up by his letter this day in answer to that received from Charles Russell which obviously begged off from repaying his indebtedness. Curwen wrote: "This day I received your letter which gave me great pain. People in similar circumstances of distress must be brutal not to feel for one another. That (thank God) is not my case. I do, and ever did, feel for the wretched. Let us endeavour to fortify our minds against dispondency, perhaps the prospects may brighten. If not, reason and a submissive disposition may alleviate greatly, though they cannot remove the weight of troubles; I sincerely and ardently wish you and your connections a removal of those comparative sufferings you are at present under. You are candid enough to place my demand to the right account. I would sooner have endured hunger than needlessly add to any ones distresses, much less those for whom I am bound by on any ties to wish and endeavour to promote their happiness and interest. Do not remember the demand. Consult your own conveniences. I have not wanted, but am reduced to a most rigid economy, you know was not my case in New England."

and over the fields. P.M. Clouds and drisly, drank tea with Mrs. Davis, and passed the evening at Quadrille with Mr. Davis.

Friday 16. Rose early and walkt with Misses Hicks and Evileth to Peak hill before breakfast and afterwards with Mr. Ames and Peirce to the Arch through a rock being 30 feet in Width and fifty feet long, and forty feet in heighth; covered with a large body of earth above and on the sides, passed through it and from thence along the beach, in a Cave surrounded by high Clifts, and having 2 large detached rocks 25 feet in height and 100 feet from the Clifts, wherein the eccho is very loud; rising into the heights through a vale, intersecting them, we took the road through Otterton, home where we arrived after the Company had sit down to dinner, fatigued and half roasted, the sun beating very fierce upon us. Drank tea with the ladies at Miss Weymouth's invitation, an^d returned to bed at 9 o'clock cold and sleepy.³

Saturday 17. Rose early, walkt on the beach; the morning being very clear and fine as yesterday was; but like that showery and fair by turns. Passed the P.M. at Mrs. Pearce's in company with Mr. and Mrs. Ames, played at Quadrille and drank tea, and at backgammon, before and after their departure with him. Supped and returned home at 1 o'clock Evening.

Sunday 18 August. Rainy. Attended worship at Meeting House. Mr. Berry of Kurton or Crediton, who exchanged with Mr. Smith, preached from *10 Luke 41,42 verses*, "*And Jesus answered, and said unto her, Martha, Martha, thou art careful, and troubled about many things: but one thing is needful, and Mary has chosen that good part, which shall not be taken away from her.*" An excellent discourse. We had the remainder from the same text in the P.M. Rain continued all day. Drank tea with the ladies at Mrs. Davis invitation. Retired to rest soon.

Monday 19. Cloudy, damp air, and rain. Walkt to the beach, and took a few turns with the ladies, say 4 Mrs. Ames, Misses S[ealy], W[hi]te and W[eymou]th and from thence to Mr. Pearce's. Beat him the odd game at backgammon. Wrote out for Miss White the copy of Verses on *Tomorrow* and presented to her after dinner.

3. A three-page letter to an unnamed person describing the beauties and curiosities of Sidmouth.

Walkt out to Otterton alone, in street seeing a crowd I asked the occasion, was told they believed there had been a bizzhopping, which I interpreted to mean confirmation. The church is in good repair and stands high close by the late Mr. Dukes house, and on the grounds of his estate and to that belong the great tythes. The royalty comprehends some towns and the river Otter (from whence the town takes its name) to its mouth, abounding in Salmon. It is distant from Sidmouth 3 miles west, the way lying over Peak hill, the above mentioned estate is said to be the best of any in the West, in and of its bigness perhaps in England, containing within itself more conveniences, and supplies than are to be found any where. Cloudy and warm, close looking very like thunder.

Tuesday 20. A very fine morning. Walkt out on the beach with our ladies. After breakfast with Mrs. Ames, Miss Evelith, Miss Sealy, and Mr. Kircup the dissenting parson of Sidbury, to Peak Hill, from whence we had a very fine view of Portland, the air being clear, and on the beach with Miss Hicks; drank tea at her solicitation with Miss White and her Company which prevented my attending publick tea in the Shed, and afterwards walkt with the Ladies on the beach, where was the most brilliant appearance of well dressed Ladies I have yet seen, and at the tea, as a Lady told me, was as fine and polite an appearance as ever she saw at any Watering place. Waited on Miss Hicks to her Uncles Mr. Pearce's; beat him two backgammons and returned home having agreed to call on her tomorrow to take a mornings walk to Salcomb hill, bottom or vales called in the devonshire dialect Coombs.

Wednesday Augt. 21. Arising early (the morning being inexpressibly fine, the Horizon clear, a gentle breeze and the wind at N. by E.) I dressed and going to the Ladies chamber door gave a gentle rap [*half a line crossed out*] and departed to ———. Miss Hicks was already up, and prepared to receive me; with her and her uncle Mr. Pearce sett off for our own house where we were soon joyned by Mrs. Saunders, 2 Miss Weymouths and Miss Evelith proceeding to Salcomb Hill though the Coach road, Mr. Smith and Miss Jenkins came to us through the fields just as we had ascended to the summit, and after passing some time in viewing the country and Sea, "*as smooth as a piece of bristol glass*" we came down and arrived safe at our lodgings, having taken two hours and a half to perform our walk; after dinner

walkt with my two favorites Miss Hicks and Evelith, Mrs. Davis and our other Ladies on the beach; drank tea with the Ladies at Miss Evelith's invitation, and spent the most gay and joyous evening with our whole company and Messrs. Pearce and Berry, being kept in an almost incessant laughter by Mr. Davis's agreeable humour, till past 12 o'clock when the company departed and I retired to pack up my things for my intended journey to Birmingham tomorrow with Mr. Davis.

Thursday 22. Arose at 5 o'clock and after taking a slight breakfast, the morning very fine, the air soft and the sky clear, we departed from Sidmouth in a post chaise, ascending the high hill at Sidbury. The summit for a considerable extent is a level, affording very agreeable prospects. At Honiton a distance of 9 miles we exchanged chaise, horses and driver, through a very pleasant road, making a short stop at a place called Smithhast just on the borders of blackdown, at "*the sine of the george inn, hear all kind of lickers are sold.*" The down is in its self a dreary spot, but the road through, not unpleasant, from whence is to be seen an hill called *Quantoock* a sound so like our Indian, I could not help remarking it, at the end of this down we viewed an almost enchanting spot bounded by distant hills, and is called the vale of Taunton Dean. Covered with excellent improvements in the center of it lyes Taunton, distant 18 miles from the last stage, the most agreeable town I have yet seen, its streets wide, many of its houses modern, and in the main, streets clean and in good repair; full shops, plentiful markets and abundance of people, the church called of St. Madgalene's finely decorated in the gothic style, it has besides one more episcopal church and 3 meeting houses. This vale is in length, perhaps, 15 miles and half as much in breadth to appearance, and is esteemed as fertile as any spot in England.

Arriving at the Castle Inn we alighted, secured our baggage, and having engaged conditionally a post chaise, in case the Bristol stage was full which in event so proved, we sett off on foot for Hillsbishop a Village 1 ½ miles distant, in order to dine with my Companion's friend Mr. Jirrald, Minister of the Society of dissenters of which the whole Village consists. Passing for the greater part over a raised foot path made by a Lady for her own use, we met my Friend's friend with whom we were hospitably entertained: here I saw the plentifullest harvest of apricots, nectarines and apples, and having regaled our taste and loaded our pockets was accompanied back to the Inn by him

and taking leave, departed in a 3d postchaise for Bridgewater, where we arrived in two hours, being a distance of 12 miles.

From the inn we walkt to Miss Sealy's gardens, a maiden lady, one of our Company at Mr. Follets house in Sidmouth, who invited us to it at our departure. The home and gardens manifest a neatness very singular. This situation of the latter seems as if originally planned for retirement and meditation, and is well calculated to promote them; here we saw a piece of water at the bottom of the grounds filled with plenty of large carp brought up to the surface by pieces of bread thrown in, which they rise to catch and eat, an agreeable sight I never before had. Eating to our full, we took a second cargo of excellent nectarines and green grapes and departed for Cross in a 4th postchaise and driver and arrived at half past 10 in the dark and rain, half asleep and half froze.

I alighted but what was my astonishment, the chamber maid announced, no beds in the house, no horses in the stable, no accomodations within or without and to add to my sufferings, no fire to warm me, which I needed enough. The prospect gloomy and discouraging at first, like the changing scenes of life soon brightened; a very friendly stranger, Mr. Cornelius Frye, a glass merchant at Bristol was sitting with a companion at supper; by his interposing I had soon the benefit of a fire, and at the same time he consented to take part of his companions bed, and deliver his own to us; having supped, and taken a few drafts of punch which we called for in a joint company, I retired to rest and had a comfortable night.⁴

Friday 23. Summoned at 5 to rise but by many needless delays did not set off till 7 and at 10 arrived at the Bush Inn Bristol, opposite to the Exchange. After breakfast and dressing, I waited on Mr. Waldo with Mr. Isaac Smith's order, exchanging one on my friend in London. He was absent but I was met just on my departure from his house (having left a card to acquaint him of my business) by his niece a Miss Cookson who invited me to Tea; returning home Mr. Waldo came soon and carried me to his house to dine, my company was two New Englanders John Boylston and Mr. Bourne, a London acquaintance and after dinner with the latter, Mr. Waldo, Miss Cookson and a strange young Miss named Edaye we walkt over Kingsdown Hill

4. A short note to Thomas Danforth at London asking him to apply to Mr. Dennis Deberdt, 23 Colman Street, for £30, to remit part, and to hold the balance for further instructions.

(from which is a fine prospect of the Town and Country) to the Hot wells on the banks of the Avon, taking a glass of the water which is offered gratis and from thence home, not a little fatigued—sending the order by a servant and my compliments was soon furnished with the needful, and his complimentary wishes of a good journey. Supping I quickly repaired to my repose; and was according to the custom, called up at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 2 to take our places in the postchaise, to our company was added a young Dublin merchant going to conclude his rambles here, through Scotland by way of Manchester.

Saturday 24th. For 6 miles the roads good, and from thence to a few miles beyond Gloucester through a fertile country more like the face of New England than any spot of the same extent I had yet seen, our first stage at Newport was distant from Bristol 17 miles. Here we took a relay of horses, but not coach or Driver, and from hence to Gloucester is 17 or 18 miles which we set down at, about 8 o'clock. This is an old place and has not the appearance of thrift; its chief manufacture is pins. Here we breakfasted, and took a new Driver, Coach, and horses; we were soon brought to the Flying Green Dragon on the [lawn?], where we exchanged Coach horses and driver, the distance only 9 miles and from hence to Upton is 7 miles; where we were, by the provisions on this road forced into another coach, with fresh horses, and a new driver to pay; each of whom has a claim on all the passengers for 6d. This town reminded me of the incident of the amiable Sophia Western's muff which Tom Jones picked up in his own bed; but our last prevented my inquiring whether there was such an Inn as in that history is mentioned. There are many originals of Squire Western; but I am told Mr. Allen late of Bath was the character from which Mr. Allworthy was drawn. From hence to Worcester is an exceeding pleasant road of 10 miles the distance between these two stages. This is an handsome modern City, full of modern buildings; wide streets; multitudes of peoples, and a fine cathedral in excellent repair but not abounding in funeral monuments. Having a little time to spare, we employed it in walking about and was not a little pleased at the appearance of things in it. Its chief manufactures are porcelain and gloves. From hence to Droitwich is 6 miles; a place noted for salt springs which the inhabitants boil into salt. It's a considerable town and is a parliamentary borough; from hence to Bromsgrove is 7 miles through a rich and pleasant Country and pleasant road. Here again we changed Coach, horses, and driver, with usual expense and at 8 o'clock

arrived at Birmingham (thank God) the end of this extravagant journey; its distance from the last is 13 miles. This place in its general appearance looks more like Boston than any place in England.⁵

Sunday 25th. Moderate but cloudy. Attended divine service at the old Meeting House as it is called with Mr. Lakin, his son Michael, and his Daughter Nancy; at whose house I am lodged, he being the uncle by marriage of my Companion Mr. Davis; a Mr. Scolfield preached from 6 *Romans* 22, "*but now being made free from sin, and become servants to God, ye have your fruit unto holiness, and the end everlasting life,*" a most excellent, serious and sensible discourse, a large handsome house and well dressed respectable assembly. In the P.M. Mr. H. preached from 19 *Chap. of Luke* and the 9 Verse, "*And Jesus said unto him, this day is salvation come to this house,*" a very serious, and sensible discourse.

Monday 26. Pleasant and moderate. In A.M. hearing that Judge Oliver,⁶ and Mr. Lloyd were in Town I walkt to the Inn but they were departed from thence yesterday. I proceeded to Mr. Wilkinson's home, who at present is confined with the gout in his chamber, being informed I was a New Englander he sent down his compliments desiring me to call and see him and has since with the family invited me to tea, and after to the Workhouse of Welch Wilkinson and Startin; but finding them at neither of those places not being yet returned from Mr. Welches seat where they spent yesterday. I returned home and within a little space after, was called below to speak to a New England gentleman, whom I found to be them, just going to leave the town to return to London by the way of Woodstock; glad to see them; after a short stay they took their leaves and a letter for Mr. D[anforth] from me; and afterwards I walkt out to the Canal; a length of 17 miles from the rivers Trent and Severn (Canal joining the Trent and

5. A four-page letter this day to Isaac Smith describing in some detail his recent trip, as far as Bristol. Of what he described in his diary entry, Friday 22, as "a comfortable night," he says here: "Retiring to my chamber I found it about 1½ of my Cane's length and to be very exact about 1¼ in width, just big enough to hold a small Campbed; by good management I made the bed long enough for myself and to use a very homely comparison lay as snug as a bug in a rug but how it fared with my friend I know not as he was longer and broader than myself unless he formed himself into a Zig Zag."

6. Peter Oliver (1713-1791), Harvard 1730, D.C.L., Oxford 1776, merchant of Boston; one of the judges who presided at the Boston Massacre trials and last chief justice of Massachusetts before the Revolution; brother of Lt. Gov. Andrew Oliver. He fled to England in 1775 and died at Birmingham.

Severn) to this Town, by which its furnished with Coals at the very cheap rate of 7/6 (to their own door) for a ton near 20 bushells, scarcely 14/ for chaldron brought here in barges (as they are called) 70 or 80 feet in length and about 5 feet wide, from the pitts almost 15 miles from hence. Here also are to be seen pleasure boats, large barges for conveying merchandize and the markets are supplied by this conveyance.

Tuesday August 27. Cloudy but moderate, waited on Miss Lakin to the Oratorio of the Messiah at St. John's Church; passed the P.M. at home in writing where I now am. Here and hereabouts are many wakes as they are called, being neither more nor less than people of the lower classes encouraged to assemble together on various occasions to divert and amuse them in sports in the streets, lanes and Fields, and in ale houses mughouses and Inns which they do to the emolument only of the Keepers, but to the great injuries, damage and hurt of themselves and families, who suffer by 'em. Yesterday was one [2 words] collected in that part of the town near St. Georges Chappell called St. Georges wake, kept in remembrance of some circumstance relative to that chappell; but what I have not curiosity to inquire though I had to march through the crowds who were collected in great numbers and reminded me of my own Country; the appearance of them in dress and behaviour very nearly resembling ours. Passed the A.M. at home, retired to rest very early but continued wakeful, hardly closing my eyes till day break.

Wednesday 28. A fine pleasant morn, rose early, and walkt out alone, meeting in my walk a Quaker standing at the door of his house situated near the outskirts of the town on the Litchfield road, commanding an agreeable prospect of improvements bounded by distant hills in an amphitheatric line. I soon found means to engage him in talk, he invited me in, which I accepted, and abode with him half an hour; he was a sensible man and a warm American, and once for all I observe most of the middle and lower ranks are, through the Kingdom as far as my experience reaches. Beyond the Tweed I know however not, some of the Scotch within, to my own knowledge, are steady antiministerialists; my new found acquaintance is a horn button maker, his name B[illegible]etton, he gave me a pressing invitation to breakfast and see his workmen, which I shall take an opportunity for, the former I declined lest the family should wait. After, attended Miss

Lakin to Mr. Scolfield the old meeting House minister whose family is extreemly indisposed, and the good man under great affliction. He promises very soon to pay us his respects by a visit and urged my coming to see him. Returning home from thence, we met Mr. Davis and young Lakin, with whom joyning company we proceeded forward towards Mr. Russell's seat almost 2 miles distant with whom our Family had engaged to dine on invitation. In our walk we stopped into Mrs. Abney's Farm house, and there eat plentifully of very fine pears and plumbs; and departed for our last stage, at which we arrived and were very kindly, hospitably and genteely entertained. It is in an agreeable situation, has extensive views and is in a pretty taste. He has been in America, is a steady warm advocate; one of our Company was a Mr. Smith who has lately arrived from thence, and been in the interiors part as far as Niagara and in the same sentiments. My Host is in a House whose firm is Smith Son and Russell; deal largely to New York, moderately to Boston, and is a worthy good natured gentleman, in his house I passed a most agreeable and pleasant day and with the Company returned back on foot through a delightful road.

Thursday 29. Rainy, wind at S.E. At home all A.M. reading and writing. After dinner it cleared up and with young L[akin], Mr. Mason and my Companion Mr. D[avis] walkt out to see the slitting mill situated just within the town, on the way to Doretend; and belongs to a Mr. Lloyd, a Quaker, runs by water on a canal made by art, from a small rivulet derived from the Lecky a lofty heath 4 or 5 miles distant from the Town. The operation is quick and the machine simple. The blocks or bills of Iron passing, after being heated, through two rollers, and from thence into a second pair containing 6 or 8 grooves of the width designed from one inch to $\frac{1}{3}$ or $\frac{1}{4}$ of an inch, which last I saw, being intended for brads and tacks. From this place we returned back, and soon after was attended to a Whip maker, the machine is very intricate, is a late invention, and dispatches work 6 or 8 times as fast again as by hand, which used to be the practice. Passed the evening with Mr. Lakin and a Mr. May, plater, and frying pan maker, was invited to see his workmen, says the latter business is greatly hurt by the American quarrell, he having on hand several tons of the latter.

Friday 30. Moderate fine day, walkt out and had a view of Friend B[illegible]etton's horn button manufacture; and on my return found

my kind friend Mr. Russell who came to attend me to the manufacturers, our first stay was at Mr. Mays the platemakers, the various branches of which we saw; and departing entered Mr. Clay the papier marchée manufacturer, in the exhibition room I saw many extremely curious pieces; beside snuff boxes, were tea chests, canisters, Tea boards and pannells for coaches; most elegantly glazed and painted, and of all prices from 6d to 10 guineas. In this room saw a gentleman with whom I had a little conversation, and who I found was an Englishman, in sentiment, and attachment, wholly frenchified. From this room with the aforesaid gentleman and 2 of his friends I passed through the various branches from pasting the paper to its compleat and last hand. From hence we passed to a brass Cabinet founder, the several branches of which I had a view; my companion being to dine with his Brother who lived at 3 miles distance he took his leave after making many friendly and pressing invitations to come to his house at 3 miles distance, and lodge and dine as should best please me. My head, by a last nights supper (eat out of complaisance with my hosts earnest request) continuing to ache and increase, I took a nap which in some degrees abated, and dressing walkt with the company in the house to Mr. Wilkinson, from whom we had an invitation a few days since to tea, and spend the evening passing it very agreeably with himself Lady and 2 neices, and at departing received an hearty request that Mr. Davis and I would call on him again which I promised to do; in the course of the evening he made inquiries about several characters, which I took care to give as favourably as possible. Returned home by a fine moonlight, my headach considerably abated.

Saturday 31. Very fine morning. Mr. Russell my new friend and acquaintance called on me and taking me out accompanied me to Mr. Lee the button makers, the various branches of which I viewed, and I find them to be exceeding curious. From thence to the watch chain maker, consisting also of many branches, wherein as in all the manufactures men women and children boys and girls are employed; from thence to the buckle makers, and there took his leave and departed to his home, and I to my lodgings. After dinner I went to the Dissenters Charity School, wherein I saw a boy (the rest being before dismissed) heading pins, and was told by him he could put on 2 oz. in an hour. Soon after my return back, with Miss Nancy Lakin I went to St. Philips Church to evening prayers designing to ascend the Steeple in order to have a prospect of the Town and Country, but the man being

departed we were balkd returning through the yard, took Miss Magnall from her uncle Mr. Wilkinsons and with her and Mr. Mason walkt through the square to St. George's Chappell a low octagon with a steeple in a particular style. On our return Mr. Mason and myself stopped in a gunsmiths to see a rifle gun, which I had never before seen, and many other pieces of peculiar constructions I was a stranger to; the master is to make 600 rifle guns for government, but is in principle an antiministerialist, as this whole town almost, are. We returned home to tea with Miss L. and Mr. M. Afterwards Miss Wilkinson joined us. They departed and Miss Nancy and myself set over and had a social tete a tete, she is a very sensible girl, meaning Lady.

Sunday September 1st. Moderate, pleasant morning, sun clear. Attended worship at old Meeting House. Mr. Scolfield preached from *9 Jeremiah 23,24 verses*, "*Thus saith the Lord; let not the wise man glory in his wisdom; neither let the mighty man glory in his might; let not the rich man glory in his riches; but let him that glorieth, glory in this, that he understandeth and knoweth me, that I am the Lord, which exercise loving kindness, judgement, and the righteousness in the earth: for in these things I delight, saith the Lord*"; a judicious sensible and good discourse. In the P.M. I went to the New Meeting House accompanied by Mr. Russell, Lady, Sister, and Mr. Davis. The assembly is genteel, and much fuller than the other, the Preacher Mr. Hanks a worthy, very excellent character; whose life exemplifys his doctrines, the text was taken from the *10 Ch. St. Luke 1 and 2d verses*, "*And he spake a parable unto them, to this end, that men ought always to pray and not to faint; saying, there was in a city a judge, that feared not God, neither regarded man,*" a serious and good discourse. After tea went with the Family, Mr. Mason, and Miss Magnall to St. George's Chappell to an evening lecture, the preacher a Mr. ——— a Methodist, his text from *11 ch. Hebs. 13,14 verses*, "*and these all died in faith, not having received the promises etc.,*" an indifferent discourse, full assembly. Returned home in a coach, it proving rainy [*2 lines crossed out in manuscript*] my situation makes necessary.

Monday 2d. Rainy or rather cloudy and drisly by turns. Accompanied by Mr. Russell I went to a Mr. Ryland's a pin maker, saw the various branches from drawing the wire to whitening which is done by a liquor from the Distill house, and conducted by the master himself, whose complaisance I am indebted to. Staid within all the A.M. being rainy.

Tuesday Sept. 3. Sun rose very clear, cloudy and clear by turns. Afterward the rain set in and continued all the remainder of the day except a few intervals. Staid within till a short interval I walkt out towards Bolton and Fothergill's home and works, but the showry appearance prevented my proceeding further. After tea with Miss Nancy I went to the methodist Meeting, which consisted of the very lowest, meaner people, a small home but exceedingly filled, the hearers very devout and attentive, kneeling at prayer, as the preacher did, his name Mather, a strong wise and a pathetic speaker, his language for the most part unintelligible to me; text *from 10 Ch. 1 Cor. 13 Verse*, "*wherefore let him that thinketh he standeth, take heed lest he fall.*" Returned home in the rain.

Wednesday 4. Rainy. Staid within all A.M. reading; after dinner walkt out, and calling in at post office received a letter from Thomas Danforth to which I wrote an answer. The rain continuing abode within the remainder of the day, employed in the same exercise of reading.

Thursday 5. Cloudy, now and then a sprinkling. Walkt up with Mr. Davis and Mr. G. Russell, the latter calling, in order to accompany us to his home having the day before engaged us to dine and spend the P.M. at his house on Mosely Wake green so called which we did extremely pleasantly taking a walk over the down to his Brothers house with Mrs. and Miss Russell and after tea, departed on foot as we went; at this home I have passed my time more to my mind than in any one since my arrival in England and from this Gentleman I have received more civility than from any one native of this Island, for which I acknowledge myself more indebted, and shall gladly embrace every occasion to testify it here, and elsewhere.

Friday Sept. 6. A very fine clear and mild morning, wind at S. a little E. Walkt out early attended by Mr. Davis and Mr. Lakin as far as the swing bridge on the banks of the canal distant about 1 mile from the key at the end or head. It is about two lengths of my cane in width, has many bridges over it, and one passing over the road into the middle of the Town, below or under which the water runs; the canal being raised on an arch forty feet above the road. After breakfast walkt out to the Court of Requests; held in one of the market crosses, similar to the Court of conscience in London, impowered to determine and issue demands below 40/ by commissioner appointed for that purpose

by the ———. M. Russell wife and sister dined with us; after dinner went to lecture in the new meeting House, Mr. Hawkes preached from *4 Ch. Philippians 8 Verse*, "*Finally Brethren, whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report, if there be any virtue, and if there be any praise, think on these things.*" About 2 o'clock it cleared quite away, and continued delightfully pleasant. Mr. Scolfield drank tea and spent the evening with us excusing his not inviting us to his house in regard of his sick family; five or six, being confined at the same time; he told me an eminent physician told him he heard Sir William Meredith declare at Matlock that he looked on the violent measures against America to be very impolitick, and that Lord North was of his mind, and only joyned out of complaisance or respect to the King, who was warm and determined to pursue such at all events even though with the loss of an Hundred Thousand men; 'twill be well if a pertinacious adherence to a certain plan of conduct respecting that unhappy country be not productive of evil fruits to this interest of the King and empire. May it please God yet to infuse wisdom prudence and moderation into the breath of those on whose councils the fate or fortune of both depend.

Saturday 7. Cloudy and rainy, wind at S.E., clouds continue, but rain ceases. Walkt out with Miss Nancy Lakin calling in at 2 friends houses, Mr. Wilkinson's &c. and from thence through the road by the gardens and to the [Bromsgrove?] road to Bull Street and so home. After dinner with her and her Brother to Mr. Bolton and Fothergills manufactory where we arrived about half an hour after Lord North and his Lady, Lord Dartmouth and his Lady and two sons, the Earl of Exeter and some others had departed, having been for some hours viewing it. They are called Toy manufactories, consisting of many branches; employing daily in their workshops near 800 persons, men, women and children, in the various departments; from the cheapest buttons at 1 ½d a card to the richest services of plate worth £3000, at which rate the Duke of Holstein has one making; part being finished, and in the exhibition room; several of his works go by water, from a stream which is always supplied by a fire engine returning it back; by this means his stream is continually kept full. I was favored with a sight of his works by the very great complaisance of the master and clerk, and through part attended with the former in company with a Colonel

Broughton (some french name) late returned from the east Indies. In one of his rooms are 8 or 10 clocks, on the same or nearly the same principle containing each but one or two movements within; one having a long pendulum, and in another the face with the hours inscribed, moves, and the pointer is fixed. His new fire engine soon to be put up will raise water 400 feet in heighth, the quantity and time I forget. Returned and drank tea at home though pressingly invited by the way into a friends house. After the Family retired the young Lady and I had a pleasant and serious tete a tete.

Sunday Sept. 8. Cloudy and drisling, wind S.Ely. air raw. Attended worship at the old meeting House, Mr. Scolfield preached from 2 Cor. 4,5 V, "*for we preach not ourselves, not Christ Jesus the Lord; and ourselves your servants for Jesus' sake.*" Mr. Russell, Lady and sister dined with us as they do every Sunday. P.M. attended at same place and had the same preacher his text from 3 Chap. Malachi 16 V., "*Then they that feared the Lord spake often one to another, and the Lord hearkened, and heard it, and a book of remembrances was written before him for them that feared the Lord and that thought upon his name,*" a very judicious seasonable and profitable discourse.

Monday 9. Morn Cloudy, at 1 o'clock it cleared up. Walkt out to the posts to read the news; in the London Chronicle was a letter said to be brought by the Isabella an advice boat from Quebeck; relates a defeat of the provincials before Crown Point with the loss of 800 killed, 800 wounded and 400 taken prisoner and that Garrison in General Carleton's hands, said to have been obtained 23d July, a story well told but containing some improbabilities. I think it prudent to suspend my belief for the present—a few days must determine its truth or falsehood. In the afternoon walkt out to the Vauxhall garden with Miss Nancy Lakin and drank a bowl of Sangrie and on our return proceeded to Mr. Wilkinsons where we drank tea and spent a 2d very agreeable evening.

Tuesday 10. Foggy morn, but at 8 o'clock cleared away, and with Mr. D[avis] walkt along the banks of the canal as far as Winsom green from whence we turned off and returned home by a shorter way, it being delightfully pleasant. Was told as we passed the Castle inn, that Lord North was momentarily expected there from Sandwell Earl of Dartmouth's seat about 4 miles distant but my companions

principles, want of curiosity and impatience, deprived me of a sight I wished to have, at so easy a price; not yet, although 15 months residence in England has afforded me a sight of that important man. Received a letter from Mr. Danforth. Walkt with Mr. L[akin] to the canal, was admitted to a sight of the Company and proprietors books and papers in the Counting room, in which I saw the register of the shares, the prices, mode of transferring &c., and from thence to the yard containing 2 or 3 acres for the conveniency of loading coal that is brought in lumps of 2 or 3 feet square, this is raised 5 or 6 yards in height by earth brought from hills through which the canal is cut. From thence we proceeded to a Mrs. Lucas's on an eminence just a little without the town, and overlooks a part of it, was admitted into her shops, where I saw her utensils and the mode of separating metals and refining gold and silver in its different stages. Also I had a view of some samples, and from thence returned home, passing the evening alone with Miss Nancy Lakin very socially and agreeably. The Father, Mr. Davis, and son, being gone to a Mr. Richards, to adjust the terms of a treaty for settling the latter in business with the said Mr. Richards; they invited me which I declined, preferring rather a social chat with a modest sensible Lady than to be a silent hearer in a private bargain of business.

Wednesday 11. Morn drisly. Staid within having a slight head ach. About noon it cleared away, took a solitary walk towards Dredeston. Walkt out after dinner and engaged our places in the Monday night coach for Bristol by way of Tewkesbury, fare being 18/ each for a journey of 90 miles to depart at 11 o'clock Evening, and deposited it as usual, forfeit in case of disappointment is 1/2. Yesterday the two Misses L[akin] with whom I drank tea at our house very cordially and warmly pressed me to call and spend all P.M. at their house which I in part promised before my departure I would do. Mrs. Wilkinson and the two nieces Miss W[ilkinson] and Miss Magnall drank tea with us on an invitation, and spent the evening. Mr. Wilkinson joyned us at 7 o'clock, played at Quadrille, and was a winner of 1/, which I mention as an uncommon event, the effect of almost every party I have engaged in since my residence in England are charges on the Debt side of Profit and Loss Account. The time very agreeably passed. Mr. and Mrs. W. renewed their invitation to call on them again; I am greatly indebted to the civility of this gentleman and Lady since my

abode here, and would gladly embrace every occasion to testify my sense of it and make suitable returns.

Thursday 12. Thin light clouds, and by turns clear. Walkt out towards Dredeston, very pleasant. Walkt out to the posts to read news, met an officer who gave himself great liberties respecting the Americans to whom I took the freedom to give several severe checks and my companion spared not till he was thoroughly silenced and humbled. He said many ungenerous foolish false things, and I did not forbear to tell him so. Received a letter from my friend Mr. Isaac Smith, the contents of which were very pleasing to me. After dinner Miss N[ancy] L[akin], Mr. D[avis] and myself walkt out, but the latter proving lame returned back, and we proceeded on through Winsom green to the fourth lock near 5 miles distant from Birmingham, following the course of the canal but in our course scarce $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles; an exceeding pleasant time, and arrived at home after day light was shut in. Mr. W. 2 nieces came to take their leaves of us being to go to Barr Mr. Welches seat, engaged to meet them there if possible, having a message and invitation for that purpose several days since by Mr. Wilkinson.

Friday 13. Light thin Fog but cleared away about 10 o'clock. At the posts to read the news, none remarkable, attended the Court of Requests, or of conscience, nothing diverting or amusing occurred. Staid at home till $\frac{1}{2}$ after 6 o'clock, I rode to King street theatre accompanied by Miss N. L. and my companion Mr. D. The tragedy of Coriolanus was spoke not acted being a very lame performance. The entertainment was well enough done, the Irish Widow the scene of Thomas and Whittle very humorous, and well performed and threw me into an immoderate fit of laughter; returned back in the same coach a little after 11 o'clock continuing in the house scarce short of 4 hours. A thin house but full pits, the galleries very noisy and rude.

Saturday Sept. 14. A most delightfully pleasant morn, clear, wind at N. Walkt out with young L. to Mosely wake green, stopped in at my friend Mr. R., he prevailed with me to fill my pockets with plums and fine Melacatoons which on my return I presented to Miss N.L.; urged me to stay and breakfast which I declined. At 9 o'clock the sky became overcast and has the appearance of a rainy day. This Island is extremely liable to very sudden alterations of the weather, the fair

rarely of long continuance. Cloudy and then fair by turns; after dinner walkt out with Mr. Lakin and Mr. Davis, called in at a Mr. Botterly's a watch chain maker for the 2d time having been introduced to a sight of his work shops before by my friend Mr. Russell. Returned home to tea and afterwards, 9 o'clock, with Mr. Lakin to the Delphic Inn I was introduced to one of Samuel Taylor's sons, the crown glass maker in Bristol, who was on his journey as usual at this season to his inland customers. With him I passed an hour and he told me I or any one was free to see their works; none being refused a sight, though at Squire Bowles's Ratcliff highway none are admitted but by a letter to the owner from a customer. Passed through the market on our return from the old Cross which was crowded as far as the castle Inn and all the shops illuminated it being the custom for the workmen at this hour to repair to the shops and stalls for their supplies receiving their weeks wages on the evening of that day.

Sunday 15. Cloudy, wind at S.W. moderate. Attended worship at the Old Meeting House, Mr. Scholfield preached from *1 Ch. James 13.14*, "*Let no man say when he is tempted, I am tempted of God, for God cannot be tempted of evil, neither tempteth he any man, but every man is tempted when he is drawn away of his own lust and enticed,*" a very useful and instructive discourse. We had the remainder of the discourse in the P.M. Mr. and Mrs. and Miss Russell dined with us. Small light sprinkling or drizzling from 2 o'clock to 5. Took and was taken a kind leave of by Mrs. and Miss Russell. After tea went to new Meeting House, heard a Mr. Wood of Dudley from *1 Ch. Proverbs 10 V.*, "*My son, if sinners entice thee consent thou not.*" A most seasonable, useful and excellent sermon as finely delivered as I ever heard. The whole family attended.

Monday 16. Clear morn, went very little abroad all day, prepared my things for my departure. Took a tender reluctant leave of a most worthy, generous, friendly Lady; I was quite happy in her acquaintance and for her kind respectful, modest, friendship and attention I shall as long as memory holds a place in this weak frame retain the most sincere tender and grateful sense, her understanding is most excellent, without affectation, self conceit or pride, her prudence is without prudery, and her virtue the effect of native integrity, fairness of mind and innocence. At 11 o'clock I left this agreeable abode, and walking to the Dolphin in Bull ring soon entered the coach and de-

parted bidding a dieu to the Father and uncle of my female friend who accompanied us; at a few paces we stopped and took up a very polite and well bred couple. Nothing worth notice occurred till our arrival at the city¹

Tuesday 17. of Worcester where we took a relay of horses and two passengers, a female of silence, and an agreeable young gentleman which so crowded our seats as to render them inconvenient. From whence to Tewkesbury is 15 miles, at which place we arrived at 9 o'clock breakfasting and taking a fresh sett of horses, another coach and driver; the room being just washed, damp and without fire my young fellow travellers and I whose curiosity kept pace with me, walkt out and arriving at the Church, soon gained admittance.

Our attendant was a female of much more understanding and better carriage than such people usually are. The Church is a very large structure, almost of the magnitude of a cathedral, kept in good order, and has many curiosities; in a flat grave just below the choir is the grave of Prince Henry, son of Margaret widow of the unfortunate King Henry 6, who was slain by Richard Duke of Gloucester, after the unfortunate defeat of his mother at the battle of the bloody meadow called so from that event, which tradition says overflowed with the blood of the slain. There is also to be seen in a kneeling posture the statue of George Duke of Clarence said to have been drowned in a butt of Malmsey, Richard Earl of Warwick called the King maker, from his making and dethroning King [*4 lines crossed out*] and Osrich a King of Northumberland, who formerly founded a church in the very spot on which the present Church stands.

From hence to Gloucester is 11 miles, where we arrived in two hours; and whilst the horses were changing, accompanied by my two fellow travellers, I entered into the Cathedral which for size shape &c. &c. is too like others of the same kind to need a description; 'tis kept in excellent order, there are many monuments here, among others on the North side lies the unfortunate King Edward the 2d, surnamed of Caernarvon who was said to be killed on a vault by a red hot spit thrust into his fundament. Here also lies another unfortunate prince Robert Duke of Normandy surnamed [*Courthose?*] from his uncommon short legs, whose young Brother William Rufus seized the

1. A short note of grateful appreciation to the Lakins for their kindnesses to him during his residence with them.

crown during his absence into the holy land. He was imprisoned many years in the castle of Cardiff, and is interred here; over his grave is a statue in a decumbent posture made of Irish oak and when struck sounds as if of metal. The Church is kept in very nice order; has a fine vaulted Choir and the most elegant cloisters of any in England, as 'tis said.

Returning back we joyned our company and departed from hence through a very dirty bad road which continued to Newport, a distance of 11 miles. Here we dined after 6 o'clock, and changed horses, coach and driver. The two last stages of 28 miles was through the worst roads of any I have yet travelled that go under the denomination of Turnpike, proving extremely tedious and was 7 hours in passing. The coachman in the last stage had like to have thrown us into the ditch wether from weakness (for he was an old man), inattention or unavoidable accident I know not, but twice the coach was very near being overset. Leaving the Inn we entered our coach, and after two miles entered on a very good road, reaching even to Bristol a distance of 15 miles.

In this stage nothing happened, but what is usual in such circumstances, silence and chat alternately, as fancy and inclination prompted; except an horseman who passed, repassed, and crossed us several times on a spot almost 4, or rather 7 or 8, miles from the City on a common called Comesbury on which robberies have lately been committed, and which the outside passengers (to the number of 6 or 8) supposed was an highwayman, who was discouraged by seeing such numbers; if it was one. Thanks to our large company we escaped his attack and saved our pockets from being rifled. At $\frac{1}{2}$ an hour after 10 we arrived at the Lamb Inn Broadmead, where we lodged for that night.

Wednesday 18, At 8 o'clock this morn we arose, and without breakfasting, took bag and baggage and putting it on the back of a porter proceeded to my fellow traveller's acquaintance and friend's house, in old market street, who received and entertained us very kindly where we breakfasted, dined, and supped; his name is Shaply; his occupation a Shalloon and worsted plush maker, of which till the loss of the American trade he carried on a very extensive business. Passed the P.M. and drank tea at a Mr. Eveleigh² a native of Charlestown S.

2. George Eveleigh (1719-1791), Harvard 1742, resided with Harvard president Benjamin Wadsworth. He was a merchant of Charleston, South Carolina, until 1753, after which he resided in Bristol, England, throughout the Revolution.

Carolina and educated at our Colledge, 3 or 4 years after my time, but who on hearing my name recollected it, having for some years been schooled at Cambridge, under Master Coolidge, and was boarded in the presidents home, he with his family are very warm and hearty in the cause of America. Passed a dry unentertaining and embarrassed evening with an American to whom I had introduced my companion and heartily repented of it.

Thursday 19. After breakfast walkt out to Mr. Bourne my Countryman who accompanied me to a Mr. Taylor, the large crown glass manufacturer where meeting the Elder Son and partner, he with great readiness attended us, showing every branch, and explained the whole process with uncommon frankness; from the sand to the last stage of packing, his civility and freeness in communicating the whole mystery is rarely, if at all, to be met with and to him I acknowledge myself greatly indebted.

Returning back, we joyned (after some little delay on the Change) my Countryman Mr. Joseph Waldo³ for some years settled in Bristol who very politely at my instance procured a ticket for admission into Mr. Gouldney's Grotto at Clifton, with the said Mr. Bourne. Francis Waldo,⁴ a Captain Aldridge, Brother of the late Colonel Broadstreet's Lady, and born in Nova Scotia, and the gentleman and Lady, companions from Birmingham; who I took the freedom to introduce.

Proceeded on to Clifton over Brandon hill the summit whereby yields the most ravishing view that imagination can form, having a large portion of the City underfoot, and a finely cultivated country; which, for an amazing extent has the appearance of a continued Village interspersed with towers, and fine seats; the prospect enlivened with live hedges, lofty trees, Dundry Tower, Kings wood, and the River Avon running through the City, and joyned with another River called the Frome, over both of which are bridges, on the latter lye the larger ships and vessels, and on the former only the smaller craft. Just as we arrived at the gate, there passed by, in his solitary walk which accident threw in our way, a Countryman, Mr. H. Gray,⁵ son of our

3. Joseph Waldo (1723-1816), Harvard 1741. He was a merchant of Boston and one of the Sons of Liberty. He moved to Bristol, England, for business reasons and though a member of the New England Club was not a loyalist. He died in Cheltenham.

4. Francis Waldo (1728-1784), Harvard 1747. He was collector and surveyor of the port at Falmouth and a member of the General Court. He went to England before the war, living in Bristol and London. He died at Tunbridge. He was not closely related to Joseph Waldo.

5. Harrison Gray, Jr., son of the treasurer of Massachusetts and for thirteen years his deputy; addresser of Hutchinson, banished in 1778.

late treasurer, who, with his wife, had for a season left London, and retired to this place and whom I was glad to see.

Knocking at the gate we were soon admitted and attended by the gardner was conducted through the garden walks, which are kept in the nicest order; the whole having an appearance of care, attention and industry. 'Tis on a moderate scale but well filled with orange, lemon trees, &c. and a small piece of water abounding in gold and silver fish, supplied from a natural fountain by a lofty fire Engine erected at one end of the terrass walk; the stream runs underground for a small distance, and discharges itself through an urn, on which a Neptune rests with his trident—the ground between it and the engine made rough, scraggy and woody to resemble a wilderness. Going through the main walk, we arrived at the Door of the Grotto, situated under the terrass; the first object that presented itself to our view was a lion sitting; and behind, in a dark cave a lioness; the latter so much resembling life that I could hardly persuade myself to the contrary. The form of the Grotto is octangular or circular, its roof a semi-circle, a dome, in the center atop is a round window, the Diameter about 18 or 20 feet from the door in front to the mouth of the Cave in which the Lioness sits. On each side to the right and left of the entrance the roof is supported by gyral pillars, covered, as its sides and roof are, with an incredible variety of shells, stones, spars, petrifications &c. &c., the mountains, nay, even, the bowels of the earth, to the shores of the sea, the bottom also of it seems to have been pillaged to furnish materials to adorn this curious subteranean recess. On the left hand, without or beyond the dome and under a rough cragged stoned arch is a small quadrangular bason of water supplied by small streams issuing through crevices and almost unperceptible channels over which in a lying posture is a female deity representing —— with an outlet under ground, to carry off the superfluous water. As far beyond on the other hand stands a door painted, but the light and shade so artfully mixed that it deceived the Company who thought it a passage into the garden on a flight of stairs, in my eye it was the most perfect deception I had ever seen; on the door was a small miniature of a female face with a seemingly broken glass covering it, in the same style and manner, producing the same effect on the minds of the Company. From hence we ascended the terrass walk, 3 or 400 feet in length, the front of the garden raised 40 feet, supported by a brick wall and the rear bounded by a border of flowers, and behind a shrubbery of lofty trees on the right is an octangular structure, ending in a dome, about 18 feet in diameter, with seats all around, and

having as many windows as it has sides which affords as many prospects, except on the side of the garden, where they are darkened yielding 3 most pleasing and delightful perspectives.

Leaving this charming spot and Clifton, I bid adieu to my companions, and hasted to my lodgings where I joyned my travelling friend, and eating a cold dinner, and drinking four or five bumpers of red wine to please my company, which however I mortally hate, we gave orders for the post chaise, which quickly arriving, we stored our baggage, and taking seats departed first bidding farewell to our kind Host, the P.M. was fair and moderate, the road pleasant, and my companion cheerful.

About 3 hours we alighted at a Mr. Broadrips in a village called Temple Cloud where in the absence of the husband we drank tea with the wife, and remounting set forward, arriving about 8 o'clock at my friend and companion's house in Town Street Shepton Mallet, finding there my countryman Mr. Isaac Smith, Mrs. Broadrip, my former acquaintance her sister Susan, Mr. Davis, and two Ladies, strangers, at the card table and this ends my ramble for a few weeks.

Friday Sept. 20. Fair and pleasant morn. Walkt out with Messrs, D[avis] and Smith to the market cross, an open structure, light and airy, supported by gothic arches and pillars about 28 feet in height and 15 in diameter, ornamented with a few erect statues in a multilated condition, wether of romish saints or british heroes I don't know, of a small size. It seems to have been of very long standing, is in decent repair, out of a fund appropriated to that purpose. The market is well supplied with butchers meat, no plenty of fruit, and being an inland town is without fish; the houses are generally small, though there are many large handsome and of respectable appearance; a few gentlemen of fortune here, and many wealthy clothiers, for which this town is, and has long been noted. The surface of the earth is uneven, stony, and the streets narrow; large and stragling, consisting of one large parish divided into the hamlets of west Shepton and Bowlis on the West, Charlton on the east, where dwells a Mr. Ames a gentleman of fortune, who lives on his means of 5 or 600 a year, with whom I have an acquaintance. There are 2 places of worship, an episcopal and a presbyterian; the minister of the latter in a liberal way of thinking; the number of inhabitants said to be 7000. Dined at home, passed the P.M. and Evening at Mr. Kiddle's without Mrs., drank tea and supped.⁶

6. To Nancy Lakin, Curwen wrote a five-page letter of gossip and details of his trip.

Saturday 21. Fair clear A.M. went accompanied by Mr. Smith to a Mr. Morgan's a wealthy clothiers who carried us through his works to my no small entertainment, though I cant say advantage, my seivelike memory letting all through almost as soon as admitted into it; recollecting, however, that a fleece sometimes consists of 12 sorts of fineness of wool, which must all be separated for this purpose. A certain number of hands accustomed to it, are assigned, and that from this first to the last stage there are no less than 16 hands it must pass through, before the cloth is fit for a garment. After this survey we walkt to an eminence from whence, and had some very agreeable and pleasing views. Returning back to his house met the Company invited the day before to his table with whom we dined; spent the P.M., drank tea, passed the evening at cards.

Sunday 22. Fine clear Day. Attended worship at the Meeting House. Mr. Smith preached from 112 Ps. 7 V., "*He shall not be afraid of evil tidings, his heart is fixed, trusting in the Lord.*" In our return we took the fields on the heights, our company Mr. and Mrs. D[avis], Mr. K[iddle], Miss E[veleigh], Mr. Smi[th] and myself; dined at Mr. Broadripps, attended worship P.M. at the same place, the same preacher; the text in 4 Ch. Eph. 26 Verse "*Be angry, and sin not, let not the sun go down upon your wrath.*" Returned back to Mr. Broadripps, where we drank tea and spent the Evening. Mr. Jenkins accompanied us to tea but departed before the candles were brought in.

Monday 23d Sept. A most delightful fair and mild morn, wind E. Dined with the weekly Club at the Tennis Court; returned home and passed the evening with Mrs. Davis and Kiddle at Tredille.

Tuesday 24. Accompanied by Mrs. Davis (to whose politeness, easy manners, and goodness of heart I am not a little indebted) and Mr. Smith I rode to Stourhead the seat and gardens of Mr. Hoare, a London Banker; passing through Canards grave, an Inn so called from a Mr. Canard, who putting an end to his own life, an age or two since, was buried in the highway, say crossroad, near the spot whereon the large House now stands, this disaster bringing multitudes to see it, caused the house to be first erected; through a parish called Everreich and over a lofty hill named from the neighboring [1 word] beyond which it lyes, about 2 miles distant, Creech Hill, from the side of it had a most enchanting prospect of a rich fertile vale laid out in

fields, bounded by live hedges, trees, and excellent stone walls with here and there a Village, farm houses &c.; and from hence through a town called Bruton wherein is a silk manufacture or rather a throwsters, more than an 100 hands principally women and children, are employed in a house almost as large and handsome as a palace, and from thence through Lord Ilchester's park, passing by Mr. Late Lord Berkley's Estate and Lord Stavordates, eldest Son of the former mentioned Lord who has removed his residence into Dorset. At a miles distance we passed under an arch of a wooden bridge forming a communication between the two parts of his park lying on each side of the road; a little distance further on, we passed under another of stone across the road and built for the same purpose as the former, on which is laid earth sufficient to support and nourish trees of 30 feet in height, of which there is a small Forrest.

From the park we soon arrived in an even fine road to Mr. Hoare's grounds; on our right was a rising planted with laurels &c. and on the left more distant all the luxuriance of nature in its unimproved uncultivated state which country renders this spot and road inexpressibly delightful. We soon arrived at the Inn and taking a cold Collation with a bottle of most excellent cyder departed on foot for the house into which we gained an easy admittance. The front looks over a very pleasant lawn, separated from the fields by an Ha Ha fence, and within circular stones on each side 4 or 5 large stone Urns on Pedestals, to a distant prospect bounded by a Insulated improved hill on one hand, and on the other through a vale to Lord Arundel's just within reach of the eye. The house in point of grandeur is in the middle style, one passes on a flight of noble steps to the center door letting into the hall, by appearance the common sitting room of the owner, when he makes this house his residence; in this hall hangs a full length picture of Mr. Hoare on horseback drawn in younger days, the face, the drapery and the Horse executed by different hands, as the House-keeper told yet the lines of different pencils are not to be discerned. From this room we passed through a suit filled, say the walls almost covered with paintings of the most celebrated masters; in one, is the cabinet of the famous Pope *Sextus*, *Quintus*, which the owner purchased at Rome at an high price. It stands on a rich mahogoney frame, made on purpose to support it, the front is of ebony, and the stories or compartments of which there are many are supported by Amber pillars and the tests or entablatures and [1 word] are stuck with sapphires, emeralds and many precious stones and in a test or border be-

low are himself his sister Camilla, his nephew Cardinal Montalto and all the members of the Perratt's family from which he sprang, in miniature on white alabaster most elegantly and inimitably executed, in low relief and in the drawers were found miniature paintings of the most principal of the royal and noble families in Europe and Italy in metal frames of an oval form now taken out and hanging in one of the closets.

A most unlucky nervous head ach seized me just as I entered the gardens and took from me the powers of attending to the many fine original paintings this house abounds with. At one end is built a semi-circular room with a sky light only, that being judged in England (for good reasons doubtless) to be the best light to view pictures by; and is filled with fine originals of the greatest masters, and is called the picture room. Here I recollect one that extreamly struck me, Elijah raising the widow's son; here also is a fine Madona and an Herodias with John the Baptist's head. In the Saloon looking over the lawn on the back front, at the end and terminating the view is an Appollo of Belvedere but with more drapery than that at Wilton house; and a bust of Alfred the great standing on a lofty pedestal in the Palm sitting room; a masterly group of Carlo Marratti painting himself with other figures; a good piece of Harry the 4th of France hanging over the chimney. Passing from the house over the back lawn we descended through a serpentine walk in a shrubbery or wilderness, to a turkish tent, situated on a declivity, having in prospect a fine piece of water in which were swans and is supplied by a cascade in view, from hence to a pantheon which we entered on the other side of the water crossing over a noble light airy bridge of one arch, leading to the walk, continued to a cool retired grotto arched, supported by rough stones, and paved with small pebbles. On the right of the entrance is a small square bason of water, clear as crystal, issuing through a green misty bank, whereon is reclined a female at full length resting on her left arm; and to her is addressed the following lines, wrote by Mr. Pope

Nymph of the grot these sacred springs I keep
and to the murmurs of these waters sleep
Oh spare my slumbers, gently tread the cave,
and drink in silence or in silence lave.

Passing out of this we ascended by a flight of craggy steps in different directions, under a cragged and rough arch and sides made to resemble old ruins, to the serpentine walk (once for all) continued through the

whole pleasure grounds; arriving at the Pantheon, of an octagon form, ending in a Dome, we entered it through a vestibule or porch, projecting and supported by pillars, but of what order I forget. In niches round the wall are placed some statues; how many, and what I don't recollect (but by Mr. Smiths memory and notes I find these were Hercules, Livia, Augusta in the character of Cerce, an antique bought at Rome for 700 £, Mercury, Diana, Flora, over which were six compartments filled with bass reliefs the history unknown, one boar hunting). In the round are placed seats of a peculiar construction with cushions; 'tis lighted by a circular window in the center of the dome. Following the mazy walk we soon reach the Temple of Apollo standing on an eminence; having behind, a wilderness and in front, a most enchanting prospect of the water flowing in a winding stream to the main body wherein were Ducks and Swans. Here also in view of the cascade, the turkish tent, the mansion house, the green house, church, the cross, and many objects which vary and render this a delightful spot. The structure is of an octagon form; passing an open gate in the chinese style, in which the fence surrounding it is built, we entered the porch. In the niches on either hand stand two antique busts and without in niches are six statues nearly as big as the life, of which five were filled: Venus, Minerva, Apollo, Jupiter &c. From hence we descended to a bridge over the canal which we passed, and soon arrived at a passage under the road leading to the other side of the garden wherein were a green house in the chinese manner, and from thence in an inclosure stands a light airy cross bought of the City of Bristol and transported hither, in the gothic style consisting of 4 or 5 stories. In each of them are 4 niches filled with Kings in their regalia *who were really supposed to have been* in their day Benefactors to the city. The names as far as my memory goes are Henry 6, Edward 4, King John, Charles 1 and 2 and Queen Elizabeth.

'Tis a gothic structure very finely decorated, and in the highest preservation; and seems to have not at all suffered decay by time though its style and manner proclaim its origins far removed from the present age; leaving this, we repaired to our Inn, first engaging the head gardener to send a guide to attend us to Alfreds tower⁷ which we intended to visit before taking our last leave of Stourton; having dined we remained and setting forward soon arrived at Inson Hill on

7. In Curwen's day Alfred's Tower, as well as Glastonbury Tor which could be seen from it, belonged to Sir Richard Colt Hoare of Stowton, grandson of the founder. They were engraved and reproduced together for the Rev. John Collison's *History and Antiquities of the County Somerset* . . . (London, 1791), 2:264.

the summit of which the tower stands and is said to be the spot Alfred the great erected his standard against the Danes as the Inscription shows. For the most part we rode over a terrass walk, affording agreeable prospects, alighting we entered the tower, an open triangular structure; the angles are covered by round towers of equal height with the building. In one is a flight of 221 steps making 155 feet in height, on this is raised a Balcony of 20 feet high on the top a flour de luce or kind of cross standing on a globe. The balustrade commands a most extensive prospect comprehending in view the spire of Salisbury Cathedral, Bradley mount, Ward[our?] Castle, Dundry tower, Breatknowl, the [sharp] and flat holms Glastonbury tor, &c. &c. &c.; the entrance into it is through a gothic archd Door. At 10 feet above is a stone nich, under a finely ornamented Arch in the center is a saxon Crown and supported by double gothic pillars; On each side stands the statue of King *Alfred* the great, bigger than the life and in military Habiliments, holding in his right hand a scepter and his left resting on his sword. Below is a square compartment or tablet in which in black letters are the following

In memory
of Alfred the great,
who on this summit
erected his standard
against Danish invaders:
He instituted Juries:
established a Militia:
Created and exerted a naval force.
A Philosopher and a Christian;
The Father of his people;
The founder of the English monarchy
and Liberty.

May his Memory ever be held in the highest esteem and Veneration.

Leaving this grateful monument dedicated to the memory of the most deserving and worthiest Monarch England ever saw returned home through a very pleasant road, after stopping at the Unicorn Inn, Boulton, to deliver the key of Lord J[illegible]'s park; and drank a dish of tea. While getting ready Mr. Smith and I took a walk through the crowd to see a cudgels match on a Stage erected for that purpose, a great multitude being collected to entertain and amuse themselves with the sight of broken heads and ribbs. Retired soon after my ar-

rival home being a little fatigued by my horse which for many months I had not been accustomed to.

Wednesday September 25. Staid within the A.M. and wrote, Morn fair and pleasant Wind Ely. Dined at Mr. Kiddle's in company with Mr. and Mrs. D[avis], Mr. Smith, Billingsley, Mr. Ames, Broadribb, Miss Eveleigh; pased the P.M. and evening at Quadrille returned home at half after eleven o'clock, a very rainy evening. Last monday Mr. D. and Mrs. D., Mr. Smith, Mr. Broadribb, and S. C. taking a rural walk called in at the poor House wherein are three Spinning Jennys so called, of late through the obstinate folly and madness of the Spinners and weavers have been the occasion of a riot in this town which a party of Dragoons were called in to quell and are yet continued to prevent future ones and preserve peace, two or three were killed and some wounded and more would have been but for the secretary of State's orders to put an end to it, if to be done, without much bloodshed; these machines are to twist the threads after the first coarse run from the common wheels, and which dispatch about 3 or 4 times as fast as by hand, in the customary way: they have been long used say 12 or 15 years in the North for which the Inventor has justly received a [1 word] from the Society of Arts and sciences. They contain 36 spindles turnd by a common axis communicating with a wheel placed horizontally. A further description I am unable to give.

Thursday 26. Fair day. Staid within and wrote the A.M. Dined at Mr. Billingsleys, took an airing with Mr. Ames to an high hill calld Barrendown yielding a charming prospect from whence we returned and joynd the Company, drank tea and supped, Mr D[avis], Mrs. B. Mrs. [Kiddle] and Miss E[veleigh] being added to our Number passing a very joyous and gay evening at cards and singing humerous provincial songs and telling Stories.

Friday September 27. Under the head Bristol omitted to mention a ramble with my 2 fellow travellers (taken up at Birmingham) made through the City to a church on the other Side the bridge called Ratcliff supposed to be the first in point of elegance and magnitude of all the parockial churches in England; 'tis kept in very nice order, and has in construction not one nail or piece of iron, built and supported by Stone and mortar only as I was told. It consists of three aisles beside two projections, which give it the form of a Cross in one stands a grand font and in the other several funeral monuments two being

to perpetuate the memory of the original builder; in one he lies in a flat posture with the garments of his order; but of what I forget; in the other, he lies in a recumbent posture in the Secular robes of Mayoralty which the inscription relates were five times conferred on him by the city; with the tons of shipping he owned, the names and burthen of each particularly mentioned; in all amounting to three thousand tons, and his many acts of liberality, beneficences, and public spirit; over the altar are placed three excellent and masterly paintings of Hogarth on the Subject of the Burial, ascension and resurrection of our blessed Saviour, for which the Painter had received (as our attendant told us) a £1000. The other paintings over and round the altar and within the rails, are said to be very elegant. The views of the paintings are to be had from a longitudinal hole cut through a distant pillar on each side, which by excluding unnecessary light and being in a proper point gives the Spectator or beholder a very advantageous Sight of them. In this church lies buried Admiral Penn with an Inscription recounting his warlike feats and exploits and if I forget not an encomium on them. Below it suspended on the same pillar his military garb and arms, sword, Cuirass, Helmet, gloves &c. &c. This man was father to the famous William Penn founder of Philadelphia whose services in the naval department were rewarded by the royal grant of that province to the son. Just before the altar, and in the great aisle, stands a brass spread Eagle on a stand of the same metal used for a reading Desk, and by a list round a ball in the Pedestal we are informed it was given by a pin maker (whose name is preserved) of the filings and Clippings of pins.

5 TH VOLUME JOURNAL OF

OR BELONGING TO S. CURWEN

BOT' & BEGAN AT SHEPTON MALLET,

SEPT. 26 TH FRIDAY 1776

This is preserved only for my own future inspection and amusement, and of my Friends, whose candor in Making all due allowances I doubt not, nor their care to prevent an exposure to any view but

their own: 'twas written in haste and as memory served; in consequence of which many faults and anachronisms happen'd; if a technical expression applied to more important events may be used about such insignificant trifles.

S.C.

Friday September 27. Within till 12 o'Clock. Walkt out with Mr. and Mrs. D[avis], Mr. and Mrs. B. Mr. S[mith] and Miss Sus[an] E[veleigh] to Mr. Ames at Charlton, with whom we had engaged the day before to dine; Mr. Billingsley and Kiddle arriving afterwards; spent the P.M., drank tea, played cards, and supped.

Saturday 28. This day unengaged, to my great comfort; having through the whole preceding week been under the disagreeable necessity of eating and drinking out of complaisance, to the injury of my health. After dinner paid a visit to Mr. Jenkins and Mr. Morgan; the latter of whom accompanied me over the hills to the remains of an old supposed roman way; the ditch still continues; though in an imperfect state, and carried over Mendip hills, running from North to South from Shore to Shore, and turning back in to the town, and taking our leaves, we separated, and went by invitation to Mrs. Broadribbs; with whom we passed the P.M. and Evening as usual, Mr. and Mrs. D[avis] joyning us.

Sunday 29. Pleasant morn. Attended worship at the Meeting House. Mr. Kiddle preached from *4 Ch. Mark 24 V.*: "*Take heed what you bear,*" Mr. Broadribb, his wife, Miss Sus[an] E[veleigh] dined with us; in the P.M., Mr. Smith preached from *11 Ch. Heb. 10 V.*, "*for he looked for a city which hath foundations, whose builder and maker is God.*" Mrs. Broadribb and her Sister retired after service, and with Mrs. Kiddle and wife spent the evening with us.

Monday 30 Sept. A pleasant fair day, staid within till Meridian. Walkt out to Bowles with Mrs. Broadribb, Miss Eveleigh and Mr. Smith. Dined at home, and passed the Evening with Mr. Smith, Mrs. D. and Mrs. E. at Quadrille, preferring that rather than spending it in a drinking Company, which Mr. D. and K. were gone to; being their weekly club.

Tuesday Oct. 1. Having agreed a few days since to take a tour to Bath I was summoned at 6 o'Clock, obeyed, rose, and dressed; having

notified Mr. Smith and accompanied by him left our friends house without taking a breakfast, and departed for Mr. Billingsley's, and after making a few turns in his garden, were joyned by Mr. Morgan, and mounting our horses, proceeded on our course over Mendip hills, All involved in a thick fog; the vales on either side clear; at the Foot and on the further side, lies a village called Oakhill, through which we passed; it has been remarkable for being the birth place of several persons of more than common powers of understanding. A little beyond, is another, called Ashwick, lying on the road through which we passed; in this or the former is a large brewery owned by Mr. Billingsley and his partner. [1 word erased] 4 Butts containing 300 lbs. apeice.

About one mile from hence on the heath, within the Prince of Wales's manor, and belonging to the dutchy of Cornwall I espied on our right, at some distance from the road a few men and on enquiring was told that they were working at a coal pit, my curiosity prompted me to ride over the ground and take a view, having never before had an opportunity: on my arrival at the Spot I found a pit of the dimensions of a common well with a Curb just like our Country wells only not boarded up, with an axis on a frame on the mouth on which was fastned a basket at each end, one coming up whilst the other goes down, and worked by a winch at either end, the pit is 80 yards in depth and from thence the vein runs horizontally said by the workmen to extend beyond the road. At a considerable distance; the earth in the pit is kept from caving by wattles or hurdles placed within it through the whole depth as far as needed. The Number of men at work, I was told, was little short of an 100. They enter at 10 and leave off work at 4 o'Clock, and are let down and brought up singly, in the baskets.

Leaving this spot, we again took the road, which for the greater part was level, hard and delightful, and in 3 hours arrived at Bath. From an eminence, about one mile from the City, on this road, there is the most delightfully pleasing view, of the place. The city being situated partly in a bottom through which the *Avon* runs, and partly on the side of an hill, the most agreeable and pleasing object that salutes the eye and arrests the attention is the Crescent at one end of the Town, and on the summit of an hill of moderate heighth built all of a white stone taken from quarries, with which the neighbourhood of this city abounds; it has the favorable quality of being easily wrought when first taken out, and afterwards, by the sun and wind hardens: of this all the houses in the town are built delightful elegant and noble. This row of buildings in the form of an half moon as it's name imports,

is uniform and in the former style, the lower story plain and unornamented, the second with Doric round pilasters supporting a beautiful cornice, and standing on a plain list or border.

Having taken a leisurely view of this grand structure I reluctantly departed, at 9 o'Clock, being just 3 hours from my departure from Shepton, alighted at the Bear Inn, said to be the best, most frequented, most expensive, and therefore most unsuitable for me in my present situation; but in some measure made necessary by my company: these were clothiers, and came to attend a large body of the same occupation from the neighbouring towns in Somerset and Wiltshire, to concert measures to establish, if practicable, the use of the machine called the Spinning Jenny before mentioned in this Journal in this part of the Country, which the weavers &c. did raise a mob to prevent: a company or two of dragoons is now posted in this town to secure the manufacturers against the infatuated multitude, who call themselves the oppressed Americans but without reason have they been wrought up to this frenzy. The machine will doubtless be of great advantage here as it has been found to be in Yorkshire, for many years and of no disadvantage to the lower classes.

Having breakfasted &c. Mr. Billingsley to whose obliging civility I am indebted, accompanied me to the pump room the company having just left it; my curiosity, it's generally pretty powerful, engaged me on my Companions instance to take a glass of the water conveyed to the pump by a channel having no communication with the Bathe which I found very strongly impregnated with a mineral or vitriolic taste and of a moderate or scarcely blood warm heat. A description of this and the other notitia of this memorable city I must refer to a pamphlet called the new Bath guide; which is to accompany this book. I observe only the foundation of the room made one side of the square bason in which the company bathe and is in dimensions about 30 feet, as far as my eye can judge, or my memory serve, this being the 5th day since I saw it. Round, are placed, niches or seats for the bathers, and rings; the water rises from the bottom covered with pebbles through a multitude of bubbling springs and from its surface rises a stream just like what is observable in a kettle over a moderate fire, in the center is a structure in memory of the cures effected by bathing, and drinking, many crutches; from hence we passed to the two parades. These are extreemly pleasantly situated; from either is to be seen the Avon below and many agreeable views particularly the late

Mr. Allen's house at prior park; his Wood and structure resembling an ancient castle in the middle of the front.

Passing on, we had a sight of some objects, whose appearance denoted that pleasure and amusements were not the only reasons of making this place their abode. We step in to the old long room this day opened for Company two parties being there at cards; 'tis a noble one, about forty feet wide, as many high, and double in length. And from thence through the card room not quite so large and in disorder, not being cleaned since left by the Company last night; and from here through the new market which is very convenient and full. A new town hall of a much larger size than the former is building; and in its neighbourhood, or say nearly adjoining; the old one is to be taken down to make an open space before it. On the front of the old one stand in Niches aloft two Kings in Royal robes, with scepters in their hands, and crowns on their heads; one is named Coell and the name of the other I forget: returning back to the inn and taking Mr. Smith we proceeded to the circus, divided by three streets, which lead into it; the whole consists of 30 houses noble, elegant and uniform, and from the houses opposite the streets one is presented with fine prospects; from hence we took a nearer view of the crescent, which did not on that score lessen or diminish of its beauty; from hence till dinner the time was spent in roving about the streets; the Houses are, many of them, in a fine taste; and the shops make a most pleasing appearance.

In passing through the orange grove we picked up our Countryman Colonel Saltonstall with whom we proceeded to see another of them a Mr. Boylston who has taken his lodging here for some time past but he not being at home, we seperated and entered the Coffee house. Mr. Boylston soon after coming in joyned us, having dispatched a small bason of punch and read the news, we departed for the inn, where dining we soon left it to take a view of a roman busto in the chamber of the old town hall dug up in the city, supposed to be designed for Pallas. It is in good preservation, and made of brass. Round the room on the walls on each side are full lengths of the Corporation of Bath in their magistratical robes, but in what period or wether cotemporary or successive know I not.

Having taken leave of one of our fellow travellers, we remounted our horses and at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 5 o'Clock departed, taking our course for Froome, a Manufacturing town in this neighbourhood, at the distance of $12\frac{1}{2}$ miles to this place we were attended by a Gentlemans servant who overtook us just without the city; arriving at about $\frac{1}{4}$ after 7

o'Clock having past an hour, at least, in the dark the sky overcast, and the clouds distilling a gentle shower, whereby our outergarments were somewhat damp; here we lodged, and rising at 7 o'Clock whilst our horses were sadling

Wednesday 2d. Strolled about the town making a more respectable appearance than the town I am in; and having one large Episcopal church and a Meeting House (with this inscription over the front door "Keep thy foot when thou goest into the Kingdom of God." Over it is an Urn with flumes issuing out atop. Almost opposite to this Meeting House is the house in which the well known Mrs. Rowe lived and died within 3 miles of Lord Weymouths seat, with a former Lady of this Family she lived in great intimacy and friendship) of Stone of a more venerable and handsome appearance than any of this kind almost that I have seen.

From hence we departed for Lord Weymouths seat called Long-leat, and in less than an hour arrived; his grounds contain the whole parish called Hornisham. Here are an Episcopal church and a Chappell of ease beside a chappell in his own house wherein service is performed during his Lordships abode here, where the Farmers and tenants, or at least as many as please, attend. Passing through an heath for an extent of a mile at least belonging to his Lordship, whereon stands an handsome Chappel with a Spire, and a few houses or hutts, dispersed here and there; we came at length to a gate opening into the improved grounds. On each side there is a clump of trees thickly planted, forming a deep shade. The house, situated in a plain, in the midst of a lawn, surrounded by trees, dispersed in such an order and manner as to yeild the most agreeable and pleasant picture the imagination can form, is to be seen on the heath at a distance from the gate. At a small distance from the house and in full view for a considerable length runs a stream continued through the whole of the lawn, falling over three cascades, all in view of the house, which greatly heighthens the beauty of the prospect; the falls are made by art and the stones so placed and disposed as to give the whole the appearance of a natural cataract. The lawn is bounded by a lodge built in the form of a triumphal arch having open iron gates through which we pass to the house called Lord Weymouth' Inn, where we breakfasted, and taking directions, proceeded to the Gardner's, but the rain falling very plentifully, thoroly soaked us before we reached the Hot houses. Here we found our Man who conducted us through the said hot house

wherein we saw a vast Number of prise Apples in potts in every stage of growth, some being nearly ripe, the Kitchen gardens, three or four in Number, are in excellent order and contain the greatest variety, and in extent, as we were told, more than 14 acres, within high stone and wattle walls. Leaving our conductor and having paid the customary fee (for nobody in England or any where else disposes of their time or breath without profit) we passed through the Shrubbery to the House which is very large and built in the Style of two Centuries past, having its front erected by Sir John Thynn in 1569 in addition to the old structure, the remains of a carthusian Monastery yet standing round a large Square Court, on the top are six or eight cupolas and in each a fane; the length of the front is 180 paces each 2 ft. in length. The entrance into the hall is by a flight of 12 or 15 steps through the front door. From hence is a passage into a gallery, at the end. It is 25 or 30 ft. in heighth. The walls above the gallery are covered with large paintings of the late Lord Weymouth and his friends with horses and, unless I forget, as big or nearly as big as the life. Adjoyning to this on the right hand is the parlour or dining room, wherein are many $\frac{3}{4}$ length pictures in which Number are the first Sir John Thynne the purchaser and Builder of this seat, Harry the 8, Sir Thomas Overbury, &c., a curious clock, the principle of it's construction I am unacquainted with, it runs for a month; a font supplied with water from the mouth of a little statue continually dripping in through a pipe in it's mouth in which font the family is christened. In the two next rooms are family portraits, chiefly; beside, are those of the famous Lord Strafford, beheaded in the reign of Charles 1, and the present Dutchess of Gloucester, and a good peice of Christ's baptism by St. John. In the great stair case are a portrait of St. Antony of Padua, and of Christ and his two disciples at Emaus. From hence we entered the great lower gallery, fitted with family portraits, all or most at full length, continued down from the first Sir John to the present Lord; amongst the furniture are many small Cabinets, and sitting Chairs with backs and frames of black ebony; in number three dozen if not more; the cost, as we were told, was thirty six guineas, each of the bottoms of straw or cane. Here also is Harry 4 of France, Charles 1st when Prince of Wales, James 2d whilst Duke of York, Charles 2d, Catharine his Queen, Archbishop Juxton; from hence we entered in the red room wherein are the transfiguration; and a picture of ruins. Returning back, we entered the Chamber called the Dukes dressing room; passing a gallery over the billiard room in which was a breakfast table spread, the family retiring from thence whilst we passed over it.

Adjoynng, is another chamber called the Dukes lodging room, in which is a portrait of Mary Queen of Scots, Lady Nottingham, Dudley Earl of Leicester, and 2 paintings each of an ostrich as large as the life. In the rest is General Monk; and a very fine square table of Indian wood. From hence we were attended to the upper gallery running the length of the whole house making 180 of my paces, each 2.9 inches, the walls were covered with portraits, larger and smaller, and prints, amongst the former were Archbishop Laud, Cardinal Richelieu, Sir Thomas Gresham, Count Teckeli and Lady, many smaller ones of the Kings of England, in water colours &c. &c. &c. from hence we descended a flight of Stairs which had the appearance of age.

Leaving this we returned through the serpentine walk to the gate being let through by the keeper of the lodge just by, and soon arriving at the Inn, without delay called for our horses, and mounting departed for Maiders Bradley. Near to it is a seat of the [Duke?] of Somerset, by no means suited to the dignity of the first of the peers of the Land, entering the Dukes grounds we took a survey of the front which has lately had a new Door with an handsome pediment, and in the center of an ogee his family arms; in the center of the front of the two wings are two statues, standing in niches scarcely as big as the life, to represent Ceres and Flora, unless we mistook the symbols, admission into the house is not permitted, the Duke constantly residing here, and nothing curious either in architecture, furniture, or paintings to be seen within, nor grandeur without. The whole front not extending above 70 or 80 feet, from hence we proceeded to the Inn, where we dined. After taking a strole through the Fair; here we saw only cheeses, a few hogs and Bullocks, and 3 or 4 tents containing haberdashery, tin ware, cakes, Liquor; from hence to Shepton Mallet is a distance of 16 miles which we rode in 3½ hours, passing by Alfreds tower, and through Brutton, Evercreich and Canards grave.¹

Thursday 3d. Troubled with a most violent nervous headach', part of the day unable to sit up.

Friday 4 Octo. A fair pleasant day. A large Company dined, passed the P.M. and supped. My headach though considerably abated was still troublesome, made one at a party at Quadrille, but had not Spirits enough to join in the mirth of the company.

1. A short note of appreciation for favors rendered by Mrs. Broadribb.

Saturday 5. Within all the A.M., mild pleasant day; wind brisk; after dinner walkt out with Mr. Kiddle and Mr. Smith to Mendip hill, from whence we had a most extended view, Glastonbury tor, 8 or 10 miles distance appearing almost under foot. Minehead, the mouth of the Parrott and Bristol or St. George's Channell appearing in view, Brent Knowl: and on the other hand, Alfreds tower &c.

Sunday 6. Fine clear Air, attended divine worship at old Meeting House. Mr. Kiddle preached from the same text as the last Sabbath; in P.M. Mr. Smith preached from *1 Ch. of 1 Peter 5 V.* "*who shall give account to him that is ready to judge the quick and dead.*"

After church walkt with Mr. Smith, Mr. Kiddle the Minister, Mr. Ames to his house at Charlton about a mile and a half on the road to Doubting; drank tea, and passed a couple of hours receiving pressing invitations to spend a fortnight there, which Mr. Smith excused having left his charge there 3 weeks. But this would have suited my convenience very well; such offers but rarely occurring. At Mr. Kiddle's house with Mr. D. and Mr. [illegible] and Mr. Smith.

Monday 7 Octo. A close cloudy morn; accompanied by Mr. Smith on horseback I departed for a short expedition to a Cavern in Mendip called Wokey or Okey Hole,² about 7 miles or 8 from hence, and 3 from the City of Wells through which the road lies. In 1½ hour we arrived at Farmer Baker's, the owner; where alighting and leaving our horses, we proceeded on foot, taking a female guide with a lighted lanthorn, and 3 Candles, the road for some distance is a narrow path on the side of a steep craggy hill, rocks, trees, and shrubbs hanging over head; and below, runs among rocks and falls, a stream, issuing from the Cavern through a subterranean passage directly or very nearly under or below the entrance or mouth of the cavern or hole. The hill from the path to the stream is in many places steep and of a fearful appearance, and the least false step tumbles you 40 or 50 feet headlong into the stream. Arriving at the entrance, a very little beyond, the Hill divides; the further range is a lofty hideous Cliff rising from the bottom of the vale almost perpendicularly, and covered with

2. Wookey Hole: William of Worcester in his travels in these parts in 1478 wrote of this curiosity: "Woky-Hole is a certain strait passage, at the entrance of which is the image of a man, called the porter, of whom leave must be asked to enter the hall of Woky; and the people carry what we call in England sheaves of reed-sedge to light the hall, which is as large as Westminster-hall, and there hang pinnacles in the vault wonderfully arched in the rock." John Collinson, *The History and Antiquities of the County of Somerset* (London, 1791), 3:419.

shrubs, trees and projecting rocks and yeilds a most terrifying prospect. Just on the left of the entrance is a stupendous perpendicular cliff, part being pendent, and seems as if on the point of tumbling on our heads; passing a low arch, one soon arrives at a spacious room, perhaps 40 ft. in length the arch rising to 20 ft. in heighth; from hence the descent is an easy declivity, though scragged and dirty, to a stone covered with petrified water called the pillar of Salt and from hence is a flight of 19 steps, to a level in which is a stone marked, and called the old or in the language of the Wa (the identical expression used by the Girl attendant after many repetitions still untelligible till explained by my Companion Mr. Smith) witches foot, the coal pit, and the tombstone; opposite to this is to be seen the stream, the depth I know not, the arch over it for the greater part is 40 feet. A little beyond is a Number of Stones; the ascent is by a few paces called the Wa witches child. Near this spot is a round bason filled with water, and herein is an oval Stone denominated the furnace, and against the wall a figure somewhat resembling an hare hanging and is called the hare roasting, on the left, projects a stone from it's form has the appellation of the Lion's head, and near the Wa witches oven; farther on, a square called the servant's hall and a little beyond an high arch, but the imperfect light of our candles did not afford me a full sight of the heighth of the dome, which it had the appearance of: a small distance from this comences, a lofty dome, arising from the bottom at the end of the Cavern, and is, unless I am mistaken, 60 ft. in Diameter if not more: near the extremity is an hole on the left into which a dog is said to have entered, and through a passage of many miles to have come out at Chedder Cliffs, distant as the road goes 6 miles; in this stream about 70 year's since was taken out a trout three feet and an half in length, weighing 32 lb. the figure with it's weight and dimensions is still preserved in a room in the George Inn, Wells: the echo at the end of the Cavern tried, by repeatedly throwing a stone near as large as could be raised on another, making a sound as loud and like heavy distant thunder. The extremity of the cavern is I suppose 20 or 30 yards below the entrance, and the passage of uneven plains rising and falling, the descent exceeds the rising by what is before said.

In returning from the Hole we stopped in at a paper Mill, the master of it was complaisant enough to walk with us about his work-houses and showed us each brand. From hence adjourned to the Inn, where taking a small refreshment, we mounted and setting forward in the rain through which we rode the whole of the way, and in 1½

hour arrived at the village of Chedder, well known through England and America too for it's excellent cheese: from the Inn attended by a lad we rode to the Cliffs, reported to be $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile in length. Entering the vale rode and walkt about half way through till the passage became too rough to proceed. On our right, just offside to the spot we stopped at was a perpendicular rock said to be the highest (in this gap or opening or intersection) and of the height of 200 yards but I believe it to be not more at most than 100 which notwithstanding it's heighth has a much less formidable appearance than many others, the acclivity from the bottom on the left as you enter from Chedder is easier than on the right and to be climbed with less difficulty, [1 word] on that is in very many places impracticable, and in others dangerous: the bottom or vale is filled with pieces of broken rocks from the Cliffs.

Returning to the Inn on foot, having delivered the horses to the boy who attended us, we dined and soon departed, arriving at the City of Wells in about $1\frac{1}{4}$ hour. Alighted at the George Inn, leaving our horses, and orders to get tea ready against our return we proceeded to the Cathedral; the front is said to be the finest and most beautiful of the kind of any in England; it was in my eye the most agreeable, of the Gothic taste or style of any I had yet seen; we entered just as prayers were ended, and the church emptied; meeting none but the doorkeeper with the keys in his hands who for the sake of the pence for which these people are ever ready, attended us through conducting us into the library about $\frac{1}{4}$ of the size of our last College library, but said to be acquiring in every new made probend. We were admitted into the Chapter House by a lofty flight of stone steps, underneath them the public road into the city, runs; the chappell behind the Altar is appropriated to 6 o'Clock daily prayers; here are many old monuments of Bishops, Monks of Glastonbury, and 2 or 3 of the old Chappells still kept up as in the days of popery though unused: on the high altar are 2 wax candles lighted up yearly at the eve of St. Andrew patron of the church and his festival and on the eve of Christmas and following day. Here is also a curious clock; a very noble episcopal throne and a brass eagle and pedestal for a reading Desk, the gift of Bishop —— at the restoration. The church is in the finest order, and best repair; and does great credit in that respect to the stewards meaning thereby the Chapter. Taking a peep into the Domains of his Lordship an old venerable pile, moated round, and having battlements on the top of the walls, and house (say more respectfully) palace, we repaired to the inn; drank tea, paid reckoning, and mounted, and in one hour alighted at lodgings.

Passed the evening at home Mr. and Mrs. Kiddle with us, played at Quadrille.

Tuesday 8. Cloudy all day; some part rainy. Wind at S. Passed the day at home, in P.M. Mr. K. came and drank tea with us; Mrs. Davis out on a visit; Mr. and Mrs. K. spent the evening with us, play'd at Quadrille.

Wednesday 9. Cloudy but moderate and pleasant, at noon rode over Mendip to Oakhill to see Mr. Billingsley and Jordan's brewhouse. 'Tis a large building, and contains within itself a Malt house, Coopers Shop, Stables &c. There are many butts of 50 hogsheads, 7 of 150, 2 abreast erected of 300 containing 63 gallons each and 2 more erecting of equal dimensions. There is wetted on a medium 100 weekly and the quantity of beer yearly brewed is 10,000 barrels or nearly.

On our return home we passed over Mendip through a place called little London, but for what reason I am ignorant, seeing but one house. The road is excellent. Arriving at the summit, we turned a little to the left to take a glance at an old encampment called Marsebury. This spot is on the brow, the land further, declining; contains more than 10 acres, is circular, has 2 fosses concentric, on the east and 3 on the Western quarter. We rode through one half of the inner ditch being an easy slope on the garrison side, entring at the east and passing out at the West. It commands a most extended prospect but the Air to the W. and S. being thick, disappointed our view: in going, we mounted the highest part of Mendip, on which is planted a lofty square stone of 7 or 8 feet in height, from which eminence in a favorable air our companion informed us almost the whole of this large county of Somerset is to be seen.

Dined, drank tea, and spent the evening at Mrs. Broadribbs. Her husband out on his yearly tour to receive his arrears, and further orders, as is customary among the manufacturers in England at this season. The cloth manufacturers in Shepton Mallet are Mr. Morgan and Paget Mr. Boldfinch and Mr. Provost Mr. Broadribb Mr. Billingsley Mr. Jenkins, Broughton and Norman, [*illegible*]rlivant, [Mr?] Morgan [1 word] junr.

Thursday 10. Cloudy, and now and then a sprinkling; walkt with Mr. Smith to Charlton, Mr. Ames's seat, where after taking leave of him and Mr. Ames we returned, calling on Mr. Frank Morgan, who on our departure pressed Mr. Smith's coming and stay at his house,

which is the more to be noticed as his high church principles, for which he is remarkably attacked, prevents him paying any respect to Mr. K. the Presbyterian parson of the town; he also paid me the compliment. Spent the P.M. and evening at Mrs. Jenkins with a large company; who supped, and played Quadrille, and thus ends the Shepton Mallett visit.³

Friday 11. Having the night before engaged a post chaise for Glastonbury, which was our 1st intended stage, it drove to our lodgings at the hour directed, and taking leave of our hospitable friends, to whom we are indebted for their polite and obliging civility, entered the vehicle, and departed for the last mentioned place, passing through a most agreeable and pleasant road to Wells; and from thence without stopping arrived 2 ½ hours at the Swan Inn, Glastonbury, dismissing the former chaize and giving orders for another; in company with 2 Gentlemen one Lady and attended by a man named Thomas, as great a curiosity as the ruins of the Abbey are; we passed the Inn yard and stables, and entered on the holy ground; this we had no sooner done, than our guide and informant doffing his Beaver hugged it under his arm till our return back to the stable having proceeded a few steps and with a solemn tone and an air that indicated a firm and unshaken faith in all the legendary tales the folly of credulity and superstition have handed down both by oral tradition as well as in books through a long succession of ages, began by informing us of some circumstances relative to a small chappell standing intire, which appeared so little interesting I neither had the wish to enter, nor remember the tale. Proceeding on, we approach'd the walls of the chappells in a very ruinous state, however enough are yet left to have a perfect idea of its size; making a sudden stop with a solemn voice he told us the ground we stood on, was 22 ft. above the natural surface, raised to its present heighth by the rubbish from the monastery if true is a proof of the immensity of the building and the uncommon thickness of the walls; the site of the monastery contains 15 or 20 acres from the outside wall of 18 or 20 feet high bounding on the road, with its buttresses yet remaining almost entire for many rods. From this to the walls behind the ruins of the large church the earth is at the same, or very nearly the same level. Descending into the lower chappell, at present filled with dirt and filth up almost to the capitals of the pillars a heighth of 8 ft. This

3. A note to Nancy Lakin somewhat facetiously rebuking her for not responding to his previous letter.

he told us was the very spot whereon Joseph of Arimathea built a church or chappell of [2 words] trees, and bows of trees the 3rd year after the Crucifixion of Christ. In this Spot was the Altar; on [that?] the Choir; here, was the image of St. Patrick, there, of as sacred and as wonderworking a Brother saint. Here such a miracle and there as great, performed by the hands of some of the holy brotherhood. On the walls are inscribed the names of three persons, said to have been cured by the waters, taken from this lower Chappell; of which there still remains enough to cure all the disorders of the Kingdom taken in any moderate quantity unless the inveteracy of the disorder joyned with Satans influence, for 'tis well known he hates holy water, [erasure] baffles it's efficacy. For descending into the Dormitory; the passage from the lower chappel yet remained, is filled with water, the almighty preserving in this miraculous manner the precious relicts of these his faithful servants from the profane and sacrilegious hands of wicked, and atheistical presbyterians and low church men who God (if you will believe our Guide) as much hates as he does. In the upper chappell yet remain the niches and pedestals whereon stood the images of Saints &c. of solid Gold. After hearing many tedious stories and dry unentertaining incredibilities, which one of our companions whose rough boisterous infidelity turn'd to ridicule, besides serving as an agreeable contrast to his solemn grimace rendred our stay in this place not unpleasant; from hence we proceeded to a Survey of the outside walls of the Church whose thickness (we were told) did not fall short of 12 feet, also of the Dormitory or building over it, and the Chapter house &c. &c. &c. Here our guide informed us of the signal judgements of God, on those whose sacrilegious hands had taken and applied to to the profane uses of mending the roads, building fences, vaults, and walls, these heaven dedicated stones, of which many hundred cartloads had been carried off, leaving in some Spots scarcely the vestiges of a foundation. Many instances of deaths, losses, ruin, and destruction he pretends to have fallen within his own memory. [3 or 4 lines are blank, possibly having been erased] he told us of many, he himself had conveyed on his own shoulders to their graves for their impiously preverting, Converting to common use these sacred stones; whose death happening in a short time and with circumstances and horror render it without doubt to be brought on them by the Judicial hand of heaven. Proceeding on we arrived at the upper end of the great Church, in the center or middle of the East End, stood the chappell of King Cenulphus the first Christian saxon King of this Island, from whence

through the ruins at a considerable distance is to be seen the farther or Western end of the double Chappell we first entered; the center or middlerange of which is in a strait line with this; the extream largeness is still to be seen, both the side walls especially the south, are standing up to the roof, and part of the eastern, being the entrance under an Arch 80 ft. in heighth 40 or 50 ft. wide entire all but the Crown. The sight of this brought to my mind the magnificent ruins of Palmyra, though it's ornaments were not of such exquisite workmanship; these being in the gothic style, but in that highly finished, enough being yet left to form a judgment by; near one angle at the eastern end, stands a small room or apartment, but to what solemn use devoted I have forgot, this was of late most profanely turned into a cowhouse, not one however of these brutal intruders survived the year, and this the guide told us of his own certain knowledge, and indeed many of the miraculous cures performed and fearful judgements inflicted are such, if he is to be believed. The many parts and appendages to these enormous buildings, their precise spot and dimensions, their length, breadth, heighth, width and depth, he knows or at least pretends to know to a wonderful exactness; had made this subject, as he also says he has made men and books his study, for many years, and indeed by way of specimen of his acquirement he quotes many monkish inscriptions and lines in latin, not one of them I thought worth remembring. From hence, traversing the square we arrived at a ruinous arch, where the poor were wont to receive the dole daily handed forth to them by the hands of monkish charity. From the refectory appropriated to this purpose, for which the poor deluded Croud paid dearly enough, near, is the Chimney room, or, as its called, the abbot's Kitchen, being constructed entirely of Stone, having not any wood about it, and was built on this occasion; about the time of the general dissolution of the religious houses by King Henry 8 the Abbot of this rich and powerful Abbey received an order from the King which he was hardy enough to refuse, upon this the King sent a message that he would burn his Kitchen about his ears, on this he erected the present building to which were annexed if our informer was not mistaken 18 score offices but I rather incline to think 18 doz. were in all confidence enough to satisfy the arrogant pride and insatiable appetite of the most voluptuous sacerdotal epicure that ever inhabited a monastery. It is the most entire of any part and as aforementioned, entirely of stone, and as strong as a castle; the room about 25 feet square, has a chimney in each corner, and but one over being to

be seen and is about one foot above the present floor, the rest is filled up with rubbish supposed to be about seven feet; it's height ending in a dome, is about 40 feet; passing through we entered the orchard; a little on the left lies what is called the Abbot's garden three quarters of it is within the original wall; here I picked up a dozen fine apples, being almost the only good ones I have tasted in England, having enquired for the holy thorn our guide informed us it was to be seen in the Church yard, to which we were going but being better informed by the Innkeeper of a tree that stood in a farmer's garden within the holy ground, we returned back under his guidance, and having obtained leave of the family entered, and took the liberty to pluck off a small bough proposing to preserve it till my arrival in America if it shall please God to indulge me that favour; perhaps the same miraculous virtue may be continued in this slip to take root and flourish there, after being seperated from it's stock many months, perhaps years, as Joseph's did, from whence this was taken; he having on his arrival here, stuck his rod into the ground growing up into a tree from which as tradition goes the three trees now standing are derived unless the very Original stock may be now standing which I was not informed, and not going to the spot the Saint planted it in being on a hill at some distance and three only there are, blossoming yearly within the Christmas holiday which it is the peculiar quality of this species to do without supposing a miracle; the craft of these reverend Imposters knew very well how to avail themselves of, and pretended a miracle of a natural event and the superstitious folly and ignorance of the multitude ever fond of being deluded has for a long course of years sanctified and confirmed them in the same groundless notions.

Leaving the town which is a stragling long string of buildings scarce one in a score being reputable or in the modern taste, and in my friend and Companys opinion in the church mode and style of architecture, we arrived soon to a most pleasant road having in view extensive tracts of level lands called here, Moors; ascending a lofty ridge, on the left lay that called Kings Sedgemoor remarkable for the defeat of the Duke of Monmouth by his Uncle the late King James the 2d his forces: this, and Land about it, yeilds a most ravishing prospect of fine improvements, inclosed by live hedge rows of trees, farm houses, Village &c. interspersed bounded by hills, rising one behind the other in a gradual ascent. From hence on one of them is to be seen the obelisk⁴ erected to the memory of the late Sir William Pynsent by the

4. A fine column of white stone, 140 feet high, said to have cost Pitt £2,000.

present Earl of Chatham a very cheap purchase of an Estate of 80,000 £ value beside 10,000 in Cash left to a Man the Testator never saw, nor had any knowledge of but by report in prejudice to his nearest relations, who as far as I am informed never offended him; his moral character, (however pure his patriotism,) was not of the brightest complexion.

The stage from Glastonbury to Bridgewater was through the whole, extremely pleasant; the distance of 15 miles we passed in one hour and an half, here we dined, and after paying Miss Sealy a short visit, departed for Enmore Castle about 4 miles from hence; here we arrived in an hour, this is a seat of the Earl of Egmont's, and is built in the form of the ancient Barons castles. It is not much relishd or resided in by the present Lord, is a square, or builded round a square; each side within containing about 90 feet in length: the approach is over a drawbridge hoisted every night. The whole is surrounded by a moat or dry ditch, 18 feet in depth, and 30 wide; on the outer side, are vaults or rooms lighted by passages through the tops, and secured by round grates; they have also narrow apertures in the fronts; their use is for the storing away, Coals, Casks, and other lumber; the foundation of the House is on the bottom of the moat having apertures on the ditch side of the same kind as those on the outer side, and within are windows, with a walk of about 6 feet in width, secured on the top by an iron open fence. Passing over the draw bridge, we were admitted through a wide entry to the vestibule, a room improving one half of the front of the house from the entry on the South side and of it's full width; from this there is a passage between the inner and outer rooms containing offices and servants apartments, following this we came to the other range, at the end of it is an hall wherein were some military utensils and habiliments of ancient time, and wooden chairs or seats, many in number, of a singular construction having on the backs of each, the arms of the family. In a large room adjoyning to this were sundry portraits. Ascending upstairs, we entered the parlour; here are the Portraits of Bradshaw president of the high court of Justice that condemned the royal martyr, as he is called; Richard Cromwell, and the famous [Fenelon?], archbishop of Cambray. In the Ladys dressing room are Vandykes, Rubens and Herodias with Johns head in a charger. In the next are a large Collection of small family Portraits. In the room over the gate way is a fine tapestry hanging containing the battles of Alexander with Darius and in the state bed room is hung with tapestry. Antichamber the same. The Saloon is also hung with

tapestry showing General Monk over the Chimney and King Charles 2d over the Door. The gallery is filled with family whole lengths. This whole suite of rooms is almost entirely hung with rich tapestries hanging and in the state bed room is a very rich crimson velvet bed, designed for the royal family, if occasionally there. The study is a noble room largely furnished with very elegant bound books. Here I saw the first genealogical tree, and here was a beautiful plan of all my Lords estate; in the dining room was a full length portrait of his late Majesty King William and his Queen Mary: 4 or 5 of these Apartments were hung with a rich tapistry. In the Drawing room was a full length of King James the 1st. in brick colored stockins low heeled white shoes and the rest of his dress so like a merry Andrew that I could scarcely refrain from a broad laugh, methought he appeared just as he should appear to posterity both ridiculous and contemptible. I forgot to observe the four Angles of the House were covered or defended by round towers having apertures for the discharge of arrows; and the whole House and Towers crowned with battlements, making a very uncommon and singular appearance.

Leaving this modern imitation of old English architecture, we again resumed our seat in the Chaise through a very dirty narrow road, and in 2 ½ hours alighted at the castle Inn at Taunton, here we lodged both confined to one bed, being indeed as the mistress told us the only one not engaged. Forty eight were filled with two in each, this was Sessions week, the town full of people, the night of the assembling, on this account the numbers increased.

Saturday 12. In the morning we took a walk through the town calling at Mr. Smith's friend Mr. Toulmin a Dissenting minister of a private academy, of the form there are three in this town. Returning back to our Inn we breakfasted, paid extravagantly for our supper meerly to comply with custom, and procured the decent treatment we required though in my mind without much success, and having mounted in a fresh chaise and horses we departed, passing over Blackdown: alighting at the golden Lion in Stoniton after 3 hours; here a nervous headach which had threatned me for an hour, now attacked me with redoubled force, and on entring the new chaise continued to increase till it almost distracted me; the rough behaviour of the coachman, the wildness and unmanagableness of an horse and badness of part of the way were not favourable circumstances, being often under concern, and an high step and dangerous hill I was obliged to walk

down for more than half a mile, concurred to promote a pain without this severe enough; so that on my alighting at Mr. Folletts in Sidmouth I was obliged to take to my bed, and use several expedients, to no effect till the pain which for 6 hours had been most excruciating abated, but it left me weak and dispirited; the motherly wife and daughter paid me a kind attention.

Sunday 13 Octo. Feeling lassitudinary, and my head light and tender I abode at home this A.M. but attended worship in P.M. Mr. Smith preached from *3 Ch. Lam. 24 v.* "*The Lord is my portion.*" This was Mr. Smith's last sermon preached in his native country and at our Meeting House. The Congregation was the fullest I had known since my residence here.

Monday 14. Cloudy but moderate, within all day, writing.

Tuesday 15. Ditto as yesterday, walkt abroad with LandLord Robbin Follett; and at noon with Mr. Smith to the Beach, and part up peak hill; the air being clear enough to discover Portland, which we did very plainly. Within all the P.M. and Evening. Received a letter from Bretland, Exeter.

Wednesday 16 Octo. Within all day, reading. Cloudy and partly rainy, though unpleasant to walk abroad.

Thursday 17. Rainy morning, Wind at S. Remain'd within all A.M. After dinner in company with Mr. Smith and Kirkcup rode to Slade, the seat of a Mr. Lee; one of Mr. Smiths hearers: he owns by purchase a tract formerly the estate of the famous Dr. Shebbeare's⁵ father, who is now one of the writers on the side of the court against America. Drank tea, took a pleasant strole to the cliffs on the seaside yeilding a most delightful prospect over a lower landing on which the owner has 2 limekilns, in the brink of the Sea, appearing at a considerable distance below us. From thence, after sunset, but in a pleasant evening the moon about a week old and shining very bright the sky clear, and filled with starrs; we crossed the summit of Salcomb hill, passing through the Village of the same name consisting of a few straggling houses and an old Church lying on the further side of the hill; and

5. John Shebbeare, a British political writer, author of *Letters on the English Nation* (London, 1775), purported to be "by Batista Angeloni, a Jesuit."

from thence descending the hill through Syd, alighted at Mr. Folletts about 7 o'clock.

Friday 18. Clear, fair Morn; Wind at N. About 10 o'Clock in Company with the 2 aforesaid, on horseback departed from my lodgings to view an encampment supposed to be Danish, and is called Hembury about 14 miles distance; fording the gentle stream of Syd we pursued our course over Core hill so called, being a lofty range, affording on each side very pleasant views of a finely improved country; here we met a Number of huntsmen on foot, with their long poles, and a great company of dogs at default, unable to recover or discover the track of the hare who had found means to elude the dogs scent who was making a sad yelping; the huntsmen had succeeded in taking one; under a necessity of stopping, my fellow travellers engaged in talk, and unattentive to my unacquaintedness with the road, pushed on, leaving me for 2 or 3 hours to find the way as I could; this I luckily did, and at length joyned their Company exchanging horses with Mr. Smith for greater dispatch; mine being duller, and he furnished with spurrs; we jogged on cheek by jowl, till our arrival at a Village called Buncherton through which we passed; a little beyond, lies the Estate and seat of the well known Admiral Graves⁶ whose base unworthy venal conduct in America has justly brought the curses of the people on his head, displeased his Sovereign, and the ministry and rendered himself deservedly the contempt of all.

This house is situated on the southwest side of the foot of the hill whereon Hembury fort stands; alighting at the Inn called Hembury fort Inn for it's general appearance, much resembling a Middleton Tavern in my native County Essex N. England. Taking a slight repast of cold boiled mutton, a mugg of choice Cyder, and refreshing our horses with a lock of fresh hay, left the Inn and ascended the Hill, at the further side. In this house no Coal is used wood only in a bottom it stands.

The account follows: Hembury fort is situated on the extremity of a lofty ridge of hills, in a parish of the same name, from whence it is so denominated, being about 4 miles North of Stoniton, and is supposed to have been a Danish encampment; formed in one of their incursions about 1000 years ago, from it's form roundish, the roman being

6. Vice Admiral Samuel Graves (1713-1787) was stationed in Boston harbor, commanding the British naval forces in America; he took part in the destruction of Falmouth, but was recalled in disgrace in Sept. 1775.

angular, there are many Such in these western parts, though few so entire; it's form is a very long oval, and measures from the low parapet or line of raised earth on the N.Ely. quarter at it's further end, to the edge of the ditch on the brow at the S.Wly. in which direction it runs exclusive of the ditches athwart the hill to defend or secure the middle or center inclosure, 380 of my paces, each measuring 2.9 inches, growing wider and wider as you approach the center of the middle encampment from the extremity of it on each end. The width of the hill on its summit on which the encampment stands without the middle or center inclosure is nearly on a Medium about 40 of my paces meaning on each End or beyond the center inclosure meaning the hill as it runs; it stands very high and commands a view of the vales on each side to a great extent. From the foot of the hill in front (but for a considerable distance on either side adjoining it is of a quick ascent) is a very easy slope, much like a glacier, and irregular; though oftentimes it's length and breadth, the rest of this long range, in a circular form, runs from the plains or vales below as far as the eye can discern, very regularly and sudden, rendring the approach, except from the summit which is continued to a great extent, difficult. There are three fosses or ditches carried $\frac{3}{4}$ or more round the encampment, of unequal widths about 24 of my paces from the bottom to the top as the Slope runs, the last or inner, deeper and wider than the outer. The slope in all is pretty much the same, and is from the bottom 22 to 26 of my paces. The form of the inner encampment is of a roundish form, and on the outer quarter defended by three ditches, the same rule being observed in this cross defence as on the sides of the hill, the inner being more deep and wide; the earth wall (if it may be so called) high and contains in quantity 15 or 20 acres, is 140 of my paces long and $\frac{2}{3}$ as broad. The Slope of the earth from the top or parapet or earth bordering on the Ditch within to the plain or level is 9 paces. Here may be traced the foundations of one or two buildings of a very middling size. This spot, I presume, was the part appropriated for the General and officer's tents, the place of arms and the Magazines, the avenue on the South side, for there is but one, communicates with a wash running the whole width of the hill, and is bounded by a parapet or raised line of earth, at 20 feet, perhaps more from the entrance into the middle inclosure, between this and the brow of the hill at S.W., is I suppose, the encampment of the Army, and here may be seen the effects of labour but what were the works, enough does not remain to form a judgement by.

Having surveyed these remains of ancient military defence we

descended by the common road to our Inn; where we took a new refreshment from the cold leg of boiled mutton, a few pints of choice cyder, and my companions a cordial of brandy and a pipe of Tobacco. During this interval I caught a nap. My nap and their pipe finished we called for horses, paid the bill, and remounted; and in about three hours Mr. Smith and I arrived at our lodgings, leaving Mr. K[ibble] on the road to return to his at Sidbury, and thus ends this day's excursion.

Saturday 19. Cloudy and unpleasant, Wind at S.W. At home all the A.M. writing, and the P.M. about 4 o'Clock walkt out to take up a letter brought me from Exeter by a young Man who went and returned from thence this day, and afterwards fetchd a few turns on the beach with Mr. Smith, the sea rough, and the wind boisterous and cold.

Sunday 20. Cloudy, Wind at N.E., air somewhat raw and fresh; the preceeding night blustering and stormy. Attended worship at Meeting House Mr. Smith preached from *1 Peter 2 21, 22, 23.* "*who did no sin, neither was guile found in his mouth: who when he was reviled reviled not again; when he suffered he threatned not; but committed himself to him that judgeth righteously.*" A serious good discourse, dined on a pye called Squob, composed of apples onions and seasond meat; after dinner an old woman of 96 came in. She has her senses perfect; and keeps a school for teaching children to read, and has 12 scholars. Attended in P.M. as afore, the same preacher. His text from *52 Ps. last part of 1st Verse*, "*the goodness of God endureth continually.*" Serious and excellent discourse being one of the last he preached at Salem before his departure for England, Old Mr. Samuel Follett drank tea with us after church. He is an old New England trader, has been in New England and in 1726 built a Ship at Charlestown.

Monday 21. Octo. Fair Morn, whitefrost, cool though pleasant. Walkt out at noon with Mr. Smith to engage a man and horses to carry me and baggage to Exeter; partly agreed but a post chaize in the mean time being offerd for tomorrow morning, I even declined the former, and agreed to take a place in the latter; passed the evening at Quadrille, and at supper cheerfully.

Tuesday 22. Cloudy dull Morning but no rain, after taking leave of the family, and my friend Mr. Smith, I entered the post chaize, and

with bag and baggage departed from Sidmouth; passing through 2 Villages called Newtonpoppleford and Clift; and in 3 hours arrived at my old Lodgings in the Church yard Exeter, where old Mrs. Bretland seemd glad to receive me. After dinner walkt to see my backgammon friend and acquaintance Mr. Pearce and his niece Miss Hicks with whom I passed the P.M., and drank tea; hearing Miss White was going out of town in the Morning accompanied by my Friend I paid her a short visit; her journey being putt off I received an invitation the next day to tea &c. and returned to my friends with whom I spent an agreeable evening, and supped.

Wednesday 23. Wind Ely., raw and unpleasant; within the greater part of the day; confined with a most excruciating nervous head ach; at 6 o'Clock I visited Miss White, drank tea, and passed the evening at Quadrille; my friend Mr. Pearce joyning us; but my pain deprived me of the pleasure of a very agreeable company. Had a sleepless distressing night.

Thursday 24. Wind as yesterday. The pain of my head redoubled, depriving me of all enjoyment. The night sleepless, restless and wretched.

Friday 25. The pain without scarce any abatement, till 12 o'Clock I washed my head in cold water, this gave immediate relief, and continued for some hours with now and then a threatning hint, at the evening returning in a faint degree. Had a tolerable night, and waked early with the usual symptoms.

Saturday 26. Cloudy, Wind as yesterday. My head ach greatly abated though not entirely gone. In the Bristol gazette 24th October is the following advice "that General Howe had landed the british Army on the Island of N.Y. on the 15 of September, that the provincials had abandoned the city and fled with great precipitation and much slaughter towards Kingsbridge where they were entrenched, to the Number of 20 thousand, that General Howe having taken possession of New York was encamped with his army, amounting to 22 thousand within cannonshot of the Americans and that it was hourly expected he would make a ground attack upon them." This intelligence was brought into Bristol by the Hanover planter Captain Harris from Jamaica. He spoke with the Galatea Captain Jordan who

left New York the 19 September. The elucidation of the unaccountable account of abandoning New York without a formal attack made on it might be left to time. No doubt there was justifiable reasons for it. Passed the P.M. and Evening at Mr. Pearce's.

Sunday 27. All night thin clouds, but pleasant and moderate. Attended divine worship at Bow Meeting House a Mr. Tozer preached from *11. ch. 1 Cor. 24.* "*So run that Ye may obtain.*" A full and respectable audience but so much can hardly be said of the preacher. Dined at Mr. Pearce's, being engaged the evening before. Attended at same place Mr. Manning preached from *13 Heb. last part of 12 Verse* "*be content with such things as ye have, for he hath said: I will never leave you nor forsake you.*" Drank tea Mr. Pearce's with Mr. Manning, after walking in Bartholmew yard for $\frac{1}{2}$ hour with Miss H. Passed the remainder of the Evening at home, having agreed to ride to Belvidere, a fine lofty structure of Lord Courtnays about 9 miles distant and in the neighbourhood of Exmouth, in company with my good friends of this family.

Monday 28. Rose early, and breakfasted. Close, cloudy, at 6 o'Clock rained, engaged my horse and necessary apparatus but the dark aspect discouraged my Company. For that reason defferd to the day after to morrow, if weather shall be favourable. Walkt over to St. Thomasses with Mr. Pearce discharged my debts and intended for Mr. Luckums gardens, but a sprinkling prevented, and returning back playd a few gammons with my friend. From thence retired home. Received a letter from Mr. Smith wrote an answer, visited Miss Weymouth, a fellow lodger at Sidmouth, drank tea and past part of the Eve, the remainder at home; Miss Betsey, a daughter of the family, returned home after an absence of 6 Weeks at her Uncle's.⁷

Tuesday 29. Foggy Morn, rose early and walkt to the Apothecary and Stationers. Took a dose of Salts. Sky cleared, mild still air. This is a busy week here, many persons daily arriving from all quarters from the East, West, North and South or in plain English from all parts of the Kingdom, from Wales, Scotland and even Ireland at the instance and urge of the competitors, Baring and Cholwich, who severally put up for the representation of this City in parliament in the room of Mr.

7. To Isaac Smith he wrote a note of friendly gossip.

Waters lately elected for the County, who succeeded to it in a late election here on the death of Sir Richard Bampfylde; the hands of the City officers being fully employed in making out freedoms to those who have a right to demand it, of which there are, and have for some days since, many here appearing to claim it; the dispute runs high; Cholwich for ever is momentarily bawled, especially in the evening, Baring not so common; though many think he may carry his election, papers are printed, public houses on both kept open; great expences incurred. In my opinion the joke would be compleat should an unthought of rival Slip in and succeed. Remain'd within all day writing letters and copying; a fine mild evening.⁸

Wednesday 30. Clear mild and delightful morn. Breakfasted at Mr. Pearce's, and rode out on horseback with Miss Hickes; Mr. and Mrs. Pearce and other Niece accompanied in a post chaize, to Lord Courtneys Belvidere, so called; distant from Exeter about 6 or 7 miles through a very pleasant road; it is a triangular structure of portland stone about 60 feet in heighth from the ground to the leads, consisting of two stories, the lower one you enter, under high arched doors. Of these there is one in each side, of open Iron work, the floor is paved with flagg stones. Each angle is covered with a Square of 10 or 12 feet. The doors are of Mahogany and kept locked. One is a room with a chimney, and shelves, wherein is kept china tea Cups Saucers tea boiler &c., and seats for stowing away bottles and other things. Here the servants prepare what is wanted for the entertainment of my Lord and Lady's company who sometimes retire hither for a few hours. In another is a flight of circular stairs of Mahogany, and Iron rails, for the

8. To Miss Hicks he wrote a letter typical of him: "Mr. Curwen presents his kindest regards to Miss Hicks and asks her acceptance of the inclosed, assures her though executed bad enough, was work with the best pen he had; it was a Gentleman's address to a Lady, the occasion, on his retiring from the gay world to enjoy a moderate though decent fortune. They were a pattern of conjugal felicity, they lived respected and lived and died lamented by all to whom they were known. Abstract a few passages and its Mr. Curwen's wish *most ardent* this may be the amiable Miss Hick's happy lot." The same day Curwen wrote a long letter to Mr. William Davis at Shepton Mallet, full of gossip and local election news, including the padding of the rolls of voters; he added whimsically: "My friend Mr. Smith desires the Egg he dropt, or supposes he dropt, at your house (for like the Duck he leaves his eggs as he walks) if without much expence may be forwarded to Exeter to me or to himself at Sidmouth as occasion may serve, if it be not with you he has dropt it on the road, the contents of which is a Wig, if not recovered the good Doctor must e'en content himself with one only and that the worst of the two and buy another to lose the next journey he takes and which without another's care beside his own may probably be the case, and thus ends the chapter of the Egg and Wig."

owner's use only, and in the other a flight of common stairs or steps for the company whose curiosity brings them to visit the building, and are carried quite up to the leads, about 16 or 18 feet above which the Angular structures rise and the whole is crowned with battlements; the upper story is an octangular room elegantly finished, having in each side a lofty arched window covered with green painted Venetian blinds. The flooring is fine mahogany, in the center of an inlaid star bordered by a circle and kept covered with a green cloth to preserve the wood its made of, bright; the ceiling is stucco, painted with a faint lemon colour, and has a very agreeable effect, the room is painted white or cream. On the same floor, and over the servants room below, a drawing or tea room having on each side a small window; a chimney with a most elegant high polisht grate fire shovel &c. and is furnished with six cabrioli chairs having green Morrocco bottoms. This room is finished in the same style and taste as the great room and has fine views: from the top of the building is a most extended prospect; having on one side the City of Exeter and beyond Topsham, several villages, seats, and a finely cultivated Country; on another, Limson, Exmouth, Starcross, Lord Courtneys seat, Governor Pawke, a Nabob, late of Madrass, a Mr. Morse &c.; the river Exe from it's mouth in a winding course beyond Topsham; the Key of Topsham and shipping there; the Vessells within the barr and many many leagues beyond it in the Channel; and what is most curious, the house wherein the great Sir Francis Drake was born owned and lived, lying on the other side the river, and almost opposite to the Belvidere. From hence returned by the same road we went. Dined, took a strole to the bridge where I saw more than a score of men employed to no purpose at a chain pump to free the works from water, which during my stay gained greatly upon them: retreated back to Mr. Pearce where I drank tea, passed the evening very pleasantly at tredille, and at 9 o'clock arrived at my lodgings, having been absent all the day.

Thursday 31 October. A very fine clear Morn; went out and ordered an apothecary's man to come to my lodgings and bleed me, lost half a pint, from it, I expect a benefit having been extreemly troubled with my nervous headach to an uncommon degree. Mr. Shepard calls in and tells me by the papers there is great danger of a french war, may the nation if consistent with its real and best interest be preserved from this dreadful calamity; walkt to Mr. P. after dinner; playd a rubber at Backgammon; drank tea at Mr. Whites, with Mr.

and Mrs. P. and Miss H. at Miss White's invitation who by accident called in; passed the evening at Quadrille there.⁹

Friday November 1. Fair clear and pleasant Morn, Wind at S.E. The rise and wealth of the Rolle Family in Devon is as follows, one of the name being a poor Man dwelling in a cottage, dreamt one night that if he went to London, and walked for some time on the bridge, he should hear some news to his advantage; this was repeated three times in three successive nights. These continued intimations raised the man's attention which till the 3d Admonition he had neglected and at length determined him to pursue the hint; arriving in London he proceeded to the bridge and for three days walked backwards and forwards: being observed by one who dwelt on the bridge, or its neighbourhood, whose curiosity was awakened by his singular appearance and prompted him to make enquiry of the reason of his conduct was answered, by assigning the true reasons, oh says this man in reply I also dreamed that in such a place in Devon is a large treasure to be found; the spot described by the informant proved in event to be within the very grounds in which the countryman lived, however taking no notice of the information and keeping his own council he concluded he had obtained the end of his journey, and after some farther conversation took his leave and departed homeward with speed going to the spot and digging found a pot filled with a large sum in gold, this, without communicating his success to any one, he conveyed home and in the future management conducted with such prudence as not to render himself suspected by any of his neighbours of becoming suddenly possessed of wealth, the pot in which the money was contained was of brass, and being emptied of its contents was cleansed and scoured, and put away amongst the kitchen utensils; many months

9. Curwen wrote this day to Judge Sewall at London: "By a letter from Mr. Danforth of the 18 September received about 8 days since its date, I was informed some of our Countrymen were about to apply to Administration for relief. As my residence has been much longer than the most, and the suddenness of my departure from home rendering it morally impossible for me to become possessed of much money, and my pretensions, for aught I know, as good as any and better than many, I presume I shall not be the only exile left in a forlorn condition, if any provision be made and if none be made, forlorn I shall truly be, my finances every day very sensibly lessening. Had I received Mr. Danforth's letter in time I should have returned to London, but it was otherwise, and if my presence now could be dispensed with twill be more agreeable as I live pleasantly enough amongst a few acquaintances at the rate of 20 guineas a year, in a state of rigid economy I never before was reduced to the disagreeable necessity of putting in practice before. In my answer to Mr. Danforth I referred him to you whose friendship on this occasion I doubted not, nor need I now repeat my request of your assistance if that shall be necessary."



Judge Samuel Curwen in 1772, pastel by Benjamin Blyth.



Abigail (Russell) Curwen (1725–1793), by an unknown artist after a lost portrait by Joseph Blackburn. The original was painted not long after Abigail's marriage to Samuel Curwen in 1750.

after two travellers either benighted or obliged to seek for shelter from a storm took refuge in this house being a solitary situath at a distance from Neibours, one of them as he was sitting at the fire and turning his head about espy'd a large brazen vessell of a peculiar and singular form, enquired of the use of it and on examining found an inscription in latin engraved round it. The meaning in English was *where I am there are more*. Neither the country man nor any of his family (who were ignorant of reading latin) before understood this; a word to the wise was enough though he understood not letters he had too much natural sagacity not to avail himself of this second direction and going to the place without taking notice of it to any one, or seeming to comprehend, though he well knew, the meaning, soon became possessed, agreeable to the inscription on the first, of some more, of equal value; the total amounting to a very large fortune.

Took a circuitous strole with Mr. Pearce dined with him, playd a gammon and returned home, where I drank tea and spent the evening. Mr. Bretland calling in, acquainted me that a Messenger from General How had this day passed through the city with advice that the provincial entrenchments 9 miles from New York were forced, General Washington wounded and taken and 10 thousand men on both sides killed, some other circumstances are brought but not to be divulged till six hours after the Messenger's departure from Exeter. If this news should prove true I ardently wish it may not puff the British General with pride and fill his head with false ideas of the unequalled prowess and invincibility of the british Troops, nor indispose him to offer moderate terms. 'Tis also my passionate desire the Congress may be willing to prevent further effusion of blood, destruction of property, and waste of treasure by hearkening to reasonable proposals which I wish the Howes have authority to make. Rainy P.M. wind at West.

Saturday 2. Staid within till 5 o'clock, went to Mr. Bretlands, and engaged him in an evenings walk. We took after tea in the yard, holding a very entertaining conversation. Received a copy of the King's speech. It is obvious the Government is apprehensive of a rupture, saying nevertheless that, "in the present situation of affairs it is expedient that we should be in a respectable state of Defence." After observing in the former part of the paragraph, "I continue to receive assurances of amity from the several courts of Europe &c.," the truth is, there has been some discouraging accounts from France for this week past respecting the intentions of that Court to assist the colonies, warr

presses there have taken up all the watermen, so that the fish markets are entirely unsupplied, for want of hands to take it. And advices from Spain say, their ports are declared to be open to the English Colonists, upon these events press warrants are dispersed through this kingdom and 800 Men were taken on the Thames in one day into the service and £5 a Man are offered for able bodied sailors. The report of Yesterday is in part contradicted. General Washington is not taken but report says 6 thousand Americans are slain and only 2 thousand british troops. This wants confirmation. 'Tis also added part only of the Provincials were engaged; a lame account. The fears of some, and the hopes of others dispose the People to the belief of any improbabilities, nay self evident falsehoods.

Sunday Novr. 3. Fine clear Morn, Wind at N. Costive habit of body producing a continual and not intermitting dull pain in my head, and depriving me of all injoyment, reading or society; the effects of repletion from too easy a compliance with the soliciations of my acquaintance, render the attempt to remove it needful, for that purpose I took a second large dose of Glauber salts, and therefore was detain'd at home, wherein I remained all day not once going without the doors.

Monday 4. [*1 word*] called upon by Mr. P[earce]. We walkt out, taking Miss White's in our way, to whom we paid a short visit, and from thence over the bridge to St. Thomasses where in a garden belonging to a Mr. Luckum I was entertained for an hour very agreeably; viewing a great variety of fruit and forrest trees with which his garden abounds being a nursery; here I saw the live oak, a species of the ever green originally raised by this man from the Leghorn iron oak, 'tis in great esteem, makes a handsome tree growing up very streight, and much greater than the common oak; here is also the cork tree and more exoticks and the greatest plenty of the very best pears and apples with which I loaded my pockets. Here was a pumpkin or fruit of that kind, measuring at least $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet round. Dined with Mr. Pearce. In going along the street with Miss Hicks whom I waited on to a friends, a large Slate endways fell from the roof of an house I was passing under, scarce an inch from my head, had its direction been 2 ins. nearer it must unavoidably have put end to my being here; but it pleased God to reserve me, to what further trials his wisdom best knows. Returned back to Mrs. Pearce's with whom I drank tea, and passed 2 hours in a

pleasant tete a tete Mr. P. &c. being engaged abroad for the latter part of the P.M. and Evening in a wedding Visit.¹

Tuesday 5. Misty Morn, cleared away at 9 o'clock. Moderate and pleasant Wind N.W. Gunpowder plot, sermons preached, and the day equally observed by dissenters as well as Episcopalians, that is to say, the churches open in the A.M., and but thinly attended by either; after dinner walkt with Mr. P. to Hayne and Countess Ware bridge, being a mile below the lock on the Cut, and from thence home on the Exeter side of the river; drank tea with Mr. P. playd a few unlucky gammons; and returned home through a very noisy boisterous croud; the fore street was lined with bawling out Cholwich for ever, Baring for ever.

Wednesday Novr. 6. The important day is at length arrived, the election of a member to represent this City in Parliament. The whole City is alive, except my self who am dead to all curiosity; interest, and the hopes of victory have inspired all here with an extream ardor. 'Tis amusing to me to see how warmly their passions are engaged; being a cool uninterested Spectator; this event like a true mirror represents very justly my own former folly; age and experience, is the proper time to learn wisdom, pity it is, life is too short to profit much by it's useful lesson.

Cloudy though moderate day; within all the A.M. reading Sharps travels into Italy's² entertaining enough, his style not above mediocrity; his picture of the Country, if just, must render his own more dear to those who know how to make a just estimate of all the valuable enjoyments of life. In reading the abovementioned book I am come to a story though ridiculous in the highest degree is asserted by the author as an undoubted fact; a proof of the extream folly to which the superstitious credulity in Roman Catholick countries has arise; the Mob, or what is of the same meaning People of the middle and our ranks in all Countries are ignorant and credulous of all religions; a person of the name of Minorbetti in the agonies of death requested to have a famous relick in the city of Florence, his place of residence

1. A short note to Dennis Deberdt acknowledging receipt of £10, asking for the balance of his account, summarizing his activities over the past few weeks, and telling him to deliver Curwen's bed, if in his way, to Mr. Mills.

2. Samuel Sharp, *Letters from Italy, Describing the Customs and Manners of That Country, in the Year 1765 and 1766* . . . first published in London, 1766. Dr. Johnson observed of them, "I read (said he) Sharpe's Letters on Italy over again, when I was at Bath. There is a great deal of matter in them." G. B. Hill, ed., *Boswell's Life of Johnson*, 6 vols. (Oxford, 1887), 3:55.

Vizt. the arm of Archbishop Becket brought to his bedside, from a persuasion he should be restored to health by it's miraculous virtues; the relick monger, or keeper, objected; the relations pleaded hard urging their descent from the Saint, the argument was allowed to be good, but was demanded a *proof of consanguinity*, and it was made out in the following manner: a Bishop, in England is called Milor meaning Lord, in italian easily corrupted into Minor, then Becket is easily degenerated into Betti, from whence Milor-becket naturally becomes Minor-betti, this irrefragable argument produced the desired effect, the relick was brought to the dying Man but whether the cure was answerable to the expectations of the patiant and his friends the story informs us not.

In the state of Florence are 941883 souls, of every class, state, condition, rank, age and sex, of these 26925 are church men, priests, monks, hermits, and Nuns in the proportion of 36 almost of the laity to one of the holy order, or if you please the ecclesiastical troop, under a solemn vow of obedience to a foreign potentate then with their connections relations and dependencies must render the authority of the civil power extreamly precarious, in case they unite with a discontented party. Among other numberless instances of managements in electioneering is the practice of closetting nay even locking up men with their wives, providing beds in secure apartments to prevent their being spirited away to the other side, of which there have been some instances here, after a considerable expence in fetching in, from distance parts: the dubious voters as they are called, or ordinary men whose integrity or detachment cant be relied on, are conducted from their fastnesses to the Guild under the care of the managers train, being held by the arm till their vote be received. Of this I have seen more than one instance. In [this city?] 'tis a practise to begin the poll by such voters. To prevent confusion and injustice on either side in the present case 'tis agreed to vote by tallies, that is, each candidate to present by turns a certain Number say 10 or 20, the majority of the chamber is for Cholwich, the church for Baring; his managers the most opulent, active and knowing; the contest very feirce; great animosities have taken place; sharp words and broken limbs, but no death; though it's said to be less tumultuous, than many former ones, more than enough has happen'd to convince me of the deplorable venality of the nation; and the high expectations derivable from a seat in that assembly of unfleged, untutored, unexperienced, unpatriotick youths (for one half I believe never yet have seen thirty years) called

the parliament of Great Britain or the great Council of the nation; the Number of voters in the city about 1400 I am told 200 of the most solid judicious and prudent, thinking neither of the candidates suitable decline any concern; it being very immaterial wether B or C be the tool of Administration; the charge on each side, 'tis supposed, will be 5000 £, a sum doubtless intended to be reimbursed, perhaps with great interest from the national fund for (not their service but) their votes. Would to God this great source of ministerial power and influence, and the increasing cause of all our public evils the national debt was lessend to a moderate sum: a sponge is dreadful in thought, and would be the ruin of thousands of innocent widows and orphans &c., may that be prevented by a wise and prudent expedient, if within the compass of human knowledge and power. May a public and disinterested spirit spring up and yet be the stability of our times Merciful God.

Passed the evening, as usual, at home, after taking some turns under the trees in the yard with young Mr. Bretland.

Thursday 7. At home all day suffering the most excruciating pains of a nervous headach. Mr. Jenkins of Shepton Mallet brought me a letter from my friend Mr. Smith, Sidmouth; dined with me; Mr. P. called in after dinner. Urged me very pressingly to go abroad, and accompany his family to a visit at Mr. W's before agreed upon, assuring me it would do me a service, but want of spirits and pain made me withstand his importunity. In the P.M. and evening the pain greatly abated, but still remained incapable of attention, or even conversation. The following night relieved and easy.

Friday 8. Cloudy, moderate, Wind E.Nly., foggy. By the gazette this wonderful account brought from America is (as usual) greatly diminished respecting the valour and bravery of our side, Number of slain &c. on the other [side?]. Americans and 2 thousand regulars are suddenly reduced to 400 Americans and 15 regulars. This inequality is not believable, at least, by me; however by the same intelligence it seems $\frac{1}{4}$ of N.Y. is burnt. The account further says there are some lurkers who menace the destruction of the whole city; to prevent this, General Howe is using his most assiduous endeavours to discover these incendiaries, and prevent (if to be done) the conflagration threatned. My Headach being greatly abated, I walkt forth, and accompanied Mr. Pearce Entered the Guildhall, and there abode during the voting of 4 tallies; it was conducted with great regularity, and very

little noise, considering the multitudes that attended. Passed the P.M. and evening at Mr. Pearce's House; stayd at tredille with him and his neice Miss.

Saturday 9. Cloudy and moderate, drisly in A.M. Wind S.Ely. With my friend Mr. P. attended the election in the Guild hall; frequent huzzas, and clapping hands; the croud noisy; so as to interrupt the council on any disputed points, which respecting freeholders often arise. Arose, and took an early walk, almost round the City; before breakfast, till after my return foggy. Walkt out to see the conclusion of the Poll, ended by the sheriff's declaring Mr. Baring duly elected; the excess being 101 votes. The unsuccessful candidate Mr. Cholwich, supported by the City Chamber, or rather a great Majority of it attended him home, in order to put as good a face on their disappointment as they could amidst loud huzzas, of flaggs displayed having various devices, of these, two were as follows, the one divided into 4 compartments, between each half, the words *Cholwich* and in the complements *No bribery*. The other was his, or his father Law that is to be, Sir John Duntze his coat armour properly emblazond, and in a scroll underneath these words, *free and independent*. Another was a ship's Jack, the fourth a Coat of armour with an inscription or motto I am ignorant of. Mr. Baring, as is usual, was accompanied by a most numerous croud; of every age, sex, and condition, huzzaing, clapping hands, waving hatts &c., the number supposed to be near 10 hundreds; the house he adjourned to, was in the yard next to our's and to honour him, on the front between the windows in large capitals formed by little lighted lamps on frames, the words *Baring for ever*. The yard continued filled with the croud through the whole evening we were amused by the firing chambers Skyrockets &c. platoons from fire arms, squibbs, nor was my parlour, or the Family's front dining room without company all the evening till late. At 11 o'clock the people retired, and the Close gates were shut.

Sunday 10 November. Morn, as usual, foggy but moderate. Attended worship at George Meeting House, the preacher Mr. the Venerable Stephen Towgood his text from ———. In P.M. at the Mint Meeting House, Mr. Hogg, his text in 103 Ps. 22 verse, "*Bless the Lord all his works in all places of his Dominion bless the Lord, O my Soul.*" A very sensible and reasonable discourse. A most pleasant and warm P.M. The sun shone out uncommonly clear; Wind S.E., the

City filled with Baring's successful friends, wearing Cockades of blew and purple ribbons; and many with laurels not confined, but worn by old and young; poor and rich; Men, women, and children, in token of victory.

Monday 11. Rose and took an early walk round Norney and Bartholmew yard; called in at Mr. P.'s but the family being at their devotions refused to enter, though urged. After breakfast paid an A.M. visit to Mr. Towgood, by whom I was invited to a tomorrow's dinner, I accepted. This worthy person is the author of the *Dissenting Gentleman's answer to Mr. White*. Staid within all the P.M.; the lamps on the front of our house lighted up with the addition of a diamond figure between the words, and in the center over all, a large royal crown, the yard filled with innumerable crouds, wearing favours in their hats and bosoms, and some ladies wearing an emblematical device, in allusion to the successful candidates family name, Baring; being a Bear with a ring in his nose, enamelled; pendent on a Blue ribbon, his colour; so inconsistent is mankind that the [3 lines in margin illegible]. The day was usherd in by the Combers parading, in order two and two, dressed in white shirts over all; some ruffled; with blew combed but unspun yarn made up into knots or Caps and tied up with purple and blew ribbons in the form of a grenadier's cap; preeceded by 2 or 3 of their body, music playing; and 2 flaggs displayed in one was inscribed Baring and Trade; on the other I know not what.

Tuesday 12. Within all day suffering my usual torment, a most distressing nervous headach; but a persevering abstinence from all kinds of food till 1 o'clock and then only a small dry crust has, I presume, effected what medicine never yet reached, an abatement of the pain. At 6 o'clock I took another dry crust and after, a small bason of water gruel porridge: in the evening most unexpectedly this dreadful pain kindly went off; had a comfortable night.

Wednesday 13. Moderate Morn; took an early walk towards Columpton, and from thence cross the fields to Liverydale chappel on the Honiton road, and from thence home; an excursion of 5 Miles in the whole. Began my new regimen of a peice of dry cake or toasted bread in the morning, fasting. Wind S.Wly. Made a short visit to Mr. P., he was rode out, invited to spend the P.M. which I did, and Evening

at Quadrille; returned home before supper, and engaged my self at dinner tomorrow. Head ach most happily and unexpectedly relieved from.³

Thursday 14. Fine moderate Morn, Wind S.Wly. Walkt out towards Liverydale chappel, belonging to an alms house or houses, there being 12 built round a Court, each appropriated to the use of one man and his wife, no children nor the wife after the man's decease. Their allowance 72/ per year, during the husband's life, at his death the wife is to trot off, and loses her former support. Mr. Smith arrived here from Sidmouth. Accompanied by him I dined at Mr. Pearce's, being invited the day before, spent the P.M., and evening at Quadrille.

Friday 15. Moderate and pleasant, Wind continued S.Wly.; Sun out and in by turns; took an early walk in the Honiton road; stopped at a Combers, from whose conversation I received considerable knowledge in the serge manufacture, he appearing to be well acquainted in the several progressive operations of that trade; he says that some masters are so overnice to make 14 different sorts in the same fleece; this being so much more than is common else where, I fancy "here is a difference without distinction" meaning a distinction without a difference; after dinner met Mr. Pearce by agreement; walkt through the Bunny and along the sides of river to David's hill; stopping at Mr. A. Tremblets, into whose garden and summer house we entered; from whence is a most agreeable view of the greater part of the city, river, and country; having received pressing invitation to stay to tea, and come to his house with my friend which we promis't and departed; but he being engaged to pass the P.M. and evening abroad we seperated; he going to his appointment, and I home; took a particular survey of all the churches in the city, they are (considering it's circuit, extent, and the Number of inhabitants) thickly sown and numerous, their names and the spot they stand on follow: 1. St. Peters, the Cathedral, in the close, large old gothic building, erected many centuries ago. 2. St. Mary on the moor in Ditto. 3. St. Mar-

3. To George Russell at Mosely Wake Green he wrote a letter of gratitude for his kindness, expressing philosophic resignation at having to live economically, away from London. He also wrote to Mr. Mills that he might expect Deberdt to deliver his bed and that if he did "should you be kind enough to take it home you will now and then turn it, and if needed, use in your family, choosing rather to have it in use than suffer by being on a floor or damp place neglected." A note to Governor Hutchinson of this date returned "the enclosed," with thanks.

tins in Ditto. 4. St. Pancras in Ditto Lane a very small old structure united to the above. 5. St. Olave in Fore street. 6. St. Mary Arches in Mary Arches, as commonly spoke, or Mary Orchard lane, united to it. 7. St. John in Forestreet. 8. St. George, corner of Butcher row and South Gate Street, united to it. 9. St. Petros Forestreet. 10. St. Kerrian in North gate street united to it. I cannot, on enquiry, find the age sex, country, ancestry, or issue of either of these he or she saints. Of the latter it may, perhaps, be justly predicted there are none, for it is, or should be the nature of such spiritually disposed beings not to be fleshly minded.

11. St. Lawrence, forestreet small.
12. St. Stephen, Ditto.
13. Allhallows, Goldsmith lane, united to it.
14. St. Pauls, corner of Ditto Lane and Pauls Lane.
15. Holy trinity on Southgate.
16. St. Leonards chappell, with Ditto on the road to Topsham opposite Mr. Baring's house and on his grounds, he is the Man [*bottom of page trimmed*].
17. St. Mary Stepps near west gate
18. St. Edmunds on the old bridge united to it; in these churches united, there is no service on Sundays and except christnings and burials.
19. St. Thomas the Apostle, beyond the river, out of the City liberties and in the Country of Devon.
20. St. David's on Davids hill beyond Northgate.
21. St. Lydwell, beyond Eastgate, a large parish, and brite middle sized Church.
22. Liverydale Chappell, belonging to an Alms house on the Honiton road.
23. Mint Meeting House presbyterian, free principles, a Mr. Hogg Minister, formerly the famous Mr. James Peirce's
24. Bow Ditto. Mr. Tozer and united also with the other Vizt.,
25. George Ditto in Southgate street, maintaining there Mr. Stephan and Micajah Towgood and their assistant Mr. Manning who alternately officiate at Both. The 2 last are more rigid and confined in communion.
26. Baptist Ditto preacher.
27. Rocks lane Chappel a Methodist society open only on Sunday Evenings, to Mr. Holmes, a Layman.
28. Roman catholick chappell

29. Jews Synagogue in Mary arches lane.

The lanes and streets here are so inconveniently narrow, stinking and foul that was I to new name them they should be turd Lane, Dung Street, St. Lawrence alley and extremity path, ordure yard, Stench court. If the Physicians have not determined the offensive smells increase the Salubriety of the Air, it is an unpardonable neglect in the City Governors to suffer them to remain in so nasty stinking a condition. The inhabitants of this city seem to me to be proud, social and solitary, neither conversible, nor hospitable but a few unceremonious, hearty friends, will render any place tolerable; such I have; and such for that reason this city for the present my home. Passed the evening at home reading Harris's life of James I.⁴

Saturday 16. Took an hour's walk in the yard. Cloudy, Wind Wly., the heavens of a threatening aspect. At 12 o'clock, accompanied by Mr. Pearce and Mr. Smith took a town walk through Norney, Sudney and the Fryer's, till dinner; calling on the Hosier's and for a supply of the needful in their several businesses. Passed the P.M. at Mr. P. drank tea and staid the Evening at Quadrille.

Sunday 17. Attended Services at Bow, Mr. Smith preached, his text 4 Chapter Coloss. 16 Verse "let the word of Christ dwell in you richly." Dined at Mr. P. Attended worship in the same place as the Morn. Mr. Tozer preached from——Walkt home with Miss H. and after a score of turns in Bartholmew yard with her, returned to her Uncle's House being repeatedly pressed by the Uncle and neice. The kind friendly and generous behavior of this worthy family to me is beyond words to express. Drank tea at Mrs. Pearce's invitation and passed an hour agreeably but being called away by my friend Smith departed and passed the remainder of the time till bed at Mr. Samuel Crosses, who by Mr. S. invited me to his house. Some time after our arrival there, he proposed to Mr. Smith to read a service of his own, which being done, cushions were delivered to each, the whole family called in, and prayers made; afterwards Supper and a sociable evening ensued.

Monday 18. Rosè early, and walkt out to Norney, a lively brisk but pleasant and moderate Air, and at 12 o'clock till one with Mr.

4. William Harris, D.D., *An Account of the Life and Writings of James the First, King of Great Britain*, first published in London, 1758.

Smith on the Fryer's. At home during the P.M., and in the evening a circuitous stretch of 7 miles, and afterwards with the said Mr. Smith to the theatre at half play to see the entertainment of the Maïor of Garrat;⁵ tolerably performed; we sat in the Boxes as they are called; for which we paid 1/6, being the ½ price; they are so called because they occupy the place on which the boxes stand in other playhouses, here, they are only long seats, not divided. Returned home late, being nearly eleven o'clock. The house is very small and narrow. The company not numerous; and the gallery noisy.

Tuesday 19. Awakd with a nervous head ach; abstained from all kind of food till dinner time, which successfully caused an abatement of it; dined at Mr. White's in Northgate street, father of my female friend, the worthy Miss White. On invitation, with my friends Pearce and Smith drank tea, and passed the evening at Quadrille.

Wednesday 20. Cold, brisk air, Wind at W.Nly. Very fresh gale continued all day with frequent and violent showers. Invited to Mr. Pearce's, declined dinner, but spent P.M. and evening there, with Mr. Smith; drank tea, Supped and played a sans prendre vole at Tredille.

Thursday 21. Clear, fine Morning; Wind W.Nly.; very brisk air. Employed my A.M. in reading a pamphlet entituled, Memoirs of the Court of Portugal, and administration of the Count d'Oeyras, Son of a country Gentleman of Pombal, of small fortune, whose family name is Sebastian Jep [*illegible*] de Carvalho. During the reign of the wise and godly King John 5, he could gain no influence at Court, nor share in Administration the King on repeated application continued inflexible, and at length tired out, said "why will you be always pestering me about that Man, do you want to fill my Kingdom with troubles and sedition? You think perhaps I am not acquainted with the extent of his capacity; but I am; and know that he is fit for Nothing but the governing a chandlers shop, or at best for the chicancery of the law; and would set you all together at variance; besides I know the hardness of *his heart*, that it is *covered with hair*. A portuguese phrase, signifying much the same as when in English we say, *as hard*

5. Samuel Foote (1720-1777), actor and comic dramatist, wrote the farce *The Mayor of Garret* produced in 1764, in which Jerry Sneak, a miserable henpecked creature, is elected mayor.

as a stone. Such were the sentiments of the good wise old King John, deservedly stiled the father of his people, respecting a man whose wicked, oppressive, and despotic administration, has depressed, impoverished, and destroyed many noble families, injured and almost ruined the commerce, and filled this small kingdom with the blood and slaughter of many of it's inhabitants, as victim to his confounded pride and ambition, resentment and insatiable thirst of riches. This crafty ungoverned and insidious Man having studied the temper of his present Majesty, the late King's Son and discovered his easy mild disposition; availed himself of it, made his court to him by flattering his inclinations, and proposing such schemes as were most likely to conduce to the effecting his purposes. He also persuaded the King that by appointing proper Ministers for the transacting public affairs, his Majesty acquitted himself sufficiently of his duty; as both himself and subjects would be in such a situation, equally happy; he persuaded his Master he was the only proper Minister, and also to believe that his subjects welfare was in good hands; and that he had been singularly happy in finding out so able and diligent a Minister having compleatly gained the entire confidence of his Sovereign, he had full liberty to follow his own inclinations, and execute his whole (most pernicious and execrably destructive) schemes, with the most unlimited controal, and Portugal now lies bleeding with the wounds his foolish, wretched, narrow, interested and destructive politicks has given her.

Under two engagements to dinner, tomorrow at our old friend Pearce's and Monday, at Mr. Mannings, the Young Parson of George Meeting House. Staid within all day till 5 o'clock, Mr. Smith and my Self drank tea, and from thence attended this Evening's service in George Meeting House. Mr. Smith preached a very good discourse from *1 Peter 3. Ch. 10. 11. 12 v.* "*for he that will love life, and see good days, let him refrain his tongue from evil, and his lips that they speak no guile. Let him eschew evil and do good; let him seek peace, and ensue it. For the Eyes of the Lord are over the righteous, and his ears are open unto their prayers: but the face of the Lord is against them that do evil.*" After service returned home, and there passed the remainder of the evening in reading.

Friday 22. Cloudy raw and unpleasant; Wind S. Staid within all the A.M. About 2 o'clock Mr. Smith and myself departed from Home for Mr. Pearce's with whom we had engaged to dine. A late Lisbon Merchant a Mr. Majarde made one of the Company; spent the P.M.,

drank tea, and the evening sat down to the Quadrille table which proved a tiresome and insipid game, being lately cloyed with cards. The rain came on about 11 o'clock A.M. and continued with gales of wind till after our return home at 10 o'clock Evening. Received from the said Gentleman at Mr. Pearce's the following account of General Burgoyne's armament naval on the lake:

Maria, Pringle, Commadore	14	6	pounders
Carlton, Dawes	12		ditto
Inflexible, Schanks	14		ditto
2 floating batteries of		4	inches each
Howitzers	{	4 . . .	12
		6 . . .	6
14 gun boats with each a		14 . . .	12
Several large gondolas with cannon, 50 longboats, 700 batteaus.			

Saturday 23. Cloudy but moderate; Wind Wly.; the Sun in and out, alternately.

Saturday 23. Within all day except at 12 o'clock took a short turn on the Fryar's which a sudden shower rendered so.⁶

Sunday 24. Cold raw Morn. Confined in the A.M. by an head ach. At worship in the mint Meeting House Mr. Hogg preached from the *13 chap. Rom. 11 verse*, "*for now is our Salvation nearer than when we believed.*" A dry mean discourse. Attended the evening lecture at George Meeting House Sir Harry Trelawney a Cornish Baronet Son of the late Governor of Jamaica of the age of near 21, and intituled, when arrived 21 to 6 thousand pounds a year, preached in the Methodist way to a very numerous and crouded audience, composed of hearers and seers of every society. His text in *15 verse of 1 Timothy, 1st chap.* "*for this is a faithful saying, and worthy of all acceptation, Jesus Christ came into the world to save sinners, of whom I am chief.*" A roving immethodical discourse but very serious. A loud and earnest preacher.

Monday 25. Clear, fine Morn, cold, Wind Nly. Staid within till dinner, I am now reading Harris's life of James the 1st of England,

6. A long letter to Nancy Lakin in an attempt to find the owner of "two pair of thin worsted understockins" which he found in his trunk on his return from Shepton Mallet.

wherein I meet with the following passages "in 1589 James married a Daughter of Denmark after having objected against the dignity of that house meerly through ignorance about it" on which in a note the author observes "notwithstanding all his boasted learning, he had so little skill in history that he knew not the state and condition of so near a country to him as Denmark. Melvil says, "he was informed, that the Kings were descended but of Merchants, and that few made Account of him, or his country, but such as spoke the danish tongue." The author's observation is "Tis amazing that anyone of James's elevated station should be so grosly ignorant." He proceeds, "the lady being driven by a tempest into Norway, he impatient of the detention of his bride, went thither, and consummated the marriage, from whence, he proceeded into Denmark and returned not into Scotland till May 15 1590." "During the remainder of his reign in Scotland, he was engaged in troubles with his Nobility; in quarrels with his clergy; and in writing his paraphrase on the Revelations, (Memo. he was about 20 years old) his demons logic, and his trew law of free monarchy; but especially his peice (so highly extolled) entituled ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΟΝ ΔΩΡΟΝ." Dined, on invitation some days since, at Mr. Mannings, spent the P.M. and drank tea there. Returned home in the evening, my friend Smith unwell.

Tuesday 26. Cloudy raw Wind Wly. A report prevails that General Burgoyne has destroyed all the Provincial forces on the lake, which by a letter from an officer in the Northern army to a Gentleman in Salisbury dated Mount Independence opposite Ticonderago Augt. 5, 76, are as follows. Royal Savage, Captain Wynkope 12 Car guns 9.6.4. pounders 10 swivels and 50 men. Enterprise, Captain Dixon, 12 Car guns, 9.6.4 pounders 10 swivels and 50 men. Revenge, Captain Laman, 10 Car guns, 4 and 2 pounders, 8 swivels and 45 men. 4 gondolas, Mansfield, Simmons, Sumner, and [Ustiors?], Captains. Each Gondola carried 3 guns, one 12 and two 9 pounders, 8 swivels and 45 men. which found in every particular; 3 row gallies on a new construction, just ready to launch, and ten gondolas more will soon be ready. The letter further adds I cannot think but we shall be able at all events to maintain our superiority on lake champlain, that Article is from Philadelphia Augt. 18. The later advice is: General Burgoyne became Master of the lake by taking, burning, and causing to be burnt and destroyed the above naval force the 12 of ultimo. By a letter I have this day received from T[homas] D[anforth] London am informed my wife was well the 12 of September. This was told him by

an I.D. escaped (as he says) and lately arrived in London, a Captain Pringle in the same vessell has brought a message, the particulars have not yet been delivered to me but Mr. T. D.'s informant says the above is the essence of what he has in charge. I am solicitous to know more. The sum of James 1's character

Aula prophana, religione vana,
 Spreta uxore, Ganymedis amore,
 Lege sublata, prerogativa inflata
 Tolle Libertatem, incende Civitatem
 Ducas [spadiorium?] et Sperasti Neronem.

Staid within till near 5 o'clock, then took a long walk to Liverydale chappell through paris streets; and from thence round through Sudney, Norney, and to the church yard, where after 20 Turns entered my lodgings, finding Mr. P. there who staid tea, in the mean time a Miss Reed came in from Totness on a visit.

Wednesday 27. Very chilly Cold air. Wind S.Ely., within all the Morning. After dinner having just finished reading James the 1st his life I find at the end a compendious account of his character . . . given by three writers as follow "Lord Bolingbroke observes of him, that he had no virtues to set off, but he had failings and vices to conceal. He could not conceal the latter; and, void of the former, he could not compensate for them. His failings and his vices therefore, stand in full view, he passed for a weak Prince, and an ill man, and fell into all the contempt wherein his memory remains to this day." Lord Orrery says, "the Character of Queen Elizabeth has been exalted by the want of merit in her successor, from whose misconduct issued forth that torrent of misery, which not only bore down his Son, but overwhelmed the three kingdoms." In the Abbe Raynal's history of the parliament of England, we read "that James wanted to be pacific, and he was only indolent. Wise, and he was only dissolute; just, and he was only timid; moderate and he was only good, and he was only weak; a divine and he was only a fanatic; a Philosopher, and he was only extravagant; a doctor and he was only a pedant. No one ever carried the pretensions of the crown further than James, and few princes contributed so much to vilify it. He retained the royalty on the gift of healing the evil (if ever it was part of the royalty, I say) which is attributed to the Kings of England. Thus has the name of James been treated by the most disinterested and unbiassed, in the

judgment of his courtiers who had been [*1 word*] favoured by him, is to be set in the ballance with the opinion of these writers is left to the [*1 word*]. How his character stood in France the following epigram will satisfy.

Tandis qu'Elizabeth fut roy,
 L'Anglois fut d'Espagne le froy,
 Maintenant, de vise et coquette,
 Regi par la rein Jaquette
 in English
 While Elizabeth was England's King,
 That dreadful name through Spain did ring,
 How altered is the case—: go sa'me
 These juggling days of gude Queen Jamie.

To finish this worthless man's character I will transcribe a quotation from the famous Sully's memoirs. They (his own subjects) mouthed out that Great Britain was become less than little England; that they had lost strength "by changing sexes, and that he was no King but a fidler's son, otherwise he would not suffer such disorders at home, and so much dishonour abroad. And they further say, why should he assume to himself the title of Defender of the faith, that suffers the protestants of Germany and France to be extirpated, that he might almost have purchased such a country as the Palatinate, with the money spent on Embassages; and that his promising the french protestants assistance (by their agents that interceded for them) made them the more resolute, and confident, to their ruin; so that they might call England the land of promise.

Thursday 28 November. Rainy all day, Wind Ely. Dined at Mr. Stephen Towgoods. A person named Savory, at table told us, apples in their parts about Totness, were so plenty that many 100 hogsheads of Cyder would be lost, for want of casks to put the liquor in, not being worth the expence. The price of them being ruined by the demand, the farmers would gladly deliver the apples to any one for 1/1 an hogshead or 63 gallons; profits who would take the apples and make the cyder at his own expence. The current price being 4/ per hogshead. Drank tea there, passed the evening at home reading.⁷

7. A long letter to an unnamed friend describing a dream in which was foretold his friend's winning a substantial sum in "the present state lottery," but not Curwen, and he therefore expressed contempt for the "capricious Goddess" Fortune.

Friday 29. At home till 12 o'clock. Called on Miss White and Family. Dined at Mr. Pearce's; spent the P.M., drank tea, and passed the evening at Cards. Moderate, but cloudy, Wind Sly.

Saturday 30. Cold, raw day; Wind Sly. Head ach. Staid within all day. Mr. Smith returned to Sidmouth after a fortnights abode with us. Received a letter from D[ennis] D[eberdt] and a bill for a balance, which to my surprize and joy, much exceeded my expectation, and is a most seasonable supply; my finances running too low to afford a comfortable prospect in this land of inhospitable neglect.

Sunday December 1. Clear and cloudy by turns Wind high and Clustering at S.W. Attended Worship and the Communion at the mint Meeting House. Mr. Hogg officiated, his text A.M. and P.M. in 11 ch. of 1 Corinthians 24 and pt. of 26 Verses, "*do this in remembrance of me, for as oft as ye do eat this bread and drink this cup ye do shew forth the Lords death till he comes.*" 2 very sensible and pertinent discourses. Returned home after having passed the evening with the old Lady to whom I read a sermon; the daughters were abroad.

Monday 2 Decr. Rainy and unpleasant, Wind S.Ely. Within all day alone.

Tuesday 3. Cloudy and rainy by turns all day; moderate, Wind Ely. Exchanged Staples Dimsdales & Cos. note at the Exeter bank for a discount of 1/ in £13.10.4. Wrote T[homas] D[anforth] in London.¹ This day is printed a single sheet letter from a Master of a transport giving account of the defeat of provincials at Kingsbridge, by General How having forced the intrenchments; killing, wounding, and taking 8 thousand at the loss of 2 thousand only. On the 17 October the remainder supposed to be fled to Philadelphia.

The following appears to me a just description of the unhappy administration of Charles the first from 1628 to the meeting of the long parliament when the supporters received their punishment a provokd oppressed people inflicted on them. "It will not be denied, that our ecclesiastical affairs were under a meer clerical administra-

1. To Thomas Danforth in London, a brief note: "The late advices from America give me reason to expect my continuance in exile may not be so long as some months since I feared; though I never supposed our Americans would stand a fair field engagement man to man with the Regulars, I must own, it appeared problematical whether they would not have, not bravely have resisted an attack on their quarters or fastnesses."

tion from the year 1628 to the meeting of the long parliament, a period so remarkably infamous for a series of weak, angry, illconcerted measures: measures calculated to beget in weak minds a veneration toward the hierarchy; but executed with a pedantick severity, which produced a quite contrary effect. Certain enthusiastic conceits concerning the exterior beauties of religion, and the necessity of a general uniformity in the business of holy garments, holy seasons, significant gestures, church utensils and ornaments, seem to have been the ruling principles of those times. These filled the goals with Church criminals, and sent thousands of our most useful hands to seek their bread in foreign parts. Through the influence these principles had on our spiritual governors, multitudes of learned and conscientious preachers were silenced, and exposed at once to the two greatest trials which can befall human nature, public infamy, and remediless wrong. These principles alone, and a conduct on our part suited to them, broke our union with the reformed Churches abroad; and fomented a war in Scotland: which, together with a general alienation of affections at home, occasioned in great measure a rigorous exercise of ecclesiastical discipline, prepared things for that scene of misery, which ended in the ruin of our constitution. These were the effects of an administration purely sacerdotal, in matters commonly called spiritual."

These are the sentiments or reflections of the author of the "examination of the Codex, printed London 1735 8vo." After these, if true, nothing more need be said to account for the cause of the ensuing troubles and distresses the kingdom was thrown into. Lord Bolingbroke observes of this midjudging unhappy King "this prince had sucked in with his milk those absurd principles of government, which his father was so industrious, and, unhappily for King and people, so successful in propagating. With this habitual bias upon him, King Charles came to the throne; and to compleat the misfortune, he had given all his confidence to a madman." The author's reflections by way of note follow. "It is indeed apparent from our history, that those of our princes who thirsted most violently after arbitrary rule, were chiefly such as were remarkable for poor spirit and small genius, pedants, bigots, the timorous and effeminate." Lord Bolingbroke observes of Laud "he had neither temper nor knowledge of the world, though to be entrusted with the government of a college."

Staid within all the P.M., the eve mild. Walkt an hour or more in the yard with young Mr. Bretland and afterwards with my young L'dady, Susan Bretland.

Wednesday 4. Wind Sly., raw, cloudy, within all A.M., dined at Pearce's; drank tea; passed the P.M., and evening at Quadrille with Mrs. A[mes] by whose and sister's Miss White's invitation am to spend tomorrow's P.M. and Evening at their House. Returned home at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 9 o'clock. Early hours are abroad here, when visits are allowed and indulged; People (as far as I can learn) for the most part are more disposed to domestic society than neighbourly connections in the visiting way here. Or as one of the place expressed himself to me one neighbour rarely fouls the plate of another. They are the most reserved and unconvertible for a travling place of any being half City, half Country. A great appearance of hurry and business.

Thursday 5. Cloudy dull weather Wind S.Ely. Walked with the headach, which I happily relieved my self from by abstaining from all food till 4 o'clock P.M., passed the evening at Mr. White's house by invitation at Quadrille with Mr. P. and family.

Friday 6. Cloudy, sour through moderate; Wind Ely. At noon walkt out and meeting my friend Mr. P. in Bartholmew yard accompanied him there and through the Bunney to the bridge, and from thence home after being invited to dine with him but declining passed the P.M., and evening at his house at tredille.²

Saturday 7. Cloudy, the Sky of a dark rainy Aspect. Wind Ely., walkt out through Sudney to Norney where I joyned Mr. White: and after taking a few turns, he left me. Continued there for an hour; and from thence through Bartholmew yard, cross fore street, and by West gate through Southgate street and the church yard home, where I dined, and abode till 7 o'clock. Walkt for an hour with Mr. Bretland, and then retired to my chamber to finish a moral Satyr called the memoirs of the year 2500, and after reading the London Chronicle as I do every Monday, thursday, and Saturday Evening when the post comes in from London, I went to rest.³

Sunday 8. Cloudy, dark morning, a very slight gentle short drizzle, Wind Sly. Attended worship at George Meeting House. Mr. Micajah Towgood, a trustworthy, learned, serious, good Man, preached from

2. A note of greeting to James Russell at Dartmouth.

3. A note to Joseph Waldo at Bristol inquiring the terms on which he might obtain lodgings there, explaining "my breakfast is water gruel, no supper, as to dinner I am not very hearty nor nice."

57 Ch. Isaiah 15. V: "*For thus saith the high and lofty one that inhabiteth eternity, whose name is holy, I dwell in the high and holy place, with him also that is of an humble and contrite spirit, to revive the spirit of the humble, and to revive the heart of the contrite ones.*"

A most judicious sensible and serious discourse, a beautiful composition; just conceptions; natural easy arrangement; elegant diction; precision in expression; and singularly happy choice of scripture phrases. In his prayer the most just and proper expression for the King and Royal family and all in authority, both as Ministers of state and executive officers; and though a warm and hearty advocate of America, and her claims of exemption from british legislature's right of taxation; yet decent, modest, and dutiful enough for me, who am far removed from wishing it's entire independance; for 'tis my firm belief, it would sooner bring on oppression and tyranny there than the former allowed in its full extent; at the best as soon. May it please God to prevent both: may the unreasonable and baneful wishes and attempts of all violent men be disappointed. In the P.M. at Mint Meeting House a Mr. Morgan preached from 2 chap. *Philippians 15 V. "among whom ye shine as lights in the world."* Of this discourse I heard but one perfect sentence and that I have now forgotten. He had been a settled Minister but having married a wife of fortune left his parish and is now residing in this place and though 'tis said he is a man of sense, and writes good discourses, I fancy 'tis no disadvantage to his flock to be placed under another Shepard; his association being so long.

Monday 9. Cloudy, mild Air, Wind Sly. Taking out Mr. P. we walkt on the Hayne bank, or of the cut; down to the Lock. On the water we saw Four vessells, three being laden with flour from New-haven, Arundel and Chicester, and goes by the name of Isle of White flour; that being the common name, for all raised in that neighbourhood; as it excells. And one lighter laden with 70 quarters of Coals containing 31 Chaldron. Yesterday being Sunday, there happend a fray in the Church yard just before my window, 2 members of the City Chamber having met in Company, the day before among others at the Dean's Table, one needlessly and without cause affronted the other, the latter challenged the abusive person, and not meeting according to agreement by chance soon after rencountred here, and was very soundly drubb'd, which probably may prevent future insults. Received a very agreable letter this day from my friend Mr. George Russell from Birmingham. On our return met the Bishop taking the

air on his horse attended by a servant. Took another walk per meipsum through St. Thomasses; passed the evening alone in my room, meaning my 2d walk after noon.

Tuesday 10. Moderate fine day though overcast; Wind Ely. On being informed by Mr. P. I attended him to the Apollo, New Inn where we saw Mr. Broadribb, a Shepton Mallet acquaintance, and Clothier come with his goods to the Fare which is, this day and to morrow, held in the city. Large sale far clothes. Kerseys, duroys, narrow clothes, shalloons, druggets, Serges &c. &c.; exposed both in the Inns and streets, besides most sorts of manufactures, great plenty of fruit, flesh, &c. &c. provisions for the body, and utensils of husbandry &c. Afterwards passed the eve or greater part at home, alone; the family being engaged, a circumstance not unpleasing as it afforded me leisure to compose 2 letters of length.⁴

Wednesday 11. Moderate, mild Morn but overcast; Wind N.Ely. Heard of the destruction of all Portsmouth dock except one quarter but it seems the quarter of it is not destroyed, by fire; hope it will not prove true, as the story seems lame. Paid a second visit to Mr. B. at his stand; delivered a letter wrote to my Shepton Mallet acquaintance W.D. Proceeded further, to gain more light respecting the fatal news from Portsmouth to no good purpose. Returned home. An extream nervous head ach. Refrained from dinner; took a slight breakfast without eating. Staid within till near 6 o'clock, and then went to Mr. Pearce's on invitation to pass the evening with Mr. Broadribb; met there a Capt. Butson of the Brigatine Elizabeth just arrived in England, after being taken by a Beverley privateer, named the Washington, burthen about 100 Ton, 12 Carriage guns, Captain Elias Smith, Lieutenant and Master named Lovit. Complains that the Captain was mean, and short in the provisions allowed him and men, whom he put on board a dutch vessell bound to Roan in France: beef was only bought for 20 hands, perhaps a week's support and as the wind may hang, perhaps longer. Passed a painful unpleasant evening, declined tea and play, and departed before supper.

4. A cryptic note to Isaac Smith at Sidmouth saying in part: "Mr. M's account of the colledge affair, does not, I presume, make you wish to be among them, and is with unnumbered rights of —— a convincing proof of unfitness. I hope God has better things in store." This day Curwen also wrote a four-page letter to William Davis of Shepton Mallet, confessing that with the "help of a pair of spectacles rigged on my nose I found the two pair of stockings returned hither to be my own" and giving a lengthy account of the latest war news from America.

Thursday 12. Moderate mild air, Wind Sly., overcast. Waked with the pain I carried to bed, and rose with it. After a tedious wakeful night, I am now come to a determined resolution to decline the use of green tea, as the last expedient I can think of to prevent my frequent headaches, which beset me, more or less, almost every day, and render life a burthen. Dined at P[earces'] with Mr. Broadribb and his companion. Being called upon by Mr. Pearce passed the P.M. drank a cup of milk and water, a very agreeable evening at Quadrille, my headach considerably abated; abode there till past 11 o'clock. A sleepless night; headach, but abated.

Friday 13. The State Fast appointed by the King's proclamation on account of the American War. Attended service at Cathedral; Dean Mills read prayers; Bishop, Keppell, preached from 33 *Ch. Deutoron.* 27 Verse, "*The eternal God is thy refuge, and underneath are the everlasting arms.*" A most seasonable and candid discourse; he called the War "a civil war," and the Americans "our unhappy fellow subjects." Attempted no justification of any measure of government nor indeed said one word about the dispute. Strongly urged a reformation as the only method to recommend to the divine favour. Told us from the records of sacred as well as prophane history, and by the experience of all men that virtue is the only support of Society, on the contrary vice has uniformly proved its ruin. I was extremely pleased with the Bishop's candor and judgment. He is of the minority. Cloudy and dark; the heavens of a threatening aspect, wind Sly., mild weather. After service with Mr. Bretland and Mr. ——— walked in the Church yard. Much company here, a proof among others of the little attention paid to religious observances here. The younger daughter of the family set at home and worked all day at her needle and reading plays, though dinner was delayed till suppertime or 8 o'clock but tea and bread and butter as usual at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 5 o'clock. Attended prayers in P.M., in the same place which were read by the Dean, a full assembly, Bishop present and his family.⁵

Saturday 14. Cloudy, dark but mild, wind S.Ely. Dined at a Mr. Hornsey's, to whom I had on my first coming here had a letter from D[ennis] D[eberdt], boiled turkey and oyster and roast rabbit and

5. Curwen wrote to Thomas Danforth at Brompton Row urging him to look up and try to help Capt. R. Russell, who he described as being in want of money and friends and referred to his own "want of the *unum necessarium* and despair over ever getting any assistance from the Crown."

minced pyes. Passed the P.M. and stayed to tea. Evening alone in my chambers.

Sunday 15. Overcast as usual, and at times light, momentary drizzling, wind S.Ely., moderate. Attended worship at Mint Meeting House, a Mr. Peckford (late Minister at Honiton, but gave up his charge in reason of fits to which his slight frame became liable from too close an application to his studies subjected him) preached 2 very sensible judicious discourses; the first from *4 ch. 1 John 7 v.* "Beloved, let us love one another," the 2d from *26 ch. Isaiah 4 verse*, "Trust ye in the Lord forever, for in the Lord Jehovah is everlasting strength." Before service in A.M., and after service P.M., took 2 pleasant turns through Norney, Sudbury, the friers, and from thence in P.M. returned home, where I abode the rest of evening.

Monday 16. Moderate, cloudy, wind Sly. Walkt out, stopped in at Mr. Pearce's invited by him to dine on a family dinner. Spent the P.M. and evening, the latter at picquet. Memo, to have no further connections with him in the card way whose boisterous and indecent (to say no more) behaviour is at length become quite, to use his own expression, unbearable. Post prandial, took a long stretch alone to the further end of St. Thomasses, back and round, through Southgate Street cross the forestreet, up to Norny and from thence cross Northgate street through Bartlemy yard to my friends home. A report prevails through the city, by letters from Plymouth that the Active, frigate, Captain Williams arrived there from New York, says the report through that Town is that General Washington has abandoned the lines at Kingsbridge, left his cannon and military stores, and his army is mouldered away. That the four Colonies of New York, New Jersey, Philadelphia and Maryland have deserted the union and declared for government. The credit, however, of this story, even amongst the warmest antiamericans seems very soon to lower.

Tuesday 17. Air somewhat cold, thin clouds, through which every now and then the Sun peeps dimly, wind N.Wly. Staid within till 4 o'clock writing a long letter to W.D., Shepton; then walkt out on a visit at Mr. Samuel Crosses; drank tea and passed part of the evening there, remaining part at home.

Wednesday 18. Morn pleasant but cool, sun dimly out, wind Ely. By a Mr. Lloyd of the Regiment just arrived in the Lord How, frigate

from Quebeck and which was on the lake with Burgoyne and Carleton says the Active frigate not arrived at Plymouth, having come through there on his way here, but a merchantman met her at sea and told this. He speaks of the Yankees (as he is pleased to call them) in the most contemptuous terms as cowards and poltroons, or as having as bad quality the depraved heart can be cursed with; says the Regulars at Trois Rivières took 500 prisoners, killed 100 and lost only 3 men, and those were killed by the Yankees, who had got upon trees, and fired down on them. It is my earnest wish the despised Americans may convince these conceited islanders that without regular, standing armies, our Continent can furnish brave soldiers, judicious, active and expert commanders, by some knockdown, irrefragable argument; further, and not till then may we expect generous treatment. It picques my pride (I confess it) to hear us called *our colonies* and *our plantations*, as if our property and persons were absolutely theirs, like the Villains and their cottages in the old feudal system long since abolished though the spirit or leaven is not totally gone, it seems. Walkt down to the end of the cut nearly opposite to Topsham and returned back in a shower. My friend P. being my companion. This days news is, the *Foy* put into Ilfracombe, and from New York, brings advice the lines at Kingsbridge are forced, cannon and military stores all taken, and 700 ragged, wretched, naked provincials; 8,000 with General Washington retired to a fort some 8 or 10 miles distant, called Fort Washington, and that General How was preparing to pursue and attack it, no dates. Within all the remainder of the day.

Thursday 19. Fine clear sun, moderate, wind at N.W. My Landlady and I came to a more full eclairissement of my terms of board after 2 months residence, that, it seems, though I thought plain and explicit enough before, were understood by her in a different sense than I took them in. Sharp's the word, and I am trained in the school of experience; and if tomorrow brought a new way of explaining, or another I should not wonder. Justice and worldly interest are often at odds; I doubt whether I should mend my market by removing; the principle is universal and the practice uniform. Some pay a regard to the externals of religion, and some pay none, and there lies the main difference. Adieu England as soon as I can, and welcome America as soon as I can with all its faults and follies. Home is home be it ever so homely. At Evening lecture George Meeting House, Mr. Cornish of Culliton preached from 1 *Ch. Lam. IV*, "*How is the Sun become dim!*"

how is the most fine gold changed!" a very serious, sensible and seasonable discourse. On coming out I met Mr. Hogg who told me a pursor from Plymouth bound to London to wait on Mr. Peter Parker told him the Active frigate from New York had no such news as was circulated here as from her, brought me reports she met with a ship at sea from whence she received intelligence, which found no credit at Plymouth, and prima facie is a cooked up story to amuse. This whole land abounds in news makers, news mongers, and implicit believers of novel talk, however incredible, self inconsistent, absurd, and palpably false and foolish, and so, if any, does every Land, especially in troublous time.

Friday 20. Raw, wind Sly. Within all day writing a long letter to my friend George Russell of Birmingham till 4 o'clock.⁶ Returned at 5 and soon was called out by Mr. P., with whom accompanied I visited Mr. Beasley the Controller; drank tea; passed the evening at quadrille.

Saturday 21. Wind Wly., clear and pleasant, brisk air. Received a letter from Mr. Waldo by which my design of residing at Bristol is defeated; the terms of boarding are too high. Memo: last evening I was informed that by a letter from an officer of character that Arnold and the provincials are represented as behaving with great intrepidity and good conduct, and their defeat was owing to the superior weight of metal on the side of their enemys. I am rejoiced to find justice done my Countrymen. There are men who can look through the veil of party, see truth, and speak it. The news of the defeat of General Washington and forcing the Entrenchments at Kingsbridge is confirmed.

Sunday 22. Clear and cloudy by times, moderate and pleasant enough, wind N.Wly. Attended service at Mint Meeting House, Mr. Hogg preached from 30 *Deuteron*. 19 "*I call heaven and earth to record this day against you that I have set before you life and death,*

6. A six-page letter to George Russell at Mosely Wake Green, full of war and political rumors and opinions, fretting about his own idleness and shortage of money and fear of the future. Among other things he reported that "the accounts of the burning of the City of New York in the gazette is full, explicit and intelligible; more than $\frac{1}{4}$ is destroyed, beginning at the fort and all along the broadway taking in the College &c. and that it was fired by some northern man is undoubted; a Mr. Smith son of a clergyman of the Town called Weymouth in Massachusetts Bay, whom and his family I know very well, is concerned, taken, and I believe, executed on due proof."

blessing and cursing. Therefore choose life, that both thou and thy seed may live." In P.M. at the same place and preacher, his text in 1 Samuel 3-18, "*It is the Lord; let him do what seemeth him good.*" Learnt by the Gazette the defeat mentioned in the last article in Saturday above, is not very important, save the loss of cannon, few prisoners taken, few killed, the retreat not deficient in military skill on the side of provincials, nor much to the reputation of the British Generals, a rencontre not badly nor unsuccessfully conducted on the American side.

Monday Morn 23. Wind pleasant and mild, clear and showry alternately. The unimportant, insignificant, fribbling Governor of Virginia came back to England. Walkt abroad and did several errands; called in to see Miss White, who unknown to me had been out of Town 8 or 10 days. Mr. P. came up to me, with him I agreed to take a stroll but deterred by the shower; at M [*1 or 2 words*] shop in waiting to read the Sherbourne Mercury, his patience exhausted, and passing by he paid a cool compliment and departed to his own home being, I presume (to my indifference) offended. I can blow him off as easily as a speck of dirt from off my coat. Abode at home all the day after, except a short walk just before Evening.

Tuesday 24. Morn cold, brisk air, wind at N.W. Wrote Mr. Waldo an answer⁷ respecting my removal to Bristol from this house, family and city which I am thoroughly sick of; but the terms he has procured are too high, and I at a sad loss which way to turn; never was any one at a greater [plight?], hope is at present my only resource, and for that I have only a slender foundation; such as it is I can't surrender it "nil disperandum" says the latin proverb. Courage, my heart, the darkest part of night immediately preceeds the break of day; light may yet arise out of darkness. High brisk wind all day. Walkt around the city, and from thence returned home, where I abode the remainder of day and evening.

Wednesday 25 December. Christmas day, before I walked abroad received an agreeable letter from my worthy female friend Miss N.L. of Birmingham. Attended worship at George Meeting House, Mr. H.

7. Concluding that it would be too expensive to live in Bristol, Curwen wrote Waldo that he could live in London for £35 a year and that at Exeter his "present bargain is 20 guineas a year."

Towgood preached from Romans ——— Verse ——— “*For Christ pleases not himself.*” Dined at my friend Mr. P’s passed the P.M. and evening, played at backgammon.

Thursday 26. Fair and finely pleasant morn, wind N.Wly. Called upon by Mr. P. before I rose, being late, to walk on the Hayne bank with him, Mr. Bretland and Morgan. Returned to dinner. P.M. colder and cloudy, staid within till 4 o’clock and then walkt on Norney. Passed the remainder of P.M. and evening close in my chamber. Mr. M. told me Lord Barrington says in his private judgement he condemns the American war; thinks it impolitic, unjust, and will finally prove ineffectual, or successful, but votes with Government officially, or as a Minister of State being Secretary of War.

Friday 27. Within till 12 o’clock, air mild and clear, wind S.Wly. Dined at Mr. P’s after fetching a pleasant walk of 6 or 8 turns on Norney with him. After dinner walkt with Mr. Bretland down to the end of the cut, he never having been there before. Returned just as the day closed, the evening smoaky and damp, after a flight of snow.

Saturday 28. Fair, clear and cold, sharp air, wind Nly. As the sun arose the sharpness abated. Walkt by agreement with Mr. Pearce to Mr. Towgoods, to whom we paid a long visit, and at departure was invited to dinner on Tuesday. From thence to Mr. White’s, and from thence home, where I abode the remainder of the day answering my worthy female friend at Birmingham’s letter.

Sunday 29. Cold chill air continued. Reminds me of my own Country. Fair, wind as yesterday. The sudden arrival of the cold producing as it ever does a costiveness, and with it an headach, made me think it needful to take a dose of Glauber salts, confining me all day.

Monday 30. Wind and weather as before. Received a letter from J. Russell of Newfoundland who acquaints me of his design for [himself?] accompanied with an apology, or narrative of his conduct about Goodale affair, but it does not satisfy me; ingenuity is wanting somewhere. Sent letters to H[enry] C[urwen] Esqr., Miss N.L., Mr. Waldo and Mr. Danforth.⁸

8. To Henry Curwen at Workington he wrote (dated 26 Dec.) a letter of sympathy on learning of a death in his family “by the public papers,” concluding, “I am, though personally unknown, your Kinsman and Obedient Humble Servant.” In a note to Joseph Waldo (also dated 26 Dec.) Curwen requested the delivery of “the

Tuesday 31. Wind and weather as before. Dined at Mr. Micajah Towgoods; passed an agreeable p.m. and drank tea with him and daughter. Returned to Mr. Pearce's, passed the evening at Backgammon, was very successful, beating him 6 games to 2. Walkt down in the a.m. to Topsham accompanied by Mr. Bretland, at whose instance I went. Visited Mr. Holmes's Methodist Meeting House, erected by him for his lectures there; big enough to contain 4 or 500 hearers, a delightful walk and road, the frost has conveniently paved.⁹

1777

January 1777,

Wednesday 1. A very fine and pleasant air, clear sky, wind Nly. Took a meridian walk on the friers, and from thence home to write to a friend in London (I[saac] S[mith]) on a very serious and important concern. This day begins a new year and is very near the commencement of my 62d year being 3 days late my birthday was 28 ult. May the present year be more productive of moral improvement than my last was, to self dislike steril enough and if it shall please the Great Master of nature, the Lord of the world and all therein, and righteous disposer and conductor of human events, to continue the dark cloud still over my head through the succeeding year, may he support me under the most trying dispensations, and enable me to discharge my

inclosed," which was a six-page letter, part gossip, part sermon, to Nancy Lakin. In a brief note to Thomas Danforth he asked him to inquire at the post office for a letter Curwen expected from Birmingham.

9. On this last day of the year Curwen wrote to his faithful friend Judge Sewall: "My little bark is in imminent hazard of being stranded unless the wind shifts quickly, of some friendly boat appears for its relief, in plain english, my purse is nearly emptied. This circumstance has frequently of late reminded me of an emblematical device in the beginning of Fuller's history of the holy wars, wherein, on the right is a purse distended with gold, standing upright, on the left the same turned upside down, in a lank condition, emptied wholly of its contents, with these words under the corner, 'We went out full,' and under the latter, 'We returned empty.' I do not know but I am departed from my Country, home, family and friends on as foolish and fantastic grounds as the misguided fierce devotees of those times did, to rescue the holy land from infidels; though on quite opposite principles, I confess; they to fight and I to avoid fighting. I now begin to tremble lest the same fate awaits me that befell them . . . With respect to my circumstances, I will just add that 3 or 4 letters addressed to my wife and containing orders for remittances were intercepted by (I supposed) order of the amphyctionic states of America, or the lesser Hogan Mogans of some particular colony by which manoevre my wife knows no more of my circumstances than if I was in the region of the moon."

duty, if not with alacrity, at least with composure and an unreluctant temper. Staid within writing the remainder of day and eve.

Thursday 2. Clear, cold brisk air, very much New England like, the ground continues whitened by snow. Walkt out, read the Exeter newspaper at Magg's the [stationer?] and bookseller by his previous invitation on Mondays and Thursdays. By General How's letter to Lord George Germaine's Secretary, printed in the Gazette extra, I find General Washington drove from Kingsbridge, his retreat to the heights on white plains; Fort Washington on North side and Fort Lee on Jersey side Hudson's or North river taken. In these actions and skirmishes 4906 Americans taken, and a very great quantity of military stores of various kinds, and General Washington himself with the remainder of his army retreated to Northcastle quarter beyond Croton river, this the state when General How wrote. At Mr. Pearce's but he was gone abroad. Visited Mr. Cross with whom I staid, conversing on politicks an hour and thence retired where I abode the remainder of the day. Wind Nly.

Friday 3. Clear fine air, somewhat raw, wind Nly. Walkt with Mr. P. out to the new cut, to see the diversions of skating; few of whom seem acquainted with that muscular exercise. Returned home at 1 o'clock being invited to the Pearce's table but declined his invitation, not pleasing my palate. At 7 o'clock I departed for a Mr. H[illegible] with whom I passed an agreeable evening till 12 o'clock; my company Parson Tozier and Lady, Mr. Manning, Magg, and [2 words] 3 Ladies invited being engaged. Played at Loo, no forfeit beyond 5 half pence. That was the value of each stake. Received an invitation to drink tea with Mr. Tozier.

Saturday 4 January. Clear and pleasant, more moderate than preceeding day, wind Nly. Walkt as yesterday, with Mr. P. being called upon by him, to the double lock; delayed sometime by the skaters. Invited to his house and table tomorrow which I accepted. At 5 o'clock visited Mr. P., passed the remainder of time till 9 o'clock at his home.

Sunday 5. Extreame sharp uncomfortable A.M. Attended worship at Mint Meeting House, communion day. Mr. Hogg preached from ——. Attended the communion administered very decently and

with laudable devotion, the Minister first opening the rite by a serious discourse on the nature of it, and the obligations on all Christ's professed disciples to observe it and the moral fruits and effects thereof. Next follows St. Paul's account of it in 11 Ch. 1 Cor. 23 to 26 verses inclusive; then a prayer is followed by distributing the elements to each receiver by the Minister, addressing himself to each, in some pertinent phrase of scripture, such as, take and eat this bread in remembrance of Christ's body broken for you on the cross, &c. and delivering the cup into the hands of each Communicant, drink of this cup in a grateful sense of his blood shed for you and all his sincere disciples; after followed an hymn, prayer, and blessing and contribution at the Door as is the practice in this Church, money [*1 word*] in England almost always. Dined at Mr. Pearce's by invitation and attended worship at Bow; Mr. Manning preached a most elegant and pleasing discourse on friendship, which however, like all fine pictures was too highly coloured, and above life. Drank tea and passed 2 hours at said House from whence I retired and passed the evening at home with my old Landlady for the greater part of evening. The text was taken from *1 Chap. of 2 Samuel, latter part of 26 verse*, "*Thy love to me was wonderful, passing the love of woman.*" The wind N.Ely. all day.

Monday 6. Cold chill air, wind N.Ely. Summoned by Mr. Bretland I arose, and accompanied by him walkt to Whitestonehill, an eminence about $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Exeter affording a most extensive view, supported from 60 or more miles round; on an eminence is the church with a tower kept white, serving for a landmark to Vessells in the Channell lying at a distance of 10 or 12 miles in a direct line [*1 word*] in land; Exeter seems almost underfoot, Sidmouth with its opening between Peak and Salcomb hills is fairly seen, Chudleigh Hill and tree, Lord Courtenay's belvidere, the mouth of Exe, Dartmore rocks, Blackdown on the border of Somerset, and Hills from within the country are in full sight beside many other remarkable objects. My guide knew none. Dined at home, and from thence taking a bitt of news by way of desert at Mr. Magg's from the Sherbourne-on-woury as my custom every Monday I read, this article, the loss of Hessians this campaign as given by the County 425, British 811, Sailors 27, making in all 1,263 by comparing previous accounts, Goodby says, he found the loss to be more then 3,000. By a late account [*1 or 2 words*] Washington, reported to be given up and garrison surrendered prison-

ers of war, proves, hereafter, to be given upon terms, not dishonourable to the garrison, the soldiers &c. to have their bag and baggage, and the officers keep their swords; terms, says the writer, not usually given to rebels. After dinner walkt to Mr. Pearce's and there sat till company arrived; my head ach rendered me unfit for conversation and therefore retired home where I sat till near 8 o'clock and from thence to the theater to see the entertainment of Bon ton, or high life above stairs, admission in such cases is at the end of the 3d Act and pay is half price. 'Tis entertaining but a severe satyr on the degeneracy and profligacy of upper life. Returned home at 11 o'clock. In answer to some questions Mr. Bretland gave me the following account of the belief of Socinus and his first followers, that Jesus Christ was a true man but conceived in a miraculous manner by the operation of the Spirit of God, embued with the fullness of the Godhead that his powers and facilities opened and enlarged as he grew up, according to St. Luke "and Jesus increased in wisdom and stature and in favour with God and man." [*Here follows a blank of about a page.*]

Tuesday 7. Cold, raw, pinching air, wind Wly. Took meridian walk to a cut up the river to see the exercise and diversion of skating. Returned home at 1 o'clock, dined and at ½ past being joyned with Mr. Bretland I walkt to Honiton distant 4 miles from Exeter to meet and convoy home Miss Sally Bretland my Landlady's eldest dauter who had been on a fortnight's or Christmas visit to her Uncle Powell's at Ottery, and was returning home, a distance of 11 miles on foot. They were belated, and the cold increasing as the sun declined, we returned, taking under our care an Exeter Female and young child bound thither also on foot. Passed the evening alone in reading.

Wednesday 8. Cold and fair as yesterday, wind Wly, state of air much as in New England at this season, only the snow not so deep, though the face of the Country whitened as white as with us. A severe headach kept me in all day, void of employment therefore. Towards evening much abated. I am told my parlour or keeping room the same in the former tenants, this that the famous Sir William Young was wont to keep and sleep in, when he abode in the city, his seat not many miles from hence on the Honiton road, about 12 miles distant.

Thursday 9. Cold and chill air, scarcely to that degree as the preceeding days. Wind NWly. Sun in and out, for the most part in.

Walkt out at noon to read the Exeter newspaper by Freeman, this day's publication. Nothing novel.

Friday 10. Wind N.Ely., cloudy and rainy, but cold and chilly air. Ground a mere glaze, occasioned by a rain the preceeding night, which froze. Mr. Smith arrived from Sidmouth, accompanied by him. We walkt to Mr. Pearce's, with whom we dined. Mr. Smith's business calling him away, I abode and drank tea, passed the Evening at Backgammon. He won the odd game. I was informed by reading in the *Convivial Magazine* of the death of Colonel Farnham¹ of Newburyport, Massachusetts which melancholy accident I had not before heard of. It was in the account of General Arnold's character.

Saturday 11. Clear fine, moderate morning, cold almost entirely gone off, wind Wly. Dined at home. Took an airing just before dinner and after walkt with Mr. Bretland, Mr. Manning and Mr. F. to the double [*1 word*]. Drank tea at Mr. White's with Mr. Smith, and was engaged at dinner there next Tuesday. Received 2 letters this day, one from my friend Mr. Russell of Birmingham, and the other from Mr. Danforth, the latter with bad news of the fate of my 6 lottery tickets. Passed the evening at home.²

1. Daniel Farnham (1719-1776), Harvard 1739. He was the first lawyer in Newburyport, member of the Board of Selectmen, and Newburyport's first representative to the General Court.

2. Curwen's letter of this date to Thomas Danforth of London points up what he considered his prospects: "To tell the truth the success of the british arms does not raise my hopes to an high pitch; I fear the political states of America have resources much greater than you or I may be acquainted with; the Courts of France and Spain are too vigilant to let slip so fair an occasion of revenging themselves for the losses and [rigours?] their fleets and armies sustained from the british troops last war, not to avail themselves of this unhappy conjunction, in this case, and the weekly advices from both countries but too justly shrewd suspicions of their unfriendly designs to Great Britain; and God only knows the consequences, the colonies may be lost and Great Britain perhaps in the event may be very well off if she can maintain her own independence. These are suggestions of a mind in a quite different state from the headquarters folks, who, I am afraid, are, in our country language, reckoning their chickens before they are hatched. If they would deign to take me into their councils, I should advise 'em to be more sure of a victory before they celebrate the triumph.

"The continuance of our exile is to my sickly imagination much longer than the aforesaid good folks fondly conceive; but what is to become of me in the meantime I need not take a peep into futurity to know. The cold expression about the —— fills me with —— and forebodes a miscarriage, or it is, in the polite language of the Court to lie —— for consideration; and if it is to lie there for a month or two, for any advantage it may be to me had as good lie neglected as many years as there are days in a month. In short I begin to feel the very false —— and fear I have complimented away. I fear everything and have reason to hope for nothing. I want to



Gilbert DeBlois (1725-1791), by John Singleton Copley. Curwen first mentions the DeBloises in May 1777 and saw much of one or another of them thereafter. Gilbert was one of the jurors in the trial of Captain Preston arising out of the so-called "Boston Massacre."



Captain Benjamin Goodhue (1748–1814), by the Salem artist George Southward after J. Wright. It was Goodhue who first greeted Curwen on his arrival at Philadelphia and enabled him to obtain temporary refuge.



Benjamin Pickman (1740–1819), by John Christian Rauschner. Pickman was the first of his countrymen that Curwen met in London the day after his arrival there, July 5, 1775.



Colonel Timothy Pickering (1745–1829), by Charles Balthazar Julien Fevret de St. Memin. Pickering succeeded Curwen as judge of admiralty (see entry for June 18, 1776) and intercepted Colonel Leslie at the so-called “affair of the North Bridge” in 1775.



Dr. Edward Augustus Holyoke (1728–1829), miniature by William Verstill. A Salem friend and correspondent of Curwen’s.

Sunday 12. Attended worship at Mint Meeting House, my friend Mr. Smith preached from 12 St. Matthew 41 verse, "And behold a greater than I am is here". Dined at Mr. Bretland's. In P.M. same preacher from 18 Chap. Genesis 25 V. "Shall not the Judge of all the earth do right." Drank tea at Mr. Nation and invited to future acquaintance, the Lady remarkably sensible. It may prove an agreeable pastime. Evening alone within. [*Here a half page of the manuscript is crossed out.*]

Monday 13. Cloudy and rainy attended with violent gusts at S. At home all the A.M. With Mr. Smith visited Mr. P. and from thence to Mr. Samuel Crosses where we drank tea and from thence to Mr. Nation's by invitation, passing a very agreeable evening in company with Mr. Hogg and Lady and Brother late Captain of transport just arrived from Halifax, but from whom I could learn nothing respecting our Salem friends settled there, except that they were stigmatized by the inhabitants as refugees from their Country, imposed on and oppressed, as far as resentment and avarice could corrupt.

[*End of volume 5*]

Tuesday January the 14, 1777. Morn clear, and moderate, wind S.E., at noon cloudy, and wind S.W. Within till dinner, dined, passed the P.M., drank tea and spent the evening. Quadrille at Mr. White's house in Northgate Street; invited to make my visits more frequent.

Wednesday 15. Morn cloudy, moderate wind at S. Walkt out to the Castle where the Sessions are held; this being the day on which the Country Sessions were in sitting. Sir George Young, son of the late famous Sir William, in the chair. He addressed the grand Jury but his voice was too low to be heard; not one distinct sentence reached my ears. From thence we departed for Mr. Pearce's to dinner; spent the P.M. and drank tea, and the remainder of the time till 10 o'clock at Quadrille.

know a thousand things and ask a thousand questions which you at the source of intelligence are acquainted with relative to America and American exiles, but of these subjects I am as ignorant as if in New Zeland. I decline the Coffee houses to avoid the hearing the nonsensical disputes and opinions of Coffee house politicians and ignorant conceited partisans who are momentarily spouting forth their absurdities. If I continue here much longer I shall be fitter for a hermit's cell, indeed I have thought, nay, often wished for one, which at my time of life and with my prospects would be a most welcome retreat. In your next pray write me a whole budget of news if you can spare time and lay such a tax on your inclination."

Thursday 16. Cloudy, moderate, wind at S. Took an A.M. walk to Mr. Smith. Dined at home, and there remained the P.M.; and the whole of the evening by myself, except a $\frac{1}{4}$ hour Mr. Bretland called in to show me a piece of very fine poetry composed by a poor lad of an uncommon genius now educating at Ashkinton, of 17 years of age, of a dull unpromising visage. It is called the Judgment of Paris, who adjudged the golden apple to Venus in preference to Juno or Pallas. Attended for a short time at the Castle. The sessions room was too crowded to admit us to a convenient seat and the gallery not open; for that reason, soon departed; the attendants being farmers have very much the appearance of people of their rank with regard to dress looks &c. as my countrymen. Sir George Young in the chair.

Friday 17. Fine moderate clear morn, wind N.Ely. Dined at Mr. Bretlands with Mr. Smith. Accompanied by him, Mr. Bretland the older, and Mr. Morgan, we took an hours walk on the Fryers, and drank tea at the house of the latter, from thence to the Library room, lately opened in this City. After some short abode departed for Mr. Pearce's house who was gone to the play and from thence home, where we passed two or 3 hours at Quadrille with the young Ladies of the house.

Saturday 18. Cloudy moderate, wind in the morn at N.E., at Noon S. and S.E. Visited Mr. White's family, and from thence to Mr. Pearce making no stay he being absent; went home, and soon after, he entered, and abode with me the hour. Dined at home on boiled veal pork and parsnips, a favorite dish not once tasted before in England; with Mr. Smith visited Mr. Magg by invitation; drank tea, but without his company being kept in his shop by customers; his wife absent; remainder of evening at home.

Sunday 19. Cloudy and drisly, wind at E.Sly. Attended worship at George Meeting House, Mr. Micajah Towgood preached from 2 *Titus* II "*for the Grace of God that bringeth salvation hath appeared to all men.*" Dined at home, in P.M. attended at Mint Meeting House, Mr. Hogg preached from 11 *Ch. Math.* 44, 45, 46 verses. "*Again the Kingdom of heaven is like unto a treasure hid in a field; therewith when a man hath found, he hideth and for joy thereof goeth, and selleth all that he hath and buyeth that field. Again the kingdom of heaven is like unto a merchantman seeking goodly pearls, who, when he had found one of great price, went and sold all he had, and bought*

it." After service invited by Mr. Nation to dinner at his house tomorrow, at ½ past 10'clock. Drank tea at home and wrote a letter to Judge Sewall, London.³

Monday 20. Cloudy, dull morn but moderate, now and then rain, wind S.Ely. Within the A.M. copying a long letter to Judge Sewall. Dined at Mr. Nations, Mr. Smith not returned from Limson where he preached; Passed the P.M. and drank tea there, the evening at home, at Quadrille. Returned to rest after 12 o'clock.

Tuesday 21. Cloudy, dull morn. Wind at E.Nly, moderate. Within till after dinner, Mr. Smith called out by Mr. Manning to preach the

3. To Sewall he wrote: "So little did I know myself, so ignorant was I of consequences I might have foreseen and easily avoided had I been possessed of common discernment that for what now appears to me a chimera, I abandoned my dwelling, friends and more than all the means of life, you know I possessed in no contemptible a degree, that I might, as the event proves, have retained at the comparative trifling condition [of] insults, reproaches and perhaps a dress of tar and feathers, an alternative I now see, I freely confess much to be preferred to those distresses of mind I have and am daily suffering. To tell you the truth, pain and sickness, added to those other evils derived from the —— of Americans and one need not quote a [1 word], or the licentiousness of an unruly rabble braving personal outrages and having a plentiful purse and untouched is an envied state to liberty in the mildest government on earth attached to poverty with all its horrid train of evils; this you may regard as a paradox and so will all who are at ease. I think its Lucan who says a good man struggling under the storms of fate in adverse fortune is a noble sight, and well pleasing to the Gods. It may be so; may it be his condition on whom the Gods have bestowed fortitude enough to oppose the storms. As for myself, I had rather sail in a pacific ocean, and would willingly dispense with some degree of honourable exaltation for a more favorable state of trial here.

"Of this enough, to come to matter of fact. For 4 days after the 19 of April 1775 I had the mortification to hear myself and much better men than myself reviled, excoriated and menaced with immediate destruction, under the character of damned Tories, who had brought all these evils they had suffered and were fearful of suffering, on the Country. The looks, words and actions of the mad rabble, and indeed at that time of confusion, almost all were mad, and all were rabble, I must own, filled me with dreadful apprehension and made me judge my safety depended on flight. Unsuccessful in persuading my wife to accompany me with my effects to Nova Scotia, for that was my first intention, I took my passage to Philadelphia, abounding in Quakers and Dutchmen, both reluctant to arms I falsely concluded would prove an assylum, but the Massachusetts had got the start of me and fired this hitherto quiet people to a degree scarcely to be believed so that a flight from thence I found necessary but on condition of recanting, or in other words, giving the lye to the sober dictates of my mind, (at that time too tender to comply) the alternative was a flight across the Atlantic, no ports being then open in America nor any vessels suffered to depart anywhere but for Great Britain. Hither I came and here I have resided for these 20 months on the pittance of Cash brought from my own house in addition to a sum borrowed of a friend from which since I was forced to advance £50 a demand made on me by my late London correspondent in payment of a debt of £200, all that was owing from me on this side the water. From him, I presume, you will fancy, I can expect no advancement. Wherever I turn mine eyes I see ruin and misery all around me."

lecture for him. Visited Mr. Pearce and afterwards with him walkt to his new house on David's hill; and from thence with said Mr. Smith to Mr. Shephards, where we drank tea, and from thence alone to Mr. S. Cross with whose family and Mr. Bretland I supped and passed the evening.

Wednesday 22. Cloudy dull morn, wind Ely. Remained at home all A.M. and in the P.M. till 4 o'clock. Visited Mr. Micajah Towgood, where we drank tea and passed [*at this point in the manuscript there follow nine pages of epitaphs collected by Curwen from various churchyards he had visited*] an agreeable hour, as I always do in his company, and from thence to Mr. Hogg's, but he not being at home I departed for Mr. Pearce's with whom in conversation I whiled away the remainder of the evening.

Thursday 23. Cloudy, dull, raw morning, wind Sly., now and then sprinkling. Walkt out to read the Exeter news paper at Mr. Hogg's, and from thence home, where I abode till 5 o'clock. Mr. Smith and I drank tea at Miss Waymouth's in whose father's hands is a Wickliffs translation of the New Testament 1380; and passed the evening in a large company at Mr. Hoggs. In a conversation with him after the departure of the company I learnt the meaning and derivation of [the] final syllable of many towns in England: as *bury*, derived from the Saxon or old English *burgh* a city; *comb* from its peculiar situation, meaning a *vale* or *valley*; *minster* from a noted church or religious house; *ax* or *exe* from the british word *isch* meaning arun, small stream or rivulet; *mouth* its signification known to everybody, its situation at the outlet or discharge of a stream and many other terminations forgotten.

Friday 24. Cloudy and clear by turns, brisk air, wind at N.W. Within till my departure to Mr. P. where my friend Smith and I dined, returned with my said friend home and after accompanied him beyond Southgate, where I took my leave, he mounting for Sidmouth and I for my lodgings, where I abode alone the remainder of the day and evening reading Chandler's travels into Asia.⁴ The Greek alphabet imported by Cadmus from Phonicia, consisted of 16 letters; Palamedes the rival of Ulysses who was put to death in the greek camp before

4. Richard Chandler, D.D., *Travels in Asia Minor* (Oxford, 1775), followed by a second edition (London, 1776).

Troy added four; Simonides of Ceos increased the number to twenty four.

Saturday 25. Cloudy, cold and raw morn, wind at N. by E. Head-ach detained me late in bed and at home till dinner. Soon afterwards out to Mr. Pearce's and there drank tea and abode till 10 o'clock having passed the evening at Backgammon at which I was rather unfortunate or had bad luck. A very cold night followed; extremely distressed in the little sleep I took, which, as customary, rarely exceeds three hours; and almost always like this night fancying myself in New England, chiefly in Salem, hunted, pursued and threatened by my Townsmen, and upbraided for leaving my home, which I find plundered; and myself ruined and abandoned till relieved by awakening, caused by the excessive anguish of my mind.

Sunday 26. Extremely raw and piercing air, wind Ely., as disagreeable and pinching as with us. At Mint Meeting House, Mr. Hogg preached from 15 *Chap. 1 Cor. 58 V.* "*for as much as ye know that your labour is not in vain in the Lord.*" The disagreeableness of the air detained me at home in P.M. and evening.

Monday 27. Cold raw air, wind S. and cloudy. Last night, as the former ones, harrassed and disturbed by dreams of the same distressing tenor, ill received and cruelly treated by my townsmen, ruined and plundered of my estate and effects, and the Americans triumphant over the arms of Great Britain, which probably may be the case (though not to their advantage in my judgment) should France and Spain jointly unite against her as present appearances afford a melancholy ground of suspicion for. At home all A.M. Memo: though very low, the borders of absolute want I never dream of England or English people. After dinner walkt out to Mr. Maggs shop to read the newspaper, my customary diversion on Mondays for the Sherburne Mercury, and Thursday's for Trowman's Exeter, and from thence to Mr. White's where I drank tea with company and passed the evening at Quadrille being delayed much beyond the usual time, abiding at it till 10 o'clock.

Tuesday 28. Cloudy, but air somewhat moderated, wind at N.W. Received a most comfortable letter from my worthy friend Judge S[ewall], London. Took a meridian walk, but meeting my old Land-

lady at St. Thomasses, returned back with her home, after accompanying her to a friends who treated us with a glass of Mountain wine. In P.M. walkt out to a Mr. Tozer the minister of Bow Meeting House in compliance with an invitation some time since made me, but neither his maidservant nor Lady knew whether he was at home, in plain English, being, I presume, engaged and they not knowing the modish and fashionable answer in such cases, made such an one as left me in doubt whether my visit was agreeable and so I departed passing the remainder of P.M. and evening at home.

Wednesday 29. Moderate but cloudy, very sour and unpleasant, wind scarcely enough to turn the vane, I suppose about S.Ely. Abode alone in my room till 8 o'clock evening. I accompanied the younger Daughter of the family to the theater at half play; being very much the custom of this place. The opera was "Lionel and Clarissa," and the entertainment "the lying valet" and a lying varlet he was. Returned home a little before 11 o'clock; the play generally beginning late.

Thursday 30 January. Raw, cloudy, dark morn, wind at N. and N.Ely. After Dinner walkt to Mr. Pearce's, and taking him along with me proceeded to the double lock, returning to his home drank tea, from thence to Mr. Crosses who mistakingly waited tea for me. Soon departed with him to George Meeting House lecture. Mr. Bretland preached from *5 Ch. John 39 verse*, "Search the scriptures"; delivered a most elaborate and learned discourse; but much too abstract, and deep for a common assembly. The expressions in his prayer highly just and proper, truly original, but very unlike usual mode of expression. From lecture returned home.

Friday 31. Cloudy, dull, smoaky morn, raw air wind if any way at N. Lord Chesterfield being asked what he thought of the 3 George's answered George the wise, George the prudent, George the unfortunate. I am afraid his inflexible temper, and the falling off of one of the richest jewells from his crown the day of his coronation (I fancy the word referred to by the double cross denotes superstitious fear and imbecility of mind; all have their peculiar casts and weaknesses. Political cowardice or dread of fearful consequence to this once happy government is my constitutional weakness, ever since my remem-

brance dreading an unhappy alteration in this comparatively excellent government) forbodes a dismemberment of the most rich and valuable of the English Dominions—whether Ireland, America or the East Indies I pretend not to foretell but fear one, or other, perhaps all. France and Spain will not fail to avail themselves of our national folly to revenge their former losses and disgraces. The English though Brave, are not discerning, they everyday increasing the relative strength of their enemies by lessening their own real power. The end possibly may be, instead of securing the dependence of the American colonies, loss of their own independance: May God in his mercy prevent this mortifying event if it shall be for the general good. Accompanied Susan Bretland to see “Braganza”; and “Hotel, a double valet,” the latter humorous, and laughable enough. The fullest house I ever saw in Exeter. From this night I bid adieu to the Theatre having attended 4 halfplays at ½ price.

Saturday Feb. 1. Cloudy, wind somewhat brisk, and at S.Wly. Walkt out at [4?] o’clock and invited in to Mr. Crosses; played at shuttlecock with him and family and afterwards drank tea and spent part of evening.

Sunday 2d. Wind at S.Wly., cloudy and rainy, and sun out and in by turns all day, raw air. Attended worship at Mint Meeting House, communion day, the preacher Mr. Hogg took his text in 2 *Rom.* 16 “*in that day when God shall judge the secrets of men by Jesus Christ, according to my Gospel.*” At same place and preacher in P.M., a very sensible and comfortable discourse, text in 1 *Cor.* 10, 31 V. “*Whether therefore ye eat or drink, or whatsoever ye do, do all to the glory of God.*” Abode at home, as usual, the evening.

Monday 3. Brisk air, sun like the day preceeding, in and out by turns, but no rain, wind N.Wly. This hour never arrived, that Honiton, about 10 miles distant is in flames. May it please God to put a stop to the rage of this destruction and deliver us here, from the apprehended distruction. Some suspicious people have been taken up and confined and sent off to the ships, and mob constables appeared to take nightly rounds about the city, since the fires at Bristol, and the justly feared machinations of profligate minorities to lay that city in ashes. Providentially the fire at Honiton was prevented from spread-

ing; part of the Dolphin Inn, the stable and 4 houses only were burnt, and in the hurry much goods damaged. Drank tea at Mr. Pearce's; passed the evening at home.¹

Tuesday 4. Morn clear and mild, wind N.Wly. Walkt out, and dined at Mr. Pearce's; drank tea and passed two hours very agreeably with Miss White. The evening at home.

Wednesday 5. Morn clear, air brisk, wind S.Wly. Continued all day, as I did, within. Robin Follet came and brought from Mr. Isaac Smith a letter to me from Sidmouth to which I wrote an answer; and he dined with me.²

Thursday 6. Paid a visit to my friend Mr. P. and afterwards to Mr. Towgood with whom I passed 2 hours very agreeably. The remainder of evening at home at tredit with the 2 misses.

Friday 7. Clear, moderate, tho the night cold and pinching, wind at N.Wly. This day sealed up the two last journals, beginning in April 1776 ending 13 January 1777 in a brown paper cover, addressed to my wife, and in case of her death to my niece Mehitabel Ward, wife of Richard Ward, Salem, New England and dated the 30th inst. This is mentioned in case the above mentioned should fall into the hands of any one disingenuous enough to break the parcel open; and this memorandum shall escape notice. Dined and passed the P.M. at Mr. Pearce's; the evening at ½ play to see "Bold stroke for a wife"³ and "Irish Widow" in company with Mr. P. and Miss Spry from the house of the latter to which we went before the play. A fracas hap-

1. A letter to William Davis in an attempt to settle a dispute between Curwen and the Bretlands as to whether Davis, Curwen, and the Bristol glass manufacturer Cornelius Frye had lodged at the inn at Cross or at Ware.

2. A long letter to Judge Sewall, complaining of life in England and wishing he could return to America: "I often think of our common progenitor Father Adam, on his being driven out of paradise by an Angel with his flaming Sword;

The world was all before him, where to choose

His place of rest; and providence his guide.

With this difference between us, his banishment was by an angel and for a transgression; mine by Men almost as bad as Devils, and for none. I am afraid our lot is also different in a third respect, he had providence for his guide and I seem to be left to an ill judging foolish mind. Want of employ renders life insipid and want of money uncomfortable . . . In this place the occasions of laughing are so rare, that I have almost forgot how to form the muscles of my face to anything but solemnities."

3. Susannah Centlivre (1667?-1723), married in 1706 Joseph Centlivre, cook to Queen Anne. She wrote eighteen plays, *Bold Stroke for a Wife* in 1718.

pened between the Manager Foote and a Mr. Cubitt, both addressing the house but the former was dismissed with applause.

Saturday 8. Sun in and out, wind Ely., air brisk, fair. Walkt out with Susan Bretland to David's hill to take a view of Mr. P's garden; returned home, drank tea and passed evening. A small flight of snow in the night.⁴

Sunday 9. Cold, raw, pinching air, wind at E. Attended P.M. service at Mint Meeting House, Mr. Hogg preached from *119 Ps. 59* "*I thought on my ways and turned my feet unto thy testimonies.*"

Monday 10. Dark, cloudy morn, raw, searching, disagreeable air; wind at N.E. After dinner paid a short visit to Mr. P., from thence to Mr. Nation with whom and Lady, I drank tea, and abode till near 8 o'clock, passing 3 or 4 hours very agreeably, she being a sensible Lady of great reading knowledge and judgment.

Tuesday 11. Last night cold and frosty; dark morning, sky overclouded, sour and unpleasant, wind Nly. Abode within all day.

Wednesday 12. Same as yesterday. This being Ash Wednesday or the first day of Lent, all the churches are open and service performed, a quarterly fair in this city, the other 3 being Whitsontide in May, Lammass or 1st August and Nicholas fair in december. Dined and passed the P.M. at Mr. P. but an headach with which I was troubled all day prevented my stay to tea.

Thursday 13. Cloudy, dark moon, cold frosty night, wind at N.E., raw and pinching. Reported that 600 Hessians in an engagement with the Provincials are slain and many wounded. A Reverend known by the name of the Maccaroni Doctor is in Poultry Compton for forgery and has confessed the sum of 4200 £s. His name Dodd he figures in the Tete a tetes in the Magazines and unless defamed is a worthless char-

4. Four pages to George Russell relating largely to a suggestion of Russell's that Curwen send out on consignment goods of one sort or another to Canada or New York in an effort to develop a business activity. Curwen wrote that he was "loth to put my future independence on a single chance . . . the knowledge I have of the harsh spirits of my countrymen inspires me with a dread of falling into their clutches." A long letter to his wife bringing her up to date on his travels and plans. Of Shepton Mallet and Birmingham he wrote that there "I passed in six weeks more agreeable hours than *since my unhappily judged abandoning you, my house and effects* four days after the fatal 19 April 1775, or than I expect to pass."

acter noted for some vicious publications in the common rout. He has 2 chappels and the Magdalen under his care. This and the 3 or 4 preceeding days frequent small flights of snow almost without intermission. Took an airing about 5 o'clock on the Fryers, of no advantage to my head ach, that has accompanied me these 2 days and nights.

Friday Feby 14. Morn somewhat fair, sun out, thin white clouds, wind S.Ely. Had a most distressing night, sleep broken and interrupted, headach continued without abatement, and yet continues and has so done, till after sundown. Kept myself confined within all day.

Saturday 15. Last night cold and frosty, air raw and unpleasant this morn; sky over cast with high clouds; sun now and then peeps out; wind Nly. Walkt out to Mr. P. and with him to his house at David's hill; from thence returned to his house Bartholomew yard, drank tea and passed the evening; playing at picquet.

Sunday 16. Fair clear morn, sharp air, wind at N., the foregoing night cold and frosty. Stayed within the A.M., and attended at Bow Meeting House, Mr. Manning preached from 27 *Ch. Math. 3, 4, 5 verses* "*Then Judas departed, and went out, and hanged himself.*" Received from a Mr. Grant a receipt for the *tooth ach*, as follows, *flour of brimstone, scotch snuff, ginger, and nutmeg in equal quantities made into a powder and taken up the nose as a snuff.* Walkt in Bartholomew yard with Mr. Manning and Mr. P. and from thence into the house of the latter, where we drank tea, and there abode awhile, and from thence home, a fine moonshine evening.

Monday 17. Cold, raw, windy and cloudy morn; wind at S. Last night my sleep was interrupted by uneasy dreams, as usual of late, tho generally heretofore remarkably free from these nocturnal disturbances. I dreamt that on my awaking in the morn and rising from my bed I could not find any of my clothes they being all taken away; and was forced to procure a whole sett from head to foot, that my lodging was in the street in Salem before the front door of Captain Joseph Bowditch; how fantastic are the operations of the mind in sleep, totally unlike to the workings of my waking thoughts, nothing similar having passed through my mind in the day. A foul day, raw and rain. Did not go abroad; wrote a letter to my wife, designed to be sent via Bilboa, inclosed in one to Mr. T.D. Wrote another to Mr.

Sewall⁵ in response to one received from him inclosing a "Providence News paper" by the hands of R. Follet his landlord. Passed the evening at Tredille with my 2 young landladys.⁶

Tuesday 18. Cloudy and snow, raw, wind at N.Ely. Baring's men parade it through the streets in token of Victory, the petition from Cholwich being withdrawn. Received a letter from my good friend I[saac] S[mith]. About noon cleared away. Visited Mr. P. and with him walked to Davids hill and returning back to his house, drank tea, abode there the evening, playing at picquet.

Wednesday 19. Clear morn, cold somewhat abated, wind Sly. Afternoon walkt out intending to pay my last respects to Mr. Crosses family to whose notice I am obliged. She being confined by an accident I fell into Miss Weymouth, passing the P.M., drank tea, and part of the evening being entertained by the humorous chat of a Surgeon Parr.

Thursday 20. Extreame cold, cloudy, high wind at E. The American high treason bill having passed through two readings and to be printed, giving the King power to imprison any person suspected of favouring, aiding or abetting the Americans without liberty of bail, or main prize any where within the English Dominion and there proceed to trial has raised alarm in peoples minds universally, as it suspends the habeas corpus act, that great bulwark of English liberty, as it is called, and is supposed to aim at some characters obnoxious to Administration. Such is the language of those who do not affect the present ministerial measures respecting America while the Advocates on the other hand, plead the necessity of such a bill, to render Government secure, as without it those who are, and shall hereafter be taken cannot be kept in custody, and brought to a trial for what they call piracy and treason. May the remainder of English liberty, and the constitution not be

5. To Judge Sewall he wrote a letter apparently relating to his petition to the Crown for relief and its delay. "You tell me," he wrote, "it is owing to my being considered as a Merchant simply. Truly I think I have proved myself a very simple Merchant and brought my wares to a wretched poor market . . . But they forgot, or perhaps never knew that I had been in the commission of the peace for more than 30 years, and near 30 impost officer for the county of Essex and a Captain in the first Cape britton Regiment for which I have never received any gratuity or recompence, but no matter past services are easily forgotten and the Novi homines are like to reap all the emoluments, or at least the best part."

6. A hasty note to Isaac Smith advising that in consequence of a long letter from Judge Sewall (relating to his claim) he was going to London.

overlooked and lost in this fatal quarrel. Charles Fox, it is said, in his speech on this occasion said that 4 Acts were already over and this was the first scene in the fifth Act, alluding to the exorbitant and enormous power and influence of the Crown and the precarious tenure of the liberties of England. Excessively cold and frosty. Within all day; the 3 ladies vizt. Mother and 2 daughters in my room all the evening at quadrille.

Friday 21. Cold, raw and cloudy, wind at N.E., small rain. Walkt out to "Valiant Trooper" to procure, if I could, a conveyance of a letter to Mr. Smith of my designed journey back to London occasioned by one received from my friend I.S. Drank tea, and passed the evening with the young Ladies at tredille in lower dining room.

Saturday 22. Cold, raw, cloudy, wind Wly. Walkt out to South Gate, after dinner to Mr. Crosses and drank tea by invitation, and passed part of the evening. Wind changed to S.

Sunday 23. Cloudy, and by turns drisly, within all day confined by an headach.

Monday 24. Sun in and out, high and brisk gale, wind at S.W. Dined at Mr. Pearces and passed the P.M. there and drank tea, and the evening at home with him and the young misses at quadrille.

Tuesday 25. Cloudy dark morning, wind at S. and S.Ely. After dinner visited Miss White, who invited me to dine the next day, and from her, agreeable to an invitation the day before, went to Mr. Thompson to tea, where I met a room full of company all of the feminine gender, passing 2 hours there returned home. The remaining part of the evening at tredille with the 2 misses.

Wednesday 26. Sun in and out by turns, weather moderate, wind at S. Dined at Mr. Whites, passed the P.M. and drank tea, and the evening at Quadrille.

Thursday 27. Rose at 5 o'clock and after drinking a dish of tea, departed from my lodgings for the half moon, where at 6 o'clock in company with a Mr. Aislabu a bristol Factor, and a Mr. Blasdon, Purser of the Cygnet Man of War, we set off in the Diligence for Plymouth,

passing the Rivers Ting and Dart, many small streams, abounding in trout, eels, &c. and 2 or 3 Villages at 10 o'clock alighted at Asburton, distant from our first setting out 19 miles and our first stage. Here we breakfasted, and took fresh horses. The morn was pleasant and moderate, cloudy day and clear by turns. At half after 3 o'clock were set down at the Prince George Inn, Plymouth, having run a course of 44 miles being the distance of the 2 stages. After dinner I left the inn, designing to deliver Miss Mary White of Exeter her letter to a Miss White of this Place, for introduction to a Mr. Crees the storekeeper of the Victualling Office, in order to procure me a view of the Dockyard, the purpose of my journey. I proceeded to Mr. Crees house but no body being at home went in search of an old townswoman named Ga[*illegible*]man and her daughter Lydia; and, after some enquiry, I found them out; but neither could recollect my person till I had told them; on which they recognized me and seemed extreemly glad to see me. I abode with them an hour or two, and at their pressing request drank a dish of tea with them. They frequently repeated, especially the mother, the joy and gladness of their hearts in my goodness (for so they termed it) in calling upon them and asked multitudes of questions about the people of the town. The Mother and daughter are swelled to an enormous bulk, the former large as the late old Mrs. Blyth, the latter to the height and bigness of her namesake the late Lydia Hill, and was extreemly scarred with the small pox. From hence I went to said Mr. Crees, who with the Ladies being returned home, I waited on with my letter, and was received in a friendly enough manner, and promised to be accompanied tomorrow to the Dockyard; passing an hour or two there I received an invitation to eat a piece of bread and cheese but declined, it, not being my custom to eat at night, and taking leave, departed for my lodging at the Inn where at my arrival I met my road Companion Aislabu, with him I sat an hour, and then retiring to our chamber intended to go to rest, but a Company of wild buckish young officers of the 33d Regiment just returned from America being invited to a collation by others of the same stamp and Corps having sat and heated their coppers grew, (on being desired, by the chambermaid, to behave with less clamour lest they should disturb a Gentleman my Companion indisposed, then just going to rest) ten times more so than before, and continued it till I thought my self unsafe, and hastning down stairs retreated to my other Companion who was sitting, in the room we had left, over his bottle and glass, two bumpers

of which I shared with him. After 12 o'clock the chambermaid, by a crafty wile procured us an abatement of their rude and noisy mirth, by asking them if they thought it genteel and welbred to disturb a lady's repose in the next chamber which fortunate deceit (happy thought) stilled their boisterous mirth; I then retired to my bed, but my sleep was interrupted as they again renewed their noise, and made an attempt to break into our chamber to look for a hat, under pretense of its being left there, belonging to one of their company missing, but my Companion being awaked grew passionate and thereby prevented their further attempt.

Friday 28. At 9 o'clock I arose breakfasted and walkt out passing through an angular projection into the pool as Plymouth town has been so called, and is denominated the Barbican, from whence you have a view of Cattwater or road, plymouth river, Squire Parker's house and the trading Vessells belonging to the Town, having an eastern aspect. From thence I proceeded to the Citadel, standing on an Eminence being the eastern extremity of a range of bluff highland, commanding a fair prospect of the entrance from the Sound in the middle whereof is an island fortified; the Sound bounded by Ramhead and Eddystone on the west and the Hart point East, Mount Edgecomb lying to the South and west of the Road and Dock, which is also within view. The Town of Plymouth appearing almost under foot, the River [Tamer?], and a finely improved Country with many fine seats, Villages and agreeably diversified.

From thence I returned back, and at 10 o'clock my this day's Companion Mr. Crees arrived; procuring a coach, we rode down to the Dock lying west, at the distance of 2 miles, passing through a settlement of 100 houses on the higher side of a stream dividing Lord Edgecombe's estate from Sir John St. Aubin, on whose land the Dock is built, and of whom the ground is rented, paying him yearly as Lord of the manor a rent as the former does to Lord Edgecombe and is called Stonehouse. Through the dock or Town we passed to the yard, which without interruption or even question, we entered. There are many ships, large chiefly, in the Tamer river, to the east of which the Dockyard lies, amongst others the Royal Sovereign, the Queen, the Augusta, the Invincible, and at the Key lay the Blenheim of 90 guns on board of which I was, and on the Stocks 3 large ones the Royal George of 100 guns, the Duke of 90 and another, I forget the name. There were 4 ships taken from my Countrymen then lying in the

harbour and one came from Dartmouth the day I was there and one sold at public auction being the Experiment's prize. Passing from thence to the Docks, encompassed by hewn stone, into which the water flows to the height of 26 feet, in some, and less in those destined to the repairs of lesser ships; the height of the water is measured by pillars whereon the figures are marked, and is admitted in by great gates open and shut as needed. The rope walks are stone buildings of a 1000 feet (if I could judge by eye) in length, the work is wrought under cover, the pitch and tar in vaulted cellars run athwart the building, having no communication with each other, each particular department has its place detached from the other, and each store distant from another. The stores are immense, and nothing less than the riches of the whole earth seem capable of supporting such an expence. The numbers daily employed in the various branches are, I am told by my friend, 10000 in the yard, and regularly called over 3 times in the day. The great regularity with which business is conducted is very observable, and indeed considering the incredible variety of branches, and immense quantities of stores the most perplexing confusions would otherwise ensue. I did not hear the oath nor see any rudeness during my stay in the yard. New buildings for stores, offices &c. are continually adding. Within the walls of the Yard are the Officer's houses, and many very genteel, particularly that row in which the Commander lives, with an handsome avenue, and a very decent chapel. At 12 o'clock the workmen regularly go out in order two and two, to their dinners to their own houses, and are allowed 1½ hour, the oxmen suffered to take as many chips as they can carry, furnishing families with fuel, and the unmarried with pocket money. A little beyond the Yard, containing, perhaps, 50 or 60 acres inclosed with an high wall, and lying a little further up the river is the Gun Dock, a square where the Artillery apparatus is lodged, and a comodious small armory but very much inferior to that of the same denomination in the tower of London.

On our return we took the route through the quarter called the Stonehouse detached from the Dock by a River over which is a bridge, and belongs to Lord Edgcombe consisting of an 100 houses and additions are daily making, in this is a building called the long room, appropriated to tea, punch, wine, for private companies, and public assemblies, and is an elegant room with drawing rooms adjoining, nearly 50 feet long, about 30 wide, and 25 high with two very handsome glass chandeliers, and a music gallery. Not far from this, is

a building with large areas encompassed by high stone fences called the old mill prison now fitting up to receive American prisoners. From this we ascended a high bluff head, reaching it we continued to the citadel, and is called the western hoe and the Eastern hoe, that nearest the citadel by the last name.

From hence to Mr. Crees, where I dined, and after 2 or 3 glasses took a circuit round the town, stopping at his new bought house, and from thence to the victualling office passing other stores and offices, accompanied by the 2 ladies of the house; whilst there was not a little mortified to see an American privateer prize coming into the harbour from Dartmouth, nor were my ears a little wounded to hear another sold that same P.M. by auction. Part of the evening I passed at Mr. Crees house and the remainder at my new lodgings at Bristol inn, having left the George on account of his extravagant demand for fare of his coach back, which was 11/, agreeing for 9/ for the coach which inn'd at a Mr. Kienors to whose house I repaired.

Saturday March 1. Being called at 6 o'clock I arose, and soon entered the vehicle alone, taking up a country couple and one child at Squire Parkers lodge. First stage at Ivey Bridge 11 miles distant from Plymouth, where I breakfasted, and from thence at 12 o'clock at Totness, from whence I departed without entering, to Mrs. Wingate *late Sophia Reed*, who kindly received and treated me with a Cup of Chocolate. From thence, after about an hours rest, set off for Newton Abbot and Newton bushell, separated only by a bridge; the former being the name the whole goes by though the former is by far the larger place. We took up a french Limner resident in Exeter, who was very sociable; stopping at an Inn called Sandy gate we entered and drank half a pint of wine, my companion was polite enough to treat me. After giving our horses a breathing and water we departed, passing by Mr. Coxes seat called Penmore Park and at 6 o'clock alighted in the churchyard. Having received repeated invitations to dine with him the next day, I at length, though reluctantly promised.

Sunday 2d. Arose as usual about 9 o'clock but was obliged to stay home not having it in my power to procure a Barber till 12 o'clock. As I walkt out to my lately found Companion Monsieur Servant, with whom and Lady or wife I dined. She is a very fine figure, born in Scotland, and was there married, agreeable and sensible. Passed the P.M. and at their invitation drank tea, and departed not without a 2d.

request to pay another visit before my final departure from the City. The Evening at home.

Monday 3d. Moderately cloudy and clear by turns, wind at. Visited Miss White, and delivered her kinswoman's letter I brought from Plymouth, and thanked her for the favour her letter procured me there. Proceeded to Mr. Pearce's where for the first time I saw Miss H[icks] since her return from Shepton Mallet; and from thence home where I found my friend Mr. Smith just arrived from Sidmouth having a little before received my friend I.S. letter acquainting me with a most unexpectedly agreeable piece of news relating to my future subsistence, it having pleased God to raise up friends unthought of to me. After dinner went out to pay a farewell visit to Mr. and Mrs. Nation but not being at home, proceeded on to Mr. Hoggs house and abode here 2 hours, promising to pass next evening at his desire. I returned home and finished my hasty imperfect narrative of Plymouth excursions and there spent the remainder of evening at Tredille, receiving by the post a 2d. letter from my very good friend I.S. with still more agreeable and important news exceeding by far my most sanguine expectations and equal [*1 word*] wishes.¹

Tuesday 4. Cloudy and foggy but moderate, wind at S. Afternoon waited on Mr. Crosses family, tea with Mr. Smith, and from thence to Mr. Hoggs by invitation, with Mr. Morgan and Lady, supping, and in our return home was asked by the latter to tea on the next day.

Wednesday 5. Close, cloudy, wind at Ely. At noon walkt out to take my leave of Mr. Nation and Lady before I departed from this city to London to which I am bound by way of Bristol in the Diligence running the distance of 84 miles in 113 hours. My departure is fixed on Friday morn 6 o'clock intending to send my trunk by the waggon. Was very kindly received as usual and invited to tea this P.M., but being already engaged, promised to wait on them tomorrow. After dinner went out to Mr. Pearce's who and wife desired my and Mr. Smith's company tomorrow to dine with them. Afterwards walkt with him to Davids hill to see his late bought house and from thence back to my lodgings, packed up my things in my trunk, and had them sent off to the bear inn, for conveyance to London in the

1. Curwen wrote Judge Sewall of his intended return to London, expressing gratitude for his efforts on his behalf: "To your friendship I am solely indebted."

waggon tomorrow morning early. From thence departed to Mr. Morgan's meeting there my friend Smith with whom I staid an hour after tea, he retreating to his friend I.G. and I to my lodgings. Passed the remaining part of the evening at tredille.

Thursday 6. Dined with Mr. Pearce, not going out the A.M. Past a part of the P.M. at Mr. Whites with Mr. P. and family, here we were entertained with a sight of many curious family relics, consisting of jewells, antiquated dresses &c. &c. and was strongly importuned to stay to tea but being preingaged, took my leave of the Company and went to Mr. Nations with whom Mrs. Nation and her Sister very sensible and conversible I passed a pleasant tete a tete of a hour and an half. The remainder of the evening at my lodgings, settling my board which after some altercation was adjusted to apparent mutual satisfaction, though I could have wished to have experienced more ingenuousness; but what has passed I'll endeavor to forget as I really forgive.

Friday 7. Rose at 4 o'clock. Received a letter brought by the post last night from London, informing me of my wife's health and welfare in November last; and that she had been obliged to pay £10 I suppose Sterling to find a man for the American army in my stead, this intelligence I received by a letter to me from Dr. Prince at Halifax. After some delay, say $\frac{1}{4}$ before 6 o'clock I entered the diligence at the Hotel in Exeter and in company with two lusty men sett off for Bristol, passing through two villages called Broadclist and Broadrinch, to Collumpton distant 12 miles, where we exchanged horses and driver, from hence through Maidentown distant 8 miles to Wellington a fair town distant from last stage 20 miles; where at 10 o'clock we alighted and breakfasted. The road to this place is very hilly, rendered disagreeable both on account of the chillness of the air, which I felt the full force of, being almost benumbed by the sulky pertinacity of a fellow traveller, who would not suffer the front glass to be up, and unhappily hemmed in between two uncommon bulky bodies by the pressure of which my lean carcase was reduced to $\frac{1}{2}$ its usual dimensions. From hence through a very lovely pleasant road, on which lies a village called Still Bishops, inhabited only by dissenters, we alighted at Taunton, distant 7 miles and from the last mentioned place 2 miles; here at the Castle Inn we took fresh horses and another carriage, passing through Monton, a fine house and lawn belonging to a Mr.

—— through which runs a gentle murmuring stream, from two artificial cascades, crossing the road. The first village we passed is called North Petherton; from hence to Bridgewater the travelling is as pleasant, hard and level as a garden walk; at the latter place we dined; took another carriage, new driver and fresh horses, and dropping our late unpleasant companions took in a new one, whose size and bulk exceeding the other by many inches in height and ten stone in weight would have rendered my seat intolerable, but his more obliging manners in some degree compensated for the enormity of his bulk. Our way to Cross lay through a level of 17 miles at the sign of the White Hart the name of the Master of Stedman where again we were delayed by taking another relay, the interval filled up by taking a dish of tea. From the garden of this House is a full view of the back of that long chain of lofty hills called Mendip, and on the further side of that fearful intersection called Chedder Cliffs, Axbridge, Glastonbury Tor, and on the other hand Brantknowl and Quantook hills. From hence to Bristol is 16 miles where at the bush Tavern in Corn Street, and opposite the Exchange we were set down at 8 o'clock. No Coach nor carriage going from this place I put my baggage on a porter's back, and on foot soon arrived at the Lamb Inn, Broadmead; passing one hour in conversation with my Landlord, and a young Doctor I retired to rest and was at 1 o'clock

Saturday 8. Awaked and called upon to rise, this with reluctance I did, and after some delay entered the Diligence, intending for London. The frost of the night was so intense that our breath (for I had one companion of the feminine gender too) formed a hard cake of ice on the glass, scarce to be taken off by the nails. At the city of Bath we arrived, a distance of 12 miles, in 2 hours, almost stiffened with the cold. Here I alighted and attempted to thaw myself but this expedient I fancy only rendered my body but more susceptible of the cold, suffering, till the Sun arose and chased away the frost, inconceivable pain.

Here we took another set of horses; at 7 o'clock took another sett, distant 12 miles without alighting, at Corsum, passing through Chippenham, and from thence to Calne where we took a third sett of horses, having passed a distance of 14 miles. Here I again alighted, and attempted a second thaw which indeed was productive of a better effect than the former being aided by a fine Sun then just beginning to bless the upper hemisphere in a cloudless sky shining. From hence

to Marlborough, the road lies over a place called Marlboro Down, at the entrance is an hill insulated in the form of an half Egg, with the summit cut down to a plain and is called Silbury, supposed to be made by Art or by the hand of Man, and on the same Down are some of the bodies of earth like those surrounding Stonehenge (Burrows or Tumuli), conjectured nor indeed without foundation, to be burying places of the ancient Druids.

At the George Inn we were sett down about 10 o'clock, here we breakfasted, exchanged again Horses, Coach and Driver; from hence to Foxfield a small Town is 6 miles; on the borders of this town is an alms house for the reception of 45 tradesmen's widows; it has 2 fronts, each 150 feet long, and is built of brick. The next Town, of a very moderate size is called Hungerford, distant from the last 4 miles, and from hence to Newbury 10 miles, a town larger in extent, and more numerous in inhabitants than Marlboro.

Near to this Town are many single houses, which have the appearance of wealthy persons residence; and on a very pleasant plain commanding also a view of Newbury, lying to the right as one comes from Bath, is a parish called Speen; at the entrance is a lofty building to be seen about half a mile distant on a ridge of hills, being the round Tower called Dunnington Castle; the road lies through a street built on what is called Speen lands; belonging to a parish of that name, but is connected by buildings continued to Newbury town spreading a great extent on a low plain, in a bottom. Here we are delayed without alighting, and took fresh horses; passing through two or three villages, the name of one is Thatchum, and the other Woll Hampton. From hence to Reading is so many miles as to make the distance from London 39 miles. This is the chief town of Berkshire, and contains by report between 2 and 3 thousand houses. Here we dined, and again exchanged horses, coach and driver.

From a little beyond Marlborough to this place and far beyond, the land is an almost continued plain and much of it improved without fences, and inclosures, the roads almost all like a garden gravel walk, delightfully pleasant; the charges at the Inn higher than in the other roads I had before travelled; the carriages and company not so noxious as I had fancied, perhaps because it was the last day of the week. At Bayswater we again shifted horses, and again at Hounslow, horses and carriage. Between these 2 towns lies the noted heath called by the name of the latter. Passing over with a slow solemn pace in the dark and more than an hour in performing through a length but of

4 miles owing to the obstinate temper of our Driver who would not be persuaded to accelerate his pace, having at Bayswater suffered a Waggon to run foul of our Carriage, by giving the horses a start strained our harness so that on entering the heath it broke, and we were detained alone, all the other carriages to the number of 5 or 6 left us for half an hour and it might have been for an hour, had not another carriage accidentally passing by kindly lent us a rope, and by this shift we set forward at the rate beforementioned. By the care of a good providence no further damage nor accident overtook us; at Hounslow for the last time we again shifted horses and in $\frac{1}{2}$ hour in company with our Coach that accompanied us all the day, except over the heath, we arrived safe at the Swan with 2 Necks Inn Doctors Common being half an hour after 8 o'clock. Glad of all admittance after being refused lodgings at the "Swan Inn" Knightsbridge, and "Bear" Piccadilly. Drinking a glass of punch and eating a biscuit I retired to bed to take my needful rest enough wanted.

Sunday 9 March. Arose at 9 o'clock, breakfasted and went to the Herald's office, my last lodgings in London; finding the people at home I obtained their consent to permit me to lodge my baggage with them, thinking it safer than in an Inn; I accompanied it with a porter and having lodged it and paid his and the Inn expence, set forward to Judge Sewall's, with whom I dined and staid the evening; Colonels Saltonstall and Phipps² being of the company. From thence I proceeded to No. 23 Brampton row where Thomas Danforth, Edward Oxnard and Jonathan Clarke lodged. Here, having engaged a lodging I retreated; and propose this my place of residence so long as I shall remain near London.

Monday 10. After breakfast walkt out to Judge Sewall who had the day before engaged to accompany me to the Treasury where after a compliment and information of a grant of an 100 £ down and 100 £ during the troubles in America which I esteem as a providential provision procured by friendship of my respected friend Judge Sewall. I received an order on the bank; accompanied by him and Mr. Thomas Danforth, I took a note to the Cashier's office for £70 payable to myself on demand and £30 cash, departing very joyous, and I hope

2. Col David Phips (1724-1811), Harvard 1741, son of Lt. Gov. Spencer Phips; captain in the Louisburg expedition; addresser of Hutchinson and Gage; evacuated to Halifax in 1776 and then to England.

grateful to that Being who has, by friends, been pleased in the midst of gloomy prospects to set my feet on firm grounds and establish my goings; may I wisely improve this gracious indulgence.

Tuesday 11. Cold, took an early walk to London to enquire about my trunk, but not finding it arrived, I proceeded to examine my other left at Mr. Mills No. 7. Draper's Court, in which I found all safe, and undamaged. Meeting Governor H[utchinson] was invited to dinner but declining he repeated his invitation, and I accepted; receiving his address arrived at it in No. 147 Newbond Street; company beside himself, son Elisha, and Daughter was Mr. B. Hallowell;³ after dinner repaired to the Haymarket theatre where I was entertained in a very full house by the humorous George Alexander Stevens his lecture on heads; from whence by myself walkt to the middle of Piccadilly and taking a coach arrived at lodgings a little after 10 o'clock.

Wednesday 12. Cold, raw, cloudy, wind at E. Staid within all day, writing. Spent the evening with the Club at the Treasurer's house, consisting of 12 American exiles.⁴

Thursday 13. The foregoing, as 5 or 6 of the former, extream cold, to a much greater degree than is usual in New England at this season. Wind continues at E. or N.E. raw and sharp, part of the day at W. Walkt and rode to Hackney with Judge Sewall to see his son Jonathan at school, there and back in the same tenor to his house, drank tea and passed the evening at cards. P.M. and evening rainy.⁵

Friday 14. Wind at N., cloudy for the greater part of the day, sun now and then peeps out, raw and unpleasant. Walkt to London, to examine my trunks, repack and air them out, bring those things wanted here to my present lodgings; ordered 'em to Mrs. Mill's but she departed as if to disappoint me about the time she knew I was to return, and took away the key, by which manuvre I was obliged to

3. Benjamin Hallowell (1724?-1799), of Boston; commissioner of customs at Boston; mandamus councillor; left Boston at the evacuation in 1776; banished in 1778. His estate though confiscated was later recovered by his descendants. He returned to Boston in 1796, dying at York, Upper Canada. He was the father of Ward Nicholas Boylston.

4. A long letter to George Russell at Birmingham, advising of his own return to London, sending a "bank bill of £70 . . . on the customary allowance of your place," and stating his intention, after the war, to "form connections with your House to confine my hardware business entirely to it."

5. A short letter to his wife advising of his own situation and wishing her well.

return back re infecta deferring the accomplishment till the morrow. Passed the Evening at home alone, writing.

Saturday 15. Walkt to London with —— leaving a letter at Mr. Amory's,⁶ lodged for conveyance to my Wife. Purchased a new trunk at the East India trunk maker's, repacked my clothes and effects, and having left my large one at Mr. Capon the New England Coffee House Threadneedle Street, departed with my 2 smaller ones for my lodgings, where I arrived, dined and passed the evening.

Sunday 16. Cloudy and drisly. Staid within all day by a violent cold got how I know not, the usual symptoms are head ach and running at the nose. Passed the evening at Judge S. in a large company to avoid the smoke of a pipe one of my chambermaids is unfortunately for me addicted to.⁷

Monday 17. Sky, air and wind S. yesterday, and like yesterday confined by my cold, still continuing.

Tuesday 18. Cold, raw, cloudy morning. Confined still by my cold and headach. Company at our lodgings; played at Quadrille.

Wednesday 19. Clear and windy. Still confined, my headach considerably relieved. Yesterday received 2 letters, from Thomas Russell⁸ of Boston from whom I learn my wife is in health. Walkt over to Judge S. at even, and there passed a few hours at a successful game at Quadrille.⁹

6. John Amory (1728–1805), merchant of Boston; went to England on business in 1774 and was considered a refugee and banished. He returned before the peace and recovered his estate. One daughter married John McLean who endowed the Massachusetts General Hospital.

7. A four-and-a-half page letter to Sally Bretland containing a "narrative, though, imperfect, of my journey" to London.

8. Thomas Russell, merchant of Boston, one of the builders, with Hancock, of the toll bridge across the Charles River in 1785. His widow married Sir Grenville Temple, first consul general from Great Britain to the United States.

9. To Isaac Smith he wrote from 23 Brompton Row: "After a tedious and unpleasant journey of 2 days, and almost one whole night I am at length arrived as you see at my moorings in this port, not much to my content, except in this one circumstance, the early receipt of the unum necessarium; this, though it chases away all apprehension of future want, does not in every situation yield positive happiness . . . Young R.S. [probably Richard Saltonstall] has made £20,000 sterling by privateering and S. A. Otis the most important buisy man as well as one of the richest there." the unum necessarium was, of course, the Crown grant of £100 per annum.

Thursday 20. Clear and cloudy by turns, fresh wind. Within till after 6 o'clock. Mr. Timmins called in to see me, and after his departure I walked over to Judge Sewalls to tea and passed a late evening at quadrille; was forsaken by the fickle goddess.

Friday 21. Morn cloudy; after, clear; wind about Ely point. Took salts, by this expedient got, in a degree, rid of a most troublesome costiveness and headach. Passed evening at Club at Mr. H. Grays.

Saturday 22. Light clearish Heavens, wind fresh as yesterday. Staid within all day writing. Judge S., Mr. W. and O. a party with me at quadrille.

Sunday 23. Rainy and unpleasant; within till 5 o'clock, walkt down to Bartholomew say Christ Church hospital to see the children to the amount of 800 sup; admitted by a ticket, signed John Lane, one of the Governors by which was granted admission for 4 persons, one, for whom it was designed, declined to attend. The hall is 100 feet in length, wherein are spread 3 tables having on each side benches; on a raised Platform are circular seats for the Spectators, in the Center front a two armed chair for the Governor, say Treasurer, whose name was Burton and on each hand seats for as many Governors their Ladies and friends as fill them. Prayers composed for the House are read by one of the upper boys in a pulpit erected against the wall about the middle of one side, then, singing by the boys, accompanied by an Organ, afterwards Supper, consisting only of bread and butter. Grace before and after is said by the boy in the pulpit, and service concluded with an Anthem. The boys coming by 2 and 3 up to the platform to make their bow, retire, some carrying large pitchers, others small wooden bowls, others, tableclothes folded up, under their arms, others, large baskets, the bread was brought into the hall in; and others, a pair of lighted candles in sticks. On one side of the hall in heighth 18 or 20 feet 3 pictures; the middle one I judge 60 feet in length and 14 or 15 feet high, in the Center King William, on the same range courtiers, life guardsmen &c. and on the foreground on one hand, Hospital Children, of the males and on the other females, and all in their proper garbs; on the left, or the first from the door, of the same heighth is a painting of King Edward, surrounded by his Court, with a role by me supposed to represent the first charter of this institution, he being the founder thereof, and on the other a piece of the same size as

the last with a full length of Charles the 2d with astronomical and mathematical apparatus, perhaps to denote him to be the founder of the Mathematical School here. After the show was over we departed home on foot.

Monday 24. Morning cloudy, but clearing away, a most pleasant and fine day ensued. Leaving our coats at Colonel Saltonstalls we proceeded to a Mr. Sewell's, bookseller in Cornhill, to whom I introduced my friend Judge Sewall. Bought a new Annual Register and from thence returned home by way of Blackfriars and Westminster bridge, dining at the house of the latter on a New England dinner of 2nd dressed salt fish, on which I fed very heartily and relished greatly.

Tuesday 25. A most delightful day, a clear unclouded sky, and the air uncommonly soft and mild. Walkt to Piccadilly and from thence took coach with Mrs. S. to Jacquet [*1 name illegible*] his mechanical exhibition, King Street Covent Garden in which were many surprising appearances, of them take the following vizt. a boy of the bigness of a newborn infant, sitting on a pedestal by itself; who shall copy any word you desire either spoken aloud, or written on a slip of paper, in a character, as just and fair as copper plate; 2, a female of the size of one about 10 or 12 years of age, playing several tunes on an Harpsichord, she first bows to the company, moves her head, appears to heave her breast, and breathes; moves her eyes in conformity to her hands; 3, another boy placed on the other side, as the former, on an insulated stool; who draws very nicely the King's face in profile, say the outlines, a Dog and 2 more peices I cant remember. From thence returned home partly by foot and from Piccadilly in Coach; dined at Judge Sewalls; passed the P.M. and drank tea there, and in the evening at quadrille with the New England Club.

Wednesday 26. The wind, air, sky as yesterday. Walkt to Newington baths with Judge S. and in our way saw the King on horseback, attended only by his Brother the Duke of Cumberland, 2 horse Guards at some distance before him, and 3 or 4 of his Valets mounted behind. He was drest in a plain red fly coat and plain hat. From Newington Baths we took a Coach and rode to Deptford, but could not enter the Dockyard, the workmen just having left it to go to dinner, at which time no strangers are admitted. After taking a refreshment at the Globe Tavern, we returned back to the coach, and in it to the baths, and from

thence to our Lodging, back through the park. Returning we saw the Queen in her coach going towards Deptford attended by a dozen of the horse guards. I was in this little excursion in much better spirits than I had found myself since my return to London. Passed the remainder of the day at Judge Sewalls, dined, drank tea, and passed the evening at quadrille.

Thursday 27. Fine, clear and warm day; wind at S.W. Walkt down to London with —— to Moses, and Shoemaker, returned home, and dined; P.M. walkt out with Judge S. and Mr. Willard¹⁰ to Cromwell's garden in ill repair. Drank tea at the House of the former, and passed the evening with New England Club, say Brompton row tory, at Mr. Blowers.

Friday 28. Cold, cloudy, and windy, within all day writing.

Saturday 29. Morn drisly, cold, raw and cloudy. At 11 o'clock sun peeped out and retired frequently. Within all day.

Sunday 30. Cloudy windy and raw and then drisly. At St. Margaretts Church, Westminster to worship. A Mr. Jenkins preached from 27 Chap. St. Mathew 54 verse. "*And when the Centurion saw the earthquake and what was done, said truly this is a Son of God.*" Dinner at mealtime of 3 o'clock prevented my attendance in P.M.

Monday 31. A cold raw windy day, at times drisly. Staid within all day; passed the evening with the Club at Harrison Gray's. Lost at Whist, a game I had not played at since my being in England 2/6.

Tuesday April 1. Raw cloudy and windy. At 11 o'clock cleared away. Walkt with —— to [1 word] as far as Cheapside, did sundry errands and returned to Brompton to dinner. Passed the P.M. at Judge S. and the evening there at quadrille in company.

[*Wednesday was omitted by Curwen and subsequent days mis-numbered until the 14th.*]

10. Abel Willard (1732-1781), Harvard 1752, prominent lawyer of Worcester County; addresser of Hutchinson and Gage but retracted; left Boston in March 1776 for London where he traveled about till his death. His confiscated estate was the second largest loyalist property in Worcester County.

Thursday 3. Wind Ely., raw, brisk air. Walkt down to London, had a private interview alone with Mr. Timmins and by him was informed that my wife was in good health, and at ease, and things quiet at Salem. Passed the evening with Mr. Oxnard at Judge Sewall's, played a lucky game at quadrille till 11 o'clock.

Friday 4. Cloudy, raw morning. Walkt down with J.C. to the Herald's office, examined the books, and took out an exemplar of my arms, or at least those belonging to the Workington family, who are in the tables of Sir William Dugdale's book, granted to a Thomas Curwen, and by him signed, son of a Sir Henry 1663 dated Egmond Allerdale descended from an Elfrida (many ages past the original family name Culwen said by Cambden, a descendant by the mother from the family, to have been the Heiress of Galloway many centennials before the Norman Conquest), but who her father was I know not. In the Table stands a George from whom are descendants, but not herein placed, temp. Hen. 8. There are 2 other familys descended from this, one of Helsington distinguished by a crescent in the chief, denoting a 2nd Son, and one at Camberton who married an heiress of the name of Loyd, if I have not mistaken, say forgotten, and quartering her arms—our's, or those I have from my ancestors assumed, are *fretty*, and may consist of 4, 6 or 8 whole lozenges according to the bigness of the field as the Norroy King of Arms, Mr. Bigland to whom I was known before he having lived 2 months over my head in the Herald's office, informed me, that word importing as many as fancy or conveniency shall merit. Passed the P.M. at home, drank tea at Treasurer Gray's and the evening at Judge Sewalls in company at quadrille.

Saturday 5. Air mild, wind at S.W., cloudy. Dined at Treasurer Grays with Colonel Browne and John Sargent¹ on excellent fish and on the finest potatoes I ever saw, carrots, Parsnips, and onions and Capon, the most juicy best relished poultry my appetite was ever before blessed with the taste of, drank tea, passed the evening at home.

Sunday 6. Clear but cold, raw air, wind at E. Attended worship at Dr. Kippis's Meeting House, Princes Street, Westminster, near great

1. There were apparently two John Sargents of this time, both loyalists. One was an addresser of Gage and was banished. One was the son of Epes Sargent and half-brother to Col. William Browne; he died in Nova Scotia in 1824.

George Street. The Doctor preached from *14 Ch. St. John 15 Verse* "If ye love me, keep my commandments." Mr. Richard Clarke and Treasurer Gray sat in the same pew. Dined and staid at home all P.M. and evening completely alone. Invited to tea with my Landlady and her company below but declined. The author of the *Tour through Great Britain*,² speaking of Newmarket says "These races were instituted with very good intent, to raise an Emulation in our Nobility and gentry, to keep up, and preserve a race of good horses, in honour of the nation in general; but as the institution is debased, it is not the best horse that wins the race, but that which is destined for it by combination." The author, before had said "to me they seemed rather like so many horse companies in Smithfield, than persons of dignity and quality, who descend so low as even to circumvent one another, and, if I may put it, pick one anothers pockets." "This diversion becoming a publick nuisance, by spreading itself; the magistrate took cognizance of it, and by the 13 Geo. 2d a law passed &c."³

Monday 7. Cold and raw air. Walkt down to London, and home by dinner. Staid in remainder of the day. Wind still continues at E. Air clear and sharp.

Tuesday 8. Clear sharp air, very fresh wind at E. After dinner visited Judge Sewall on invitation, dreack tea and passed the evening at Quadrille, staid till 12 o'clock.

Wednesday 9. Raw fresh air, wind Ely. Walkt with —— to Covent Garden Theatre to see the *Duenna* and *Country Wife*,⁴ very humorous and diverting, especially the last, the *Country Wife* Mrs. Pinchwife justly performed by a Mrs. Wilson the most natural imitation I have seen on the stage without excepting the applauded Mr. Garrick, Mr. C., Mrs. B. or Mrs. Abington who carry the Bell at this day.

2. Curwen was undoubtedly reading Arthur Young's *A Six Month's Tour Through the North of England* . . . , 4 vols. (London, 1771).

3. A three-page letter to Isaac Smith with the latest news from America and the war prospects: "It may be news to you to know that the Tories here believe the American game of independency is up, or nearly up; not so your doubting friend."

4. *The Duenna* was written by R. B. Sheridan in 1775 and *The Country Wife* by William Wycherley a century earlier. Thomas Moore, in his *Memoirs of the Life of the Right Honourable Richard Brinsley Sheridan* (Philadelphia, 1835), p. 112, says of the former, "The run of this opera has, I believe, no parrallel in the annals of the drama." It was said to have played seventy-five times during the first season.

Thursday 10. Walkt to London with ———, returned back by dinner time fatigued enough. Weather warm, sun out and in by turns. Did many errands, wind at E.Sly. Visited Mr. Hughes and by him invited to a dinner with company in Mincing lane, but declined. Examined my trunk at New England Coffee house, passed the evening at Judge Sewalls by invitation not very much to my mind.⁵

Friday 11. Wind S.Wly., very fresh gale, walking inconvenient on account of the draft. Visited Mr. and Mrs. Savage,⁶ he not at home, and invited to tea in P.M. with ——— who accompanied me; also called on Mrs. Carpenter the younger daughter of my Salem neibour the widow Gerrish, she was not at home. Drank tea and passed the evening at Mrs. Savages in company with Mr. and Mrs. Carpenter, late Esther Gerrish, Judge S. and Arthur, son of the late Mrs. Russell 2d wife of my wife's Father.

Saturday 12. Cloudy and rainy, [most wanted?] wind fresh and at S.W. Walkt down to London, did sundry small errands, returned home by 7 o'clock alone, passed the evening there.

Sunday 13. Cloudy, and at times drisly. Attended worship at Dr. Fordyce's Meeting House with ———. The Doctor preached from 10 Ch. St. *Johns Gospel 11 verse*, "*The cup which my Father hath given me, shall I not drink.*" Returned back and dined at Mr. H. Grays in company with ——— and Mr. Timmins. Passed the evening at home.

Monday 14. Cloudy, raw and wind at N.E. Walkt to London solo, dined at Judge S., drank tea and passed the evening at Quadrille.⁷

Tuesday 15. Cloudy and rainy, wind at E., fresh though not cold. Staid within all day.

Wednesday 16. Cloudy &c.

5. A brief note to George Russell remitting a bank note for £70.

6. Arthur Savage (1731?–1801), of Boston; comptroller of the customs of Falmouth; left Boston at the evacuation. It was he who recovered the ball that killed Dr. Joseph Warren at Bunker Hill and presented it to the New England Historic Genealogical Society.

7. To his wife Curwen sent a letter by Mr. Chipman via New York saying that "the favourable accounts by [Mr. Timmins] of your health and spirits not a little delighted mine."

Thursday 17. Morn at 7 I departed in company with Judge S. and Mr. A[bel] Willard, at the door of the former, on our intended Journey to Ipswich, the air foggy but mild. At 10 o'clock the sun broke out, and rendered the travelling pleasant, through roads level. Our first stage was at The Dolphin Inn, Rumford, a distance of 16 miles, the town consists of almost 200 houses, some few modern, the rest in the old manner, from hence without delay we entered a new coach, took another driver and fresh horses and set forward for our next stage at a town called Ingatestone, not unlike the former for size and style of Building, its distance 12 miles, the roads like those before passed, level and pleasant, the soil light and sandy; fewer inclosures, intermixed with heaths. On one was hanging on a gibbet 2 victims to human justice.

Witham was our third stage, whilst another carriage, horses and driver were getting ready. I saw as we stood of the door of the Inn, riding on horseback Lord Staunton a Roman Catholic Peer and a descendant from him who was hanged in a silken halter in James 1st reign for assisting his servant to commit a rape on his wife. From London hither are many gentleman's and citizen's Seats, none however are remarkable for grandeur, elegance in architecture, paintings or furniture, and but one Nobleman called by our Landlord, Lord Waltham, and this not in sight of a traveller. In this place we saw multitudes of Calves in carts and driving in herds on the road London-way. The nature of the roads and adjacent lands as the former are level and light, the distance 14 miles.

Our next stage was at the White Swan Inn Colchester distant from the last 15 miles, at this place we arrived at [1 digit] o'clock, being a distance from London of 51 miles from our house 55 miles. Here we put up, dined, supped and lodged, our Host very obliging and well behaved. This town is large populous and industrious and said by the inhabitants to contain 15 thousand people, the forestreet wide and intermixed, as all the towns in England are, with handsome modern and many ordinary old fashioned houses, the shops large, full and have a fancy of baises as here is the principal manufacture of baises and many wealthy tradesmen and Gentry dwell in this town; and here the Oysters are taken from the sea and put into pitts in order to give them that copperry taste, so grateful to an Englishmans palate, and so disgustful to a New Englanders. These and the former called from the Town Colchester bays and oysters. The streets are ill paved with smallish pebbles to ach our tender feet full of corns so harsh and hurt-

ful as to occasion frequent complaints and not infrequent groans. After dinner we took a walk to view the town and in our progress came to the Castle, built in form of one of the old Barons, not improbable to have been one; it is a Square, the angles defended by round towers, pierced like the body of the Castle with narrow and long holes, through which defendants were wont to defend themselves by arrows, the whole crowned with battlements formerly, the remains being still to be seen. The parade contains about a $\frac{1}{4}$ acre, and is now cleared of a barrack it was once encumbered with. In a room on one pair of stairs is the library, belonging to a Mr. Grey, Member for the Town, consisting chiefly of old books in number as I judged more than 2 thousand. Here a weekly society meet, its institution, orders, and purposes my curiosity did not prompt me to make any enquiry into. From hence we proceeded to the chappell so called, an empty room containing only a reading desk with a large folio Bible and a large wooden chair. This Castle was in the time of the Civil Wars defended by Sir Charles Lucas and Sir George Lisle for the Royal cause who were after its surrender shot on the parade (and are buried under the small church in the road to the Keyes so called for the key on the Coln or bank to which Vessels lie and unload lies from the body of the Town about $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles) the precise spot on which they stood is carefully preserved in memory, and told the curious visitant.⁸ The only inhabitants are a family in one of the round towers, and the rooks who occupy the holes on the outside in great numbers. The site of the Castle is somewhat high, has pleasant gravel walks round and planted with trees, and commands, if needful, the neighbouring grounds, that lie below it, except on the Town side on the same plain. From this spot we passed through the streets to another quarter of the town, in which lies the St. John's Abbey gardens now known by the name of the pinnacle gardens for reasons unknown to us, and are surrounded by a lofty brick wall and strengthened by buttresses in good repair; these, I suppose, are the walls of the ancient Monastery grounds containing

8. John Evelyn records as "a kind of miracle" that this spot was "bare of grass for a large space, all the rest of it abounding with herbage." William Bray, ed., *Diary and Correspondence of John Evelyn, F.R.S.* (London, 1862), 1:332. These two loyalists were buried under the north aisle of St. Giles Church, a marble slab over their grave bearing the following inscription: "Under this marble ly the bodies of the two most valiant captains, Sir Charles Lucas and Sir George Lisle, Knights, who for their eminent Loyalty to their Soverain, were on the 28th day of August 1648, by the command of Sir Thomas Fairfax, the General of the Parliament army, in cold blood barbarously murdered." Thomas Wright, *The History and Topography of the County of Essex* (London, 1836), 1:325.

in my estimation 18 or 20 acres. They are owned by a gardner of no fortune or family as a blacksmith in the neighbourhood informed us.

In our return back, seeing a place of worship open, we entered, it was a dissenting Meeting House of an octagonal form standing in the midst of a burying ground, the performer was a Mr. Hobbes praying over the corps of a Mr. Bromfield a glover of the town and by the numbers attending I presume had been a man of consequence in that Society.

From hence we proceeded strait home, drank a dish of tea, and leaving the inn attended by our complaisant Landlord was admitted to a sight of a tessellated roman pavement lately discovered in a Gentleman's garden,⁹ supposed by antiquarians to have been the floor of the pretorium in an old Roman encampment, it being a known fact that Julius Caesar landed in his second invasion of Brittain somewhere in the neighbourhood of this place; or probably hereabouts was a roman station, and the discovery of this peice of roman work renders the conjecture not improbable.

From hence we passed over to a Mr. Greats to see the portraits of Sir John Jacquet and his Lady, some of the first Establishers of the baise manufactory here or there immediate descendants. These peices are executed on wood and by the hands of Vandyke 1623; we were told they are judged to be capital paintings, and tis highly probable they are if our information be true that the possessors have been offered a 1000 guineas for them. The man or his wife are descendants from the Couple. Passed the evening at tredille after being shown the assembly room, an upper apartment in our Inn about 70 feet in length and 40 in width lighted by 3 glass branches the walls covered with blew paper, and edged with neat papier marchée and an handsome music gallery at one end.

Friday 18 April. At 9 o'clock I arose, breakfasted and departed in a cold raw rainy and snowy hour for Mistley, a village lying on the River Stour, and on Lands of Richard Rigby Esq.¹⁰ who is Lord of this manor; in 2 hours we alighted at his gardens, for extent occupying within the walls 4 acres and without 6 is perhaps equal to any one on the island. His hot and green houses are in fine order, and supplied

9. Discovered 12 May 1763 in a garden belonging to Mr. John Bernard, apothecary, later part of the yard of Three Cups Inn, and by 1836 the site of the town market place. M. R. Hall, *Roman Colchester* (Oxford, 1819), p. 151.

10. The Rt. Hon. Richard Rigby, privy counsellor in England; privy counsellor, master of the rolls, and vice-treasurer in Ireland.

with common trees shrubbs, plants, and vines; but no exotics that are not frutiferous, and of the useful kinds. Leaving our rapacious gardner with $\frac{1}{2}$ a crown in his hand and a rude speech from his mouth, after having refused a customary fee, we proceeded to the pleasure grounds, but the raw and chilly air rendring our walk disagreeable and inconvenient we therefore soon hastened to the House, where being conducted through a more than Cretan labyrinth at length arrived.

The building is new and elegant, but in respect of its extent does not rise above mediocrity; all the rooms except the great drawing room rather smallish, that indeed in bigness exceeds the rest, and is only of the middle size; its ornaments are silk hangings of a cream ground, and very faint shades of blew red &c., the chairs of the same; three very large looking glasses, a beautiful chimney piece of excellently polished marble; other chimney furniture and a pyrometer I had never seen before.

From hence we departed after an hour and halves plodding the house and grounds and ordered a post chaise to be ready to receive us, and through roads and lands for cultivation &c. very like America, in a cold drisly forenoon arrived at the White horse Inn, Ipswich, distant from Colchester 22 miles.

Here we dined and from the Inn accompanied by the master walked along the old wall on the W. and N. side of the Town to a Mr. John Fonnerau's park; the house wherein he dwells, and belonging to it is called Christ Church, and was formerly a Monastery of ——— Friars to which is annexed the great tythes of 4 parish churches out of 12, into which the Town is divided. From his grounds we had an extensive view, the country appearing to be well improved thereabouts and laid out all in corn grounds, for which this vicinity and neighbourhood is noted. The town consists chiefly of old built and ill fashioned structures containing said to be between 8 or 10 thousand souls; has no manufactures, but few, very few living creatures stirring in the streets, a visible decay and deadness strikes those that pass along, the looks are of faces idle and unemployed, you are viewd and saluted with a bow or curtisey which is not the case in a town of business. It lies on the river Orwell, and before it as much or more flatts than lies on Salem harbour side; the water whilst I was there being out. Its only trade is coals imported from the North, furnishing the neighbourhood many miles round. Here is ship building but to no great extent. This being the chief County town, here is a session house, town and County prison; it is a peculiar jurisdiction and possesses rights, priviledges, and exemptions

almost as large and extensive as London. It also has a plentiful market though provisions are very little if anything short or under London in price. The corn market has a small octagonal building, about 20 feet in diameter, with an ogee roof, covered with lead. In the center on the top, stands a female statue, as big as the life, with a fillet round her eyes; in her right hand a sword, and in her left a pair of scales loose hung, moving up and down with every puff of wind, perhaps to denote the instability of modern justice, or how apt it is made to swerve from the right line or direction when urged by force or interest or moved by the breath of flattery.

Saturday 19. Morn clear, fresh air and some what cold. After a very restless and sleepless night I arose, breakfasted and departed from this solitary unpleasing town, very like in its general complexion to its namesake in New England; and in 2 hours arrived at Stowmarket, a stage of 12 miles; passing through a pleasant village called Needham, consisting of one wide street a mile or better in length, wherein were some houses genteel and in the modern style, and many tradesmens shops. At the former we alighted, and being delayed no longer than the horses were put to, resumed our seats and proceeded, passing through Woolpit, a long straggling village, and alighted at the Sixballs St. Edmundsbury, near half after two o'clock; the last stage being distant 14 miles.

Just on our arrival, the heavens which had for some time, from its black aspect to the Northward, threatened, now began to discharge their artillery in a furious storm of snow and hail, continuing, however, for a few minutes only. We having leisure before dinner, and accompanied by our Landlord took a walk into the churchyard, a large plat of ground, distinguished into three separate yards within a common fence, and containing in the same space the greatest number of graves I had ever yet seen. On one side stands an alms house for the support and maintenance of six respectable honest householders who have fallen into decay; they must have been of the Town. It was the donation of a Mr. Polsy Clayton, as the inscription over the front door informed us; through this we passed to a terrass on the back ground of the almshouse; from whence we beheld the ruins of the Abbey of St. Edmund founded in the Saxon times scattered over a plat of near 20 acres of ground now owned by Sir Charles Davers [or Dacers?] and a maiden sister. Returning from this spot we entered the abbey grounds through a postern to a garden kept in nice order. The remains of this

stupendous building, for such it really was, are astonishing, many foundations of walls and pillars being yet to be seen; the casings are almost entirely taken away; scarce any part of the front or outside being left, except here and there a stone, which serve to show of what materials or species of stone it consisted. Some of the walls we are told were near 30 feet thick. The pillars appear to have been from 8 to 12; and an arch, of which the foundation yet remains, was said to have been 70 feet high and is near 40 in width, the foundation also of the Abbots hall remains; its heighth cant be known, but its area is about 45 each side. In a spot, perhaps the dormitory, a few years since was digged up the Body of the Duke of Beaufort, brother to the Duke of Bedford, Regent of France during the minority of Henry 6th, and was entire. A hand being taken from it, is preserved in Spirits and in the keeping of a physician of the Town at this day. The ruins are spread over a very considerable space of ground; the grand entrance is yet preserved entire, and is a square lofty tower; its angles like all the ancient fortified structures covered with round towers, rising up to the top. The passage way through is under a lofty arch, defended by great gates that are kept shut. Many particulars were told us respecting the various parts of the House, appurtenances and avenues, but not being noted at the time, are forgotten. Among the notitia of this place, by desire, I insert that the steeple of St. James Church stands at 50 feet distant from the body of the church. A house containing 4 windows in front being between, and on the steeple on the same side are two hour plates of Clocks, to answer what purpose was beyond my reach. Provisions on this road we found to be very near the London market price, for an instance, our Landlord in this place told us he had given for a pair of fowls 5/ that morning. This town being inhabited by many persons of fortune, and in the neighbourhood many seats of the Gentry and nobility, that provisions should bear an high price is easy to be conceived.

At 3 o'clock we departed from this pleasant, handsome, and very agreeable town, passing through a level common, in a road as straight, for 12 or 15 miles, as if laid out by design, through lands void of all inclosures; though improved in corn grounds and shady walks, the levels in many places extending beyond the reach of *human ken* or of the eye. On the right, at an apparent distance of 8 or 10 miles, Ely Minster, as it is called, or Cathedral, appeared in view. At 12 miles from the last stage is Newmarket, an indifferent and to me an execrable inn, however frequented by Dukes and Lords. As soon as

could be, procured another carriage and fresh horses and departed for Cambridge at 14 miles distant passing through the race grounds, and a plain champain uninclosed country, which all this quarter of the Island seems to consist of.

At this place we arrived about 7 o'clock alighting at the White Bear. Here we drank tea, supped and lodged; being indifferently treated at our first alighting through the drivers foolish neglect or mistake not denoting that dignity and importance each gentleman should assume on the road in order to be respectfully treated. However he seemed afterwards to be sensible of his own false judgment, and partly made amends.

Sunday 20. Morn clear, wind at E. and fresh. At 10 o'clock taking a servant of the Inn along with us, we walked out, in order to have a sight of the inside of Kings colledge chappell, that by delay at *Trinity College* we lost. This latter is by far the most magnificent in the University, has 2 spacious Quadrangles, the front and one of the squares is of portland and free stone having a beautiful reservoir of water in the midst; the chambers occupy 2 sides, the Hall and —— room another side, and the fourth by the Chappell, which for 6d we were admitted into, containing nothing remarkable, save an full length statue of Sir Isaac Newton in the porch. The other square contains chambers on all sides except the North or West, and is wholly improved by the College Library, a noble wide open walk runs all round the quadrangle and under the Chambers and Library supported by large round pillars in the Corinthian order, and is a noble room of 200 feet in length and I judge 60 or 70 wide, filled with 40 thousand Volumes; the alcoves or bookcases having on the top on one side, the busts of the most famous ancient philosophers, and on the other, the most famous of the modern English authors &c. Here we were shown a perfect Egyptian mummy, supposed to be between 2 or 3 thousand years old, its natural heighth was 5 ft. 8 in. and in its present posture 5.4 in., it was quite naked, the muscular flesh still entire on its body, legs and arms; the hands, fingers and nails distinct, as also its toes and the nails on them; its mouth open showing 2 or 3 teeth standing in their natural places, its face I was not curious enough to attend to, the odour of the flesh like a smoaked tongue; it was taken out of the box and placed in a case like the skeleton of a human body erect, in the same apartment was a curious inscription in Greek capitals without distinction of sentences or words, on a marble about 10 inches square, having

a plain pediment on the top. It is called *Marmor Sandavicensis*, being presented to this Colledge by Lord Sandwich; it has been copied and construed, but the meaning of it, I am not acquainted with; here also is to be seen some mutilated antique pillars, parts of pillars and capitals, with inscriptions in Greek characters, placed in the grand stair case leading to the library, given by Mr. Wortley Montague or his sister Lady Bute since his death; but which I forget; and among them his bust in marble.

From hence we departed through the College walks on the banks of the River Cam running along the back of King's College, Trinity College, Caius, Trinity Hall, Clare Hall, and St. John's College; over the river are 3 handsome stone bridges for footwalking, and between them a wooden bridge, called the bridle way, and may be used for horses and carriages. The banks of the river within the College grounds are faced with stone, the lawn carried down to its very edge, with many slips for the advantage of the company who shall please to divert themselves in boats on the water, flowing in a very gentle stream, about two rods wide. The pleasure grounds are laid out in most agreeable gravel walks; kept in the nicest order; shaded with lofty trees; they are extensive, all on a level, and charmingly agreeable. Leaving these delightful walks, we proceeded to the Chappel; it being shut we turned our walk to take a view of the other buildings. On the further side stands a long range of elegant buildings in the modern stile, and of free stone, called *King's Colledge*; its front adorned with a new portico, supporting a noble pediment. On the other side stand *the old building* called by *the same name*, and owes its foundation to Henry 6th, remarkable however for nothing. Near these, and in the same range, stands *Clare hall*, though not for extent, yet beauty and elegance, much superior to any. Its front is royal, its ornament corinthian, containing one square or Quadrangle, the lower story an open piazza, running round the whole. Near to this stands *the Senate House* and *University Library*, both detached buildings in the same style, and order as *Clare Hall*, and equally beautiful. *Trinity Hall* and *Caius College* are of a more ancient style, and have nothing of grandeur with respect to bulk or ornament. *St. John's* is for extent one of the first; tis of brick and without any ornament. A Mr. Pearce, a fellow of this Colledge whom I met in the walk, invited us to walk into his chamber, where we abode a few minutes to look in a book for an answer to a question I put to him concerning the age of an ancient manuscript in the University Library, and for the key of the library to which he conducted us; it is not an

handsome room, nor contains a large collection of books; it was scarcely larger than our old college library, and like that consisting of old books chiefly. Mr. Prior was of this College, and left a noble folio Volume of all his works bound in Morrocco, finely gilt. Here we also saw a most elegant folio edition of Dr. Samuel Clarke's Julius Caesars Commentaries.

From hence we departed to take a view of some other Colleges; of the following we entered in our route; *Maudlin*, an old small low building, consisting of one quadrangle; on the door was this inscription, "*Cuiusque is est, mons quisque.*" Another square is now building. From hence to *Jesus Colledge* containing a square and an half, not lofty nor elegant, its avenue through large iron open gates, and a pleasant walk. Here we met 2 Gentlemen, one a Doctor, the other a preacher, whom we had before just met coming out of a church as service was finished. To these having asked a question we received very decent answers; they seemed well bred, and not disinclined to converse. Taking leave proceeded to *Sidney Sussex College* but neither the building, nor grounds about it appeared worthy of notice, the former is old, low and plain, not altogether unlike Stoughton except in size; the grounds neglected. From hence we proceeded to *Kings College Chappell*; for a discription must refer to the book bought in it. The length is 291 feet, width 45 $\frac{1}{2}$, the heighth 78, the ceiling an arch of stone carved, the center are Drops of one stone of a ton, the sides covered with carvings, and the whole kept in the most nice order, the floor divided into three parts, Viz. the Ante temple, seperated from the Choir by a carved wooden screne, one compartment containing a representation of God the father driving down the rebellious Angels, on whose faces the expression of distress, anguish and dismay is inimitable and most just. The former is represented as an old man with a long beard. From hence we revisited Trinity College and Clare Hall; with reluctance we left them and retreated back to our Inn, dined and from thence I on my part reluctantly departed in a post chaize through a very level road to our designed stage, Barkway, distant 16 miles where we lodged and breakfasted.

21. This very indifferent Collection of old fashioned buildings we soon left and entered on the fine improvements of Hertfordshire, the agreeable unevenness of the earth, the verdure of the fields and corn grounds and excellent improvements, for which the country is noted rendered our travelling for many miles delightfully pleasant. At Ware

alighted in 2 hours from our departure from the last stage, stopping at the Saracen's head, to gratify my companions whose curiosity urged them to take a view of the great Bed, containing in length 3 lengths of my cane and 2 in width. It was made as our informant told us for the use of King Edward 4, its date 1463. From hence we took the course to Hartford lying 2 miles out of our direction to London, and in 2 hours from hence were set down at Judge Sewall's Door, after an expensive ramble to no good purpose of 180 miles nearly, so God bowe Essex, Suffolk and Cambridgeshires. Passed the P.M. and evening at Judge Sewall's.

Tuesday 22 April. Cloudy raw air, staid within all day.

Wednesday 23. Cloudy, showry but moderate. Walkt to London at Whitehall or Treasury house, no officials to be seen. Passed the P.M. in part and drank tea with Mr. Carpenter and his wife, a Daughter of my late Salem neibour the Widow Gerrish; evening at home, principally alone.

Thursday 24. Cloudy and clear by turns, cold and windy at West. Staid within all A.M., till dinner, engaged a new frock suit of the light olive colour. Passed the P.M. at Mr. Savage's, drank tea, and examined his medals and Coins of which he has many ancient, of Greek, and roman, saxon and English. Returned home at 9 o'clock, evening fair, moon shine and windy.

Friday 25. Cloudy and at times showry. After breakfast walkt to London with Mr. Savage, attended Langfords sales, viewd and examined his medalls and coins, roman, grecian, Egyptian, saxon and English. Returned home, passed the P.M. and evening there.

Saturday 26. Cloudy. Walkt to London alone, at the bank, called in at Wedgwoods Compton Street Soho to see his manufacture of seals bas reliefs tea pots &c. of a composition of his own invention. Dined at home alone, took a solitary walk through Brompton towards Chelsea; at my return Joseph Dowse¹¹ paid me a visit and drank tea with me.

11. Joseph Dowse (1709?–1785), surveyor and searcher of the port of Salem; addresser of Gage; refugee to England; returned and died at Salem; survived by a widow and three unmarried daughters.

Sunday 27. Morn fair, wind fresh at E. Walkt to London. and attended Dr. Trotter at his Meeting House in Swatton Street, between [1 word] street and Piccadilly; his text from 14 Chap. *Acts* from 8 to 12 verses inclusive "*and there sat a certain man at Lystra &c.*"; from thence in company with —— I walkt to Kingston gardens, very full of company, as Hyde park also, of Coaches, Gentlemen with servants on horseback; meeting Colonel Murray¹² there, with him we walked till I turned aside to ascend the Monument. During my absence they rambled out of my sight, on which I left the gardens, and returned home alone; dined, the rest of the Boarders being gone out, I abode by myself till 5 o'clock I set off with —— for the Salters hall evening lecture, where we arrived after prayer was begun. A Dr. Reeves preached a most useful and ingenious discourse, 21 Chap. *Mathew* 30 verse, "*And he came to the second and said likewise, and he answered and said I go, Sir; and went not.*" A pretty full congregation. In passing home through Watling Street we stepped into St. Antholins Church the [1 word] and being civilly invited into the pew, abode there during sermon preached by a Mr. Parry [1 word] Cripplegate and St. Sepulchres, and preacher of the Sunday evening lecture, there being as we were told by an hearer an Evening lecture through the week, established, for which the preachers receive, each a guinea by subscription. After our return home we passed the evening together in a sociable tete a tete.

Monday 28. Walkt to London. Attended Langfords sale of Medalls, old coins &c. under Covent Garden piazza. Saw a small brass or copper farthing sold for 64/, it being of the commonwealth with this inscription "*Englands farthing for necessary change.*" Returned back to dinner and passed the P.M. and Evening at lodgings.

Tuesday 29. Cold and raw as usual and cloudy. Walkt again to London, did sundry small errands, bought sundrys, and paid sundry debts. Attended the exhibition in Piccadilly, of Society of Artists of Great Britain; was really surprised at the meanness of the portraits; nothing appeared to my eye well executed but some fruit pieces, and a few miniatures in crayon, and water colours. Visited a Mr. Vaston, who treated me with excellent claret and still cyder, the latter rough but not pleasing to my appetite, say taste, mixed makes an agreeable

12. Col. John Murray (1720-1794), for some years a member, for Rutland, of the Massachusetts assembly; appointed a mandamus councillor in 1774; fled to Halifax in 1776; persecuted and banished in 1778. He became a resident of St. Johns, New Brunswick, after the Revolution.

beverage the Gentleman called English burgundy, not very different. The cyder alone very much like old hock, but on the comparison better. From him Mr. Silsbee and myself adjourned to Mr. Joseph Green's, he absent, with him we drank tea, and passed a pleasant hour; stopping by the way at Ely Palace so called on Holborn hill now sold and pulling down to build 2 rows of houses. There are yet standing the chappell and hall, in the old Gothic taste.

Wednesday 30. Morn drisly but moderate, cleared up at noon. Abode within till after dinner and then strolled into Town alone; returned back about 8 o'clock.¹³

Thursday May 1. Walkt out early, settled my Account with Hayley and paid the ballance, which but for his demands I should not put my credit to the trial to have effected, but now it is done with, and to him I propose to bid a final adieu. Dined at Gilbert Harrison and with my friend J[ohn] T[immins], the 2 Debloises,¹ B. Fanneuil² and 2 ladies, staid tea. Returned back to my lodgings about 8 o'clock P.M. The day very moderate, soft and cloudy. Capon consents to keep my trunks during my absence in the Country.

Friday 2d. Moderate, wind at S.W., rain and clear sky alternately; thoroughly soaked walking the streets of London. Dined at Chop House at the New Inn, Old Bailey to gain some information about Oxford Stage Coach; from whence to Bell and Crown Inn Holborn concerning the Buckingham, remain as yet in a state of suspence, which road or conveyance to take. Returned to Lodgings at ½ past 4 o'clock. Examined and packed up my trunks.

Saturday 3d. Staid within till Meridian, dined at Judge S. with the 4 lodgers, from thence walkt to London and agreed for fare and seat in Diligence to Oxford being desirous to take that City in my way to

13. Curwen's letter of this date to Isaac Smith is headed "Brompton row for the last time now and I hope forever 30th April 1777," and contains three pages of "news" and description of his latest "circuitous ramble through Essex, Suffolk, Cambridge-shire and Hertford."

1. Lewis Deblois (1708-1779), merchant of Boston, addresser of Gage; went to Halifax at the evacuation and thence to England where he died in 1779.

Gilbert Deblois (1725-1792), younger brother of Lewis, merchant of Boston, addresser of Hutchinson and Gage; went to Halifax and later to London where he died.

2. Benjamin Faneuil, Jr. (1701-1785), merchant of Boston, one of the consignees of the tea destroyed in 1773; fled with his wife to Halifax and then to England. His brother Peter presented to the city of Boston the market that became known as Faneuil Hall. He returned to Massachusetts at the peace.

the Country, where for some months I propose to abide, but in what quarter chance must determine. I go from hence like Abraham of old, may the same kind and almighty protector be my guide and defence. Left my trunk, conveyed in a Coach, at New England Coffee house till my return back.³

Sunday 4. Morn cloudy rainy and fair by turns, wind at S.W., very moderate and mild. Walkt to London, in our way called on Mr. Browne, saw his son William and I.S. Attended worship at Temple Church, Dr. Wakes preached a most serious, judicious discourse to a respectable assembly from *14 Chap. St. John 27 Verse*, "*Peace I leave with you; my peace I give unto you, not as the world giveth, give I unto you; let not your hearts be troubled.*" Returned home to dinner in a Coach hired to bring away a travelling trunk. Passed the P.M. and evening at lodgings.

Monday 5. Fine pleasant clear morn; at 6 o'clock departed from my lodgings at No. 23 Brompton row having bid an eternal farewell to the most disagreeable house and company it was ever my ill lot to be cursed with and attended by my companion and Mr. Chipman in a coach with baggage arrived soon at the Green man stile and hog, corner of Swallow Street, Oxford Street, dropt the latter to proceed to his fellow passengers in the city of Gravesend to go on board a ship bound to N. York with 15 or 20 Americans. He took his leave of me with a full heart. After waiting 1½ hours, the Diligence at length came to the door; having first sent off our baggage in the Coach there we found a late Oxford Scholar, who proved a pleasant, chatty, well bred Companion; the road for the first 6 or 8 miles as far as Acton clear, level, strait and pleasant as a garden gravel walk. From thence it assumed a different face, and from Uxbridge to Oxford especially through Buckinghamshire generally a rich soil, well improved lands, a very dirty road and full of rutts. The other Towns lying on the road were Beaconsfield, and high Wycomb, in the latter lay Lord Shelburne's Seat; pleasure grounds and park all in view, a little beyond, is Lord Dispenser's, much more cultivated, and in better order. On the right and on an Eminence stands an Edifice styled the Mausoleum, of a peculiar construction but the inclination of my fellow

3. A letter to Joseph Bretland introducing the bearer "Mr. Deblois," though not specifying which Deblois, who sought a place for the education of his two sons near Exeter.

travellers permitted me not to take a nearer or more distinct view than the transient sight as we passed the roads. From thence through a parish called Stokin Church, and roads execrably bad, we arrived at the Star Inn, Oxford at 5 o'clock, not having stopped to refresh, here called for dinner and engaged lodgings. After this our Companion paid us the compliment of an invitation to the concert, but being dirty we declined; he leaving us, we passed a [pleasant?] evening, supped, (as custom required) and at 10 o'clock retired.

Tuesday 6. Morning rainy, rose at 8 o'clock, unpacked my trunk, shaved, dressed, breakfasted and walkt out to deliver Dr. Chandler's letter to a Gentleman, say Fellow, of *Queen's colledge* named Monkhouse, who received us respectfully enough, detained us in his room an hour, and from thence conducted us through the hall, chappell, and Library of his own College, and after settling the route, advised to buy an Oxford guide, describing the Colleges and their Curiosities, in order to remind him of what his memory could not furnish. From hence to the *theatre*, *Radcliffe Library*, *Clarendon press*, and the *Schools*; a compleat description being to be found in the said Oxford Guide to which I refer. After repeated invitations to dine in their hall, we declined for the purpose of examining the guide in our retirement; he promising to attend us again at 5 o'clock we separated, and proceeded to deliver a letter from Gilbert and Lewis Deblois to their uncle, father to G.D.⁴ of Salem, received by my partner, he is the Barber to Jesus College. Him we took after dinner before the time of our friends appointment to attend, to give us a peep into *Lincoln, Exeter, Baliol, Trinity*. The gardens of the latter through which we walkt, were very pleasant and from thence to *Jesus Colledge*; into the Hall of this Colledge we were admitted, and to a sight of the plate, among others, is a bowl and Ladle of silver double gilt, weighing 300 ounces, and holds 10 gallons, the gift of Sir Watkins Williams Wynne out of which we drank, to oblige our attendant, very excellent Cyder. Here is also a book of the College Statutes and Common Prayer wrote in Vellum and kept in a glass case, the characters as perfect and just as if struck on copper plate.

From hence we retreated to our lodgings, drank a dish of tea; soon after, our companion Mr. Monkhouse came and conducted us through the *Radcliffe Infirmary*, open to all the nation, and filled with every

4. George Deblois (1710-1799), merchant of Salem, born in Oxford; fled to Nova Scotia in 1776 and thence to England by way of New York early in 1777.

conceivable accomodation and supply, and kept in the neatest order. From thence to *the Observatory*, and from thence to *the Park* being a long circular laid gravel walk round improved fields, part of it is bordered by lofty elms, its high situation affords a fine extended prospect of the country under high cultivation, part of City on the other side adds to the pleasure of the walk. The grounds belong to Merton College but the walks are maintained at the University expence and common to it. On our return back we met 2 Gownsmen both of our College one of whom was a Dr. Nicholson, mentioned in the Superscription of our letter, with whom and a Mr. Hamilton (a partner in the printing of Oxford Bibles and prayer books, the sole liberty of which is confined to the two universities and the Kings press) and a few Gentlemen beside, supping on lobsters, salmon &c., drinking wine ale and punch in the common room, all the colleges being furnished with such.

Wednesday 7. Breakfasted by invitation at Mr. Deblois and after returned to our lodgings to which Mr. Monkhouse soon came, and conducted us to *the divinity school* having a most curious roof of stone, and in as bold a style as Kings College Chappell Cambridge. From thence returned back into the *Convocation room* staying some time in hopes to see a baccalaureate degree given to one of the students of Queen's College but the difficulty of making a Convocation delayed the ceremony too long for our leisure, by this delay I was deprived of a sight I should have been greatly pleased with; and here we spent some time looking into the statute book and libro nigro; in the anteroom I saw the Vice Chancellor in his robes and the two proctors, waiting for the completing a convocation, (consisting of twelve at least). From hence we ascended to *the picture gallery*, and from thence to *the Bodleian Library*, not coming up to my Idea; tis an old room, its form an H, there are many recesses with lattice work surrounded in which the students retire to read, transcribe &c., seeing but few employed in that business. From hence we passed over to *the Ashmolean Museum*; here we were entertained but indifferently; save a few artists they are what I have repeatedly viewed in better order. In the staircase is a dead Christ of Carrachi and the Tradescant family by what hands I know not, in the room a small miniature of St. Cuthbert in a gold gorget said to have been worn by Alfred the great; some very nice frivolous carvings on peach stones, cherries &c. The hat Bradshaw is said to have had on when he sat in judgment, and

condemned King Charles I, the skull of Cromwell; said to be known by a small excrescence in the bone just above the eye; a very large magnet that will suspend a weight of 150 lbs. &c. &c. &c.

Retreated to the Inn, dined and being attended by G. Debloises Father I walkt to *Christ Church Colledge* the most noble pile of any in the University, entered the picture rooms over which is the Library crowded by paintings of the most celebrated performers being the gift of the late General Guise, for the reception of which these rooms were fitted. Above is the library of very fine bound books placed in a most elegant room of the largest size, near 200 feet in length 50 or 60 feet wide and 25 feet high, the ceiling finely stuccoed as well as the walls in each kind of relief in oval and other figured compartments. The books are in cases of oak handsomely carved and many seats in the same style. The hall, into which I entered whilst some of the students were at dinner, is a noble room of the length to appearance of the Library and wider, the ceiling is of oak supported from above and in the Center of each square Compartment into which it is laid, is a gilt rose; the walls in a line on each side filled with portraits, on the ends with full lengths; none of them I remember but Lord Mansfields over the Door in his judges robes. Here I was accosted by a well bred sensible young Student with whom I held a conversation of a ½ hour. Leaving him I departed passing through the walks belonging to this College, of a mile in length bordered on each side, for a part of the way, by lofty trees, rendering it most delightful. Our next delay was at *Corpus Christi*, into the chappell of which I just peeped; and from thence into *Oriel*, both of these are small foundations.

Arriving at the Inn I dismissed my Attendant and found my companion drowsing; my entering awaked him and we soon departed from hence being called upon, according to promise, by Mr. Monkhouse, with whom we went to *the Schools*. In two apartments the Arundelian marbles so called, (a collection of statues presented to the University by the Countess of Pembroke, a catalogue of which is in the New Oxford Guide) are kept. These are a collection of statues larger, as large and smaller than the life, Busts, Bass and other reliefs, and inscriptions in Greek, and latin characters, respecting persons and events mentioned in their days. From hence we adjourned to *All Souls College*. The house for the reception of these books was built by Colonel Codrington formerly a member of this house, whose statue in White Marble stands in the center of the room, a noble one indeed. The ceiling and walls finely and elegantly stuccoed; the books

very numerous stand in beautiful cases, the dun colour of the paint with which it is covered rendering it less airy and pleasant than Christ Church Library. A fund producing 200 £ a year in the hands of the trustees is allotted for the increasing it; by this provision it will in time become the largest, and, if due care be taken, the best furnished of any in the University, if it be not already. From hence we adjourned to the chappell, a most beautiful room, over the Altar stands a masterly performance by a Mr. Minkes,⁵ the Spanish King's painter, of Christ making himself known to Mary Magdalen in the garden just at the point of time when she having said to him "if thou be the Gardner, and thou hast taken him hence, tell me where thou hast laid him." He replied "Mary"; she turning about, discovered it was the Lord, this filling her with surprize, admiration, love, a mixture of all these various passions are finely expressed in her countenance and in his, self composure, dignity, meekness. The sight of this picture so much applauded by all the world as our conductor told us, pleased or seemed to please my romish companion's taste, to recommend which he broke out into a most passionate expression of Admiration (tis a most pittorous one, alluding to a word he had heard me, on more than one occasion use, I presume however more properly applied and more properly pronounced, being the word picturesque) which expression you may be sure did not detain me longer for on that spot in this place I was introduced to Dr. Leigh of Baliol College who was elected 1727 or 28 and is now a sprightly active little old gentleman of near 86. Over this in a semi circular compartment are many full lengths, being the Founder Henry Chichely. He is dressed in rich robes, his eyes raised upwards, attended by Angels.

From this pleasing spot we proceeded to *Christ Church College* in Peckwater Square meeting Sir Francis Barnard with a son now educating also, we entered Church, told by our attendant to be almost the only remains of a public building yet remaining in the Norman style, supposed to have been standing 8 or 900 years and was anciently an Abby Church, dedicated to St. Frideside, whose tomb is yet standing. Here we were shown several peices of richly embossed double gilt plate some of which were dug from the ruins of Oshey Abbey where they had been lying for ages; the old Abbey distant from hence about 7 or 8 miles has been removed to this spot.

5. Raphael Antonio Mengs (1728-1779), German painter who received three hundred guineas for this painting. He was painter to Charles III of Spain. R. Ackerman, *The History of The University of Oxford*, 2 vols. (London, 1814), 2:221.

Passed the evening as the last in the same common room and with the same company with the addition of one or two more, hearing many sarcastic speeches concerning our follies and absurdities; but every country has its characteristic ones, and that comforts me under the but too just ridicule my poor deluded Countrymen are loaded with.

Thursday 8. Clear, moderate pleasant morning. Dressed, breakfasted and took our preventive farewell of Gilbert Deblois' father and family. Walking out in order to take our last leave of Mr. Monkhouse, whom we met, and was conducted by him into *New College* and its pleasant gardens, and back to the Inn, making our acknowledgements we took leave and soon Entering the post chaise already engaged, departed for Woodstock, distance from hence 6 miles, and through very dirty roads in one hour and a quarter was set down at the Bear Inn; having on hand an hour or two we passed it in loitering through the Town, and into the shops of the polished steel workers, for which manufacture this town is noted.

At three o'clock the hour appointed for viewing Blenheim house we walkt forth proceeding to the park gate, about $\frac{1}{4}$ mile from Inn an enormous big portal in the Triumphal style, with an Inscription cut in the List importing by whom, and when it was erected; from hence one hath an oblique view of that enormous load of building called Blenheim house, the first sight of which reminded me of that sarcastic couplet on the Architect, by the poets leave for the present occasion I write

Lie heavy on him Earth, for he
has laid a cumbrous pile on thee,
(laid many a heavy load on thee).

The near approach did not fail to add to the disgust I first received; the huge piles that sustain the Arcades, the almost unspannable pillars, and the bigness and clumsiness of its outside appearance was fully recompensed by the elegance and grandeur of the rooms, the beauty of the Tapestry and the Capital paintings with which the apartments are filled. The saloon is a noble one, the library a grandeur and elegance inexpressible.

From this famed Edifice we returned the same way by which we entered and took a post chaise and rode cross the Country in an

execrable road to Bicester through fields and private grounds, passing gates &c., the soil generally light and barren, few fields of grain, chiefly uninclosed heaths for sheep walks. This town has no manufactures, wood scarce, and coals extreamly dear ($2/2$ a bushell); it abounds in houses for the sale of spiritous liquors, meeting in our ramble with not less than a score; the looks of the houses and inhabitants not seeming much profit if the sale be confined to them only. Here is one episcopal and one dissenting place of worship; the Kings arms where we lodged was the most magnificent Edifice in the whole.

Friday 9. Arose early and departed in a post chaise, through extream bad roads, for Buckinghamshire, alighting at Lord Temple's arms; here we breakfasted, and took a post chaise for Stow Gardens, passing for a mile over a strait level road through Lord George Germaines grounds adjoyning to the gardens on the borders of which and facing the road stands a light, lofty triumphal arch, leaving this on our left we proceeded to the Inn, and from thence to the gate, being admitted at half after 11 o'clock and came out about half after 2 it taking us just two hours in going through the gardens and house, the front of which is built in a more pleasing style by far than Blenheim, not however to be compared to it in extent and compass; these gardens are not to be watched for grandeur, variety and taste in England perhaps the world, they are capable of amusing for a much longer time than I could allot, being viewed by me currente pede. Having traversed these pleasure grounds called in the present language, gardens, half through we arrived at the house the front of which has a noble and airy appearance; ascending a lofty flight of steps of 3 landings we saw an elderly person sitting on a settee in half mourning, by the front door under the portico supported by large lofty pillars of the Corinthian order; approaching nearer I espied a star on his right breast, by which I recognized it to be the Earl Temple. Pulling off my hat I was going to retire, when he put his hand to his, and beckoning with the other to approach which we did and entered the great hall yet unfinished, the whole front having been lately taken down. The outside is finished but within is yet in hand, many of the rooms are in disorder though enough to manifest the elegance and grandeur of the owners taste and riches. From hence we reassumed our survey of the remaining part of the Gardens, the description is to be found in the New Oxford Guide that I intend shall accompany this Volume.

From hence we set forward passing through my Lords grounds,

being a length of 4 or 5 miles, and Whittlebury forest belonging to the estate of Duke of Grafton called Easton, which with the other grounds we passed, till our arrival at the turnpike road, were insufferably bad, besides being delayed by a multitude of gates, for which purpose we brought a young lad to open them. The appearance of the earth, in this stage was greatly altered for the better, being diversified into hills and dales under better cultivation, and the nature of the soil more fertile. The fences for many miles were of rails, such as are frequent in our own Country intended to defend the young live hedges just set out, inclosures here just beginning to take place.

At 4 o'clock we alighted at the Saracen's head Towcester; here we abode no longer than to dine and taking another post chaise departed for Daventry, passing through a Village, called, as our Driver informed, Lousy-Whadon, why, I am not wise enough to conceive, the lands are good, and the improvements and farms bespeak care and good husbandry. In a rainy P.M. after 2½ hours arrived at the Wheat Sheaff; finding the London Stage Coach did not stop here, I soon departed to inquire at the Saracen's head, where it did stop to take fresh horses; and on the Masters promise to [arrange?] if 2 places were vacant, he would engage them for me, passed the evening in our own inn, supped as custom demands and lodged.

Saturday 10. Arising early I left my inn to make further inquiry and was told I should have timely notice, and in a short time a messenger acquainted me the Coach was arrived, and had two vacant places, and would depart soon. Hereupon we took up our baggage and left the inn, proceeding to the stage, and after a short delay set off for Coventry, passing through a finely improved fertile country, and in three hours alighted at ——— Inn, on a common just without the City.

A regiment of horse called the Inniskilliners were reviewing a body of stout likely men, dressed in red turned up with buff, and exceedingly well mounted. This is an old built city, noted for the ribbon weaving business. Here we were delayed some time, took fresh horses.

Our road lay over a new canal or cut between Oxford and the last mentioned city, designed for the more cheap and expeditious conveyance of Coals that these parts abound in, by which the former will be supplied at a rate of less than one half of its present price, by way of the Thames for London, the price now being three guineas, but in future when that work shall be compleated, 'tis said will be [offered?] at 27/. The fuel in the neighbouring Towns at Bicester, Buckingham

&c. is extreemly scarce and dear; as a proof our fire during the short evening of 2 hours were charged at 1/, in the bill. In our road lay a Village called Dunchurch, a little beyond is a long terrass road raised above the level nearly three feet and is continued for more than two miles almost in a straight line, and bordered on each side by evergreens and elms, planted by the Lord of the Royalty, through whose lands it runs; rendering it inexpressibly pleasing to the eye of the traveller.

From Coventry to Birmingham we met, passed, and were delayed by scores of waggons bound from Hence, laden with goods, coals, &c., and at 4 o'clock alighted at the Dolphin inn Birmingham, in the street called the Bullring, kept by a Mr. Jukes; being almost famished with hunger, we soon ordered a couple of chickens and Sparagrass which with a pound of excellent cold roast beef and a tankard of choice Worcester cyder we allayed the clamours of our stomachs, and rested congratulating each other at our safe arrival at the first port, where we propose to drop anchor for 10 days or a fortnight, after a wearisome expensive circuit of 150 miles. Our Landlord and Landlady going to visit their little gardens, wherewith the environs of this populous town abound, we joyned them, taking the cold and hot baths in our way, and passing a terrass walk between two rivulets running parallel to each other in streams of a contrary direction one bending its way to and the other from the town, their streams not however put asunder.

After our return we had our baggage conveyed to the new lodgings at No. 20 Moor street the Mistress's name Shackle, where I met my old friend meaning former acquaintance Mason, a fellow boarder. This was procured for us by the Inn keepers wife, our weekly allowance or expence for breakfast of tea and dinner is 10/6.

Sunday 11. Pleasant clear day within till 6 o'clock evening, I went accompanied by Mr. M[ason] to the new Meeting House lecture by Mr. Blyth, the minister preacher from 2d Chap. *Titus 11, 12 V*, "*For the grace of God hath appeared to all men teaching us that denying ungodliness and worldly lusts we should live righteously soberly and Godlily in this present world.*" From whence we fetched a walk through Dale and to Doddington and so home, whence we passed the remainder of the evening.

Monday 12. After breakfast and accompanied by Mr. Mason we visited Mr. Lakin and his Werthy Daughter Nancy, from thence

through various parts of the Town calling at a Mr. Bottely a steel watchchain maker; buying each a chain, finishing the circuit by calling in at the Posts, bell street to read the London news of the latest date; to no purpose however, a young man present choosing to engross all to himself by not suffering the paper to go out of his hand. After dinner walkt out with a fellow lodger to the Navigation house and in returning stopped into Mr. Bache's laboratory, wherein he exhibited the Experiment of impregnating water with fixed air taken out of Chalk by pouring into a close receiver which greatly altered the taste of the water giving it a sour taste; by another experiment he showed the various effects of it with respect to respiration, nay the impossibility of respiring long in it, by its putting out the flame of a candle, &c. the nitrous air rather enlivens the flame. From thence we departed and returned to lodgings drinking tea and passing the evening by ourselves; Mr. Mason taking his leave for this time at 10 o'clock I retired to rest.

Tuesday 13. Cloudy and rain, within till 12 o'clock, writing and examining my trunk. Being called upon by Mr. G. Russell we set off on foot for his house at Mosely Wakegreen, having been invited the Sunday before to dinner as on this day; our Company was his Brother and Lady and Sister with their children; at 8 o'clock we took our leaves after repeated solicitations to stay and take abed, arrived at home in a drizzle after 9 o'clock.

Wednesday 14. A fine clear morn, wind at W.; took a strole to Deritend alone, stopped into an ostler's shop, continued my walk till I arrived at Mr. Lakins, where I had the pleasure of an half hour's chat with Nancy, from whence being called upon by Mr. G. Russell and his partner Smith's son and accompanied by the latter, the former being engaged in business, we took the rounds and entered Mr. Rynland the pinmaker's works, from thence into the buttonmakers, Mr. Westwood the copper plate ——— Mr. Smith the brass founder, Mr. May the Whip maker and Lloyd's flatting and slitting mills which just brought us to the hour of dinner, abode within all P.M. and evening, it being raw and drisly, my Companion absent.

Thursday 15 May. Cloudy and at times drisly. Air raw and unpleasant, wind S.E. Agreeable to invitation my Companion and myself walkt to Mr. Lakin and dined, passed the P.M. and drank tea; took leave of Nancy.

Friday 16. Morn rainy, and raw; took a dose of salts for a costiveness that depressed my spirits to an uncommon degree, dined at Mr. Smiths in Moor street, passed the P.M. and drank tea. Returned home at 6 o'clock, attempted to walk but the freshness of the air discouraged me.

Saturday 17. Clear pleasant morn, waited on Mr. Wilkinson, at his house but he was absent, left my compliments and afterwards walkt with my Companion to the Locks on the Canal, saw several boats go through, an amusing sight to him, he had never seen before. Returned to our Lodgings at 2 o'clock, passed the P.M. at home and the evening by Nancy Lakins invitation at her father's house in company with young Parson Bing of ——— who is to preach tomorrow at the old Meeting House, her uncle Mason and Brother.

Sunday 18. Cold raw morn, drisly, in A.M. at St. Martyrs Church, Whitsunday, the Rector, a Mr. Parsons preached from *14 Chap. St. John 16 verse*, "*And I will pray the Father and he shall give you another comforter, that he may abide with you for ever.*" In the P.M. at Old Meeting House Mr. Bing preached from *39 Chap. Gen. 9 Verse*, "*how then can I do this great wickedness, and sin against God.*"

Monday 19. Pleasant clear morn, mild air. Having engaged horses the night before, at 8 o'clock, booted and spurred we each mounted our Rosinante and departed for the Leasowes late pleasure grounds of the famed Shenstone, and Hagley the estate of Lord Lyttleton the former distant 6 miles the latter 11 miles lying in the same road.

Here we arrived about 11 o'clock passing through a town called Hales Owen of a considerable extent and by its appearance in the same way of business as Birmingham, the Houses the same dusky dark colour from the smoak of the furnaces and shops. Here being many nailers &c. in and about the place; attended by the Gardner in the absense of the Parkkeeper we walkt over my Lord's grounds, almost in the center of which stands Hagley parish church, a small building in a shady recess, passing this we ascended an eminence. On a plain surrounded on all sides but in front with lofty trees stands a pillar with the statue of the late Prince of Wales (and dedicated to his memory by the late Lord, who was one of the princes household and one of his favourites) commanding a slooping view of a pleasant lawn bounded by the Mansion house, a large oblong Edifice of 2

stories with an attic, a low 4 square tower on each corner having a flat roof terminating in a point at the top with a fane of 3 feet high. The outside of the house is plain and void of much ornament, over the lawns are planted clumps of trees with which the views are diversified. From the heights in narrow channels run many small streams, one discharging itself into a pool filled with trout &c.; over this is thrown a bridge and an alcove. Over the grounds containing in extent four 100 acres are many natural wildernesses, the trees planted so artificially as to yield an appearance hardly to be distinguished from nature a little improved; here are to be seen pillars urns, rotunda's alcoves, field seats judiciously disposed, amongst others an urn dedicated to the Memory of Alexander Pope,⁶ on which is an inscription savouring of flattery. Through these we passed to an eminence, on one edge stands an Edifice raised by the late Lord, no improvements having been made by this, in imitation of an old Barons castle in ruins; tis a square, each angle covered with a round tower, one only perfect, crowned with battlements about 4 feet above the Leads rising 63 from the plain of the summit from whence may be seen, on one quarter and at a very small distance the Clint Hill, of which this eminence is a part, the summit of the former being more than an 100 yards higher and of a considerable length. Here we also saw the Clay hill; the Malvern ridge of hills; the Wrekin in Shropshire, and in a fair day the Plinlinson in Radnor, at a distance of 70 miles; but the air was unfavourable. From hence we descended crossing the lawn, and declined entering the house, not remarkable for very elegant rooms, furniture, tapestry or paintings, and after Blenheim would have had but a lean and indifferent aspect. The shrubbery on a small scale is neat, prettily designed, and in good order, the kitchens, flour gardens, greenhouses &c. are indifferently furnished and much inferior in point of extent, variety, or supply to many I have seen.

Returning by the way we went at 1 o'clock, alighted at the Golden-cross, Hales Owen; recommended as the best house, and indeed if it be, indifferent is the best, entertainment here. We were, however furnished with a room by our selves, found a table ready laid, with a plumb bread pudding, boiled veal, bacon and cabbage, and a piece of

6. Alexander Pope was a friend of the first Lord Lyttleton and bequeathed to him four busts of Spenser, Shakespeare, Milton, and Dryden, which had been given to him by Frederick, Prince of Wales. These, together with one of Jonathan Richardson's famous portraits of Pope were in Hagley Hall when Curwen was there (and still are) but he did not enter the house. William K. Wimsatt, *The Portraits of Alexander Pope* (New Haven and London, 1965), pp. 85-88.

cold beef with a mugg of good sprightly Cyder; on these having fed and refreshed ourselves we soon departed.

On this day was held a fair in this town. Seeing a large multitude collected I would fain have mixed with the people but the curiosity of my Companion not prompting him, and my fatigue by an execrable hard trotter rendering me indisposed to needless exercise prevented our seeing the humours of this part of the Country, which in these holidays abound every where through the kingdom.

In passing the road a few furlongs before we arrived at the town about an Inn were collected 2 companys of tradesmen with black rods 6 feet in length crowned with brass tops like those of chamber Andirons. These companys assemble at certain times, are under certain rules, having officers chosen half yearly, and a public box, supplying a fund to be employed in maintaining the sick, blind, wounded and disabled, and finally burying the member and his wife; expulsions happen in some cases by which he or they so treated are deprived of all future emoluments. Their regulations if properly attended to, have an happy tendency to promote amongst the labouring handicrafts men of which class the company's consist cleanliness, sociability, good manners, order, and regularity. The road to Hagley in general is though level but tolerable, the views inexpressibly pleasing and delightful.

At 2 o'clock with weary and slow steps leading our hardtrotting horses by the bridle over dirty roads of a mile in length we arrived at the Leasowes, now in the possession of a Squire Horne. Attended by a Gardner we attempted, I with a reluctant mind on account of my soreness and fatigue, to follow with *unequal pace*, entring through whats called the priory Gate, a gateway and arch formed by old stumps and moss through a serpentine walk on a shady bank of a stream running through a craggy wild bottom to the pool now emptied of its water in order to enlarge its banks, supplied also by another meandering stream, on the sides of which, and amongst the trees are judiciously placed statues, urns, and resting seats; from each of which appears most agreeable and diverting objects, varied from each other in every remove, of hills, dales, streams, houses, clumps, rows, and forests of trees, on lands in high cultivation. The closing scene was a natural perspective view of a charming cascade running in various directions, the whole almost the eye could trace, through bending live oaks and osiers, from a spot whereon is placed an Urn inscribed to Virgil, and called his grotto or recess.

From hence I hasted as fast as my weary legs could carry me to the Mossy bower or grotto where resting till the servant brought my horse I reluctantly mounted and in 1 hour arrived wearied fatigued and torn, to my lodgings about 8 o'clock evening, fully determined no more to employ a solid grave horse that would not travel more than 5 miles an hour, choosing hereafter rather to trust to my horsemanship, than destroy all my pleasure in riding a jaded worn out beast that with great difficulty could be driven by whip and spur over the space beforementioned.

Thursday 20. Cloudy dull morn, drisly. Walkt out to Mr. G. Russell's by appointment to breakfast, and pass the day. In our walk Mr. Russell who rode to Town another way missed us from his house. After taking a breakfast of bread and milk I proceeded to a Mr. Onions, in order to have a sight of his Auriculas and polyanthuses, of which he has a great plenty, and of the finest hues and stripes. This we accomplished after taking for want of proper information, a tedious round of more than a mile and half extra, and in a drisle returned back through the fields till in the turnpike road about a mile from Town meeting Mr. G. Russell on horseback he solicited our return back to his house having some company to dine with us he had asked on the occasion, dined, passed P.M. and drank tea, Mr. Leasowes and his son our Companion. On my return to the house Mrs. Russell came in almost offended at my returning to town, fully expecting us to pass the day as invited. By good luck and her goodness of heart my mistake was excused, and we passed the remainder of the time agreeably. Returned on foot to Lodgings before 9 o'clock eve.

Wednesday 21. Cloudy, raw. Within. Alone all A.M. writing. After dinner took a walk round the town.

Thursday 22. Morn cloudy, at times drisly, about noon sun broke out; on this day a fair begins in this town, proclaimed by the officers, vizt., low Bailiff, high ditto, constable, Deputy ditto, constables, Wardens &c. in procession; beginning at 11 o'clock, their stations at which proclamation is made, one at Beast market, pig Ditto, sheep Ditto and Bull ring, the streets are crouded; many people come in from the Country; it is rather a day of Jollity than business; and the ensuing evening ends in riot, debauchery, and drunkenness. I am told the low Bailiff is the first Officer in Dignity and by custom is chosen from

the dissenters. He nominates the Jury who appoints the Constables, presides in the Courts leet, gives a yearly feast, and has no further concern in town affairs; his service continues a year. The high Constable inspects the markets, is chosen for life and by the Lord Lieutenant of the County. The high Constable is a churchman, is lower in dignity, has [3 lines blank]. After dinner, my Companion being gone out, I took a solitary walk to the Hospital and entered; it remains unfinished and uninhabited, was erected some years since, for want of a fund. 'Tis said some subscriptions have been made of late in order to finish it. The building is of brick and consists of two wings in the form of a long | |, the middle, 36 of my paces, the former in length 30. It has four upright stories besides one below the surface, the first on the ground is distributed into offices; the ascent to the 2d by a flight of wide stone steps, [1 word erased] each wing is, the sick wards, and on either hand are offices, and the chappell, the next story except with regard the latter or chappell is allotted to same purposes, the rooms are 12 feet in height save the underground story. From this place I returned home through the multitude, and there abode till after tea. My Companion and I finished the day by a circuitous walk round the town, and passed the evening as usual over a mugg of good nappy ale.

Friday 23d. Morn cloudy, wind Sly. Agreeable to an invitation of yesterday, after visiting Mr. Clay's papier marchee manufactory, Mr. Mason and myself on foot arrived at 10 o'clock at Mr. George Russell's house on Mosely wake green to dinner being the third invitation since my short abode here, passing a pleasant cheerful P.M., drank tea, at 8 o'clock repaired to our lodgings which in $\frac{1}{4}$ hour we reached.

Saturday 24. Morn fine, A.M. cloudy, air mild, and agreeable. Walkt out to Soho, so called, being Bolton and Fothergills manufactory house and works and gardens, the nature of the ground capable of improvement in an high degree, they already consist of gravel walks in the serpentine form, shrubbery, flower borders, ponds of water, an occasional cascade &c. &c., running down a narrow pebbled oval over a slope some length and emptying itself in a pond below making 2 artificial ponds. Returned home by dinner, took an P.M. ramble with my Companion to Ashton park and Church, about 2 miles distance. The lands hereabouts yield a most pleasing view, the richness and fertility of the soil and the high cultivation they are in almost ravished my Companion. The Park now in possession of Lady Holt is surrounded

with a lofty brick wall, appears to be kept in nice order, and is agreeably diversified by rows of trees, single ones, and clumps here and there, planted with many large spots of clear Lawns, the House is of Brick, built in the old Gothic style, very large, having on its top battlements and round turrets [*3 lines scratched out*], the Church standing on the Land and adjoining to the avenues of the Mansion house of Sir Charles Holts estate is remarkable for the smallness of the building and the loftiness of the tower and spire. It has a fine ring of bells, 3 of the largest I saw were [cast] last summer in London, by the same Founder who cast our new Meeting House bell in Salem. Returned back to Lodgings not a little fatigued. Passed the Evening at home with my Companion consulting about our future.

Sunday 25. Mild and pleasant air; clear. Attended worship at New Meeting House, a Mr. Wathington of —— preached from *3 Ep. St. John 11 V.*, "*Beloved, follow not that which is evil, but that which is good, he that doeth good is of God; but he that doeth evil hath not seen God.*" In the P.M. at same place Mr. Blythe the Minister preached; at 6 o'clock attended the lecture Mr. Hawkes preached from *20 Mathew 23 V.* "*but to sit upon the right hand is not mine to give, but to them for whom it is prepared for my Father in Heaven.*" Passed the evening at lodgings.

Monday 26. Fine pleasant morn. A 9 o'clock departed from our lodgings in a post chaise engaged the night before at the Dolphin Inn, after taking leave of Mr. Lakin and his daughter at whose house we stopped for a few minutes and then proceeded on our journey to Sheffield; our first intended stage being the City of Litchfield, a distance of 16 miles; the road for the greater part is level and sandy, the lands within sight of the traveller heathy, barren, and unclosed, chiefly improved in [*1 word*] sheep, of which however we saw but two flocks; in the stage passed through one village, its name unknown, and one town named —— many reputable, well built, houses in a paved street, of which I fancy it only consists, has a large church, and in the midst of the street a brick market house standing on arches; the lower part used for that purpose, and the upper as a town hall. This place is a corporation and enjoys some peculiar franchises and privileges; of these, one is the right of determining capital causes within its district. In this street, being their Fair day, we passed through multitudes of people and large herds of horned cattle and horses.

From thence to Litchfield is 9 miles, the roads and lands mostly like that we had passed, level, and of a light soil, interspersed with here and there a fertile well improved spot and just without the City and in a field adjoining, we saw for the first time the English Militia; the men were very likely as well accoutered and equipped as the King's troops, and much cleaner and better dressed and as spruce as a country lass tricked out for a fair in her holiday suits.

On our arrival at the George Inn, dismissing our former chaise we engaged another with fresh horses for Burton. Bespoke a dinner of veal cutlets, cold ham and greens. Whilst getting ready we walkt forth to view the City and Cathedral, the former is of a moderate size, I should judge and by its extent the number of its inhabitants could not exceed 8 or 9 thousand, the houses mostly in the old style, not many shops, nor much appearance of business, however there are some very good houses and in the modern taste. The latter is a venerable old pile, in a list round the western part stands in a mutilated condition many statues, being defaced as some of its inside ornaments were, by the zealots of Cromwell's party in the unhappy times of Charles I. There is scarce anything remarkable within except a very curiously wrought screne in stone separating the altar from the Chappell of the ten Virgins to which it was dedicated and where prayers at 6 o'clock in the morning are daily said. The niches on which the Virgins stood, yet remain unfilled, ever since their ejection by the pious purgators in those times of confusion beforementioned. As another instance of their enthusiastic madness they broke to peices all the stained glass belonging to this church. Over the western door stands an inscription, wherein we are told this church was erected in 657 of the Christian era and was endowed by Offa in the Saxon times and by Henry II and Richard I since. In a flat tomb against the south wall lyes a Dean Haywood, many years since who fantastically attempting to imitate our Saviour in fasting 40 days died, after a trial of 14, a martyr to his folly; two statues one resembling him in his full bulk, and the other in his emaciated state remain as monuments to perpetuate his impious folly.

From this hasty survey we returned back to the Inn, dined, drank our friends success to our fatiguing journey, proving in Event the source of not a little disquietude and many severe trials of my patience and forebearance, and departing in a returned chaise for Burton to which place we arrived at $\frac{1}{2}$ hour after 3 o'clock over roads almost an entire level, as soft as a carpet ground, and in strait direction as far

as the eye could reach, and this continued for many miles. At the distance 8 miles from our last stage we passed the Trent near to where the great Staffordshire cut, or Canal joyning the Trent and Severn begins; crossing and recrossing it and travelling on its banks and within sight for many miles. This cut is carried over the small river Dove and many small streams that are conveyed under this cut, these streams emptying themselves form a stagnant water lying on the side of the canal for more than a mile and 6 or 8 feet lower than the water in the canal and are carried off by the arches under the bottom of the canal when they rise to a certain height; the rest continues dead and stagnant, the bottom of the canal being raised several feet above the level of the road I passed. On our left hand at 2 miles on the hither side of Burton is a fine seat and grounds belonging to a Lady Glasly.

We alighted at the Kings head in Burton, called for 2 potts of choice ale, from the town denominated Burton's ale, with which we regaled ourselves, my Companion adding his pipe of mild Virginia, which having dispatched and fresh horses put to, we remounted our former seat and took our departure for Derby. The roads in this stage were as pleasing as in the former, till within 2 or 3 miles of the town when the face of the Earth became more hilly and uneven not on that score less agreeable. Every 50 rods yielding, as it were, a new picture to the eyes, an advantage a level plain is without, at 6 o'clock we arrived at the George and Dragon Inn, Derby. After resting a short space and drinking a dish of tea, accompanied by my fellow travellers we rambled through the town, appearing to be of a considerable bigness having 4 episcopal churches; the capital one is called All Saints, a very handsome modern Edifice, built after a model of the late famous architect Gibbs with an old, but very finely decorated, Tower in the gothic style, and has stood above 230 years being erected in Henry VIII reign. Opposite to the east end on the other side the street is a beautiful low front of an Alms house scarce finished having been repaired, and part rebuilt by the Duke of Devonshire whose ancestors formerly erected them, after whose name they are called. The town is paved with small pebbles, some of its streets of a convenient width the rest narrow; having the inconvenience of a gutter to convey the water and filth in the middle of the town. This is a common circumstance in almost every paved town through the Kingdom. Here is a considerable square paved, serving as a parade for the military gentry, parties of which either for recruiting, or perhaps other government purposes, are posted in every city and great

town. One side is built on arches, forming a shelter for the inhabitants from the heat of the sun or inclemency of the weather. There is great appearance of trade, and indeed the silk mills, flatting and roling mills, and the Lead works, employ many hands, and make business brisk. Here are also many shops, both tradesmen and for merchandize, and for size and arrangement resembling those of London.

Passed the evening at the Inn, having, for customs sake, supped before we retired to rest.

Tuesday 27 May. Clear pleasant morn, wind at N.W. Accompanied by the master of the Inn who we had engaged the evening before, we walkt out to see the copper works in treating and flatting in the rolling mill of a construction very like, and on principles the same that lead is formed into sheets and iron into plates. From thence we proceeded to the famous silk mills and were told by the master workman of this house 97 thousand movements are set to work by one single large water wheel. The house is 200 feet long about 36 feet wide, has 5 floors, each filled with machines in rooms containing in one row 63 spindles; 5 or 6 children continually attending each row; the several rows are moved by a Cog wheel, communicating with the great ones and by lowering or raising a movable cog which is done with the slightest force, the spindles are either put in motion or stopt.

From thence we departed and made our next visit to the porcelain manufacture; the proprietor's wife complaisantly attended us through. The principal ingredient in this pottery is common flint stones reduced to an impalpable powder after being broken in a water mill; all the images are cast in very small parts at first, in the fancy and ornamental way; the useful, as teapots, tea cups, basons &c. are made of a paste as common earthenware into fire clay, and joyned together by hands as the head, the hands, the arms, body, thighs, legs &c., the molds are made of plaister of paris; in size they are bigger than the outside shell of a large nutt which they resemble and, like them, consist of 4 parts or quarters; the ornamental or fancy peices such as images, flowers &c. are formed by a clear liquor, of the colour of milk or cream and scarce so thick as the latter, poured into the molds; in less than 2 minutes by absorbing the liquor leaves a solid figure or part of a figure; this after it is dried is painted, gilded &c., and passes the fire 4 several times and if gilt undergoes a polishing to bring it to its lustre.

From this cursory survey we returned to our Inn, discharged the bill and departed for Lord Scarsdales seat called Kiddlestone, distant

from this town 4 miles. In $\frac{3}{4}$ hour arrived at the portal and Lodge, in the form of a triumphal arch built of stone; through this we were admitted into the park, observable for the greatest quantity of large white oaks and elms. About a mile from the entrance over a strait, clear carpet road we came to the lawn terminated by the house making a noble appearance. Passing a large handsome stone bridge, thrown over a fine stream made by art running in different directions, in three falls; one of these is under the bridge, being of a considerable height. Just above the bridge is formed an island almost covered with woods and having on it a building in the style of an hermit's retreat. On the lawn, on every side of the house, are large single oaks, also in many clumps and rows, which with the great herds of deer and horned cattle make a most picturesque view and may be seen from every part of the house. Its entrance is from a double flight of steps under a grand portico being formed by noble round pillars of the ——— order, supporting a pediment; having in front my Lord's arms and crowned on top with 3 female images erect, representing Plenty, Peace and Wisdom.⁷ The center, containing the great hall, and in the back front the saloon; the ceiling of the former is supported by 14 red veined alabaster fluted pillars of the corinthian order on each side, Its height 40 feet, 67 long, and 42 in width, the pannels of the Doors light, airy, papier marchee manufacture; the designs from greek and roman mythology; the flooring the most beautiful clear oak taken from my Lords forests, as the pillars are from his own quarrys and bear a most excellent polish. The wings are connected by circular corridors, and in each wing 21 rooms on a floor. They are elegantly finished and furnished. The state bedroom has very curiously carved posts, its furniture and hangings of the room of blew damask; my Ladys dressing plate the greatest in quantity of any I have see except the Queens and is of silver embossed and double gilt. My Lady was at home and remained to indulge us, as is customary among the great folks, with a sight of every part of the house, by a full length picture in the drawing room, she is an exquisitely fine figure and by the housekeepers character of as amiable a disposition as her figure denotes. The living of my Lord and Lady when in the Country is quite in the family way, as it was expressed to me. The eldest daughter of the Family going in a loose country dress to take a ramble over the lawn, on discovering us hastily retreated back, and disappeared. The house for an agreeable situation, elegance

7. William Adam's *The Gem of the Peak* (Derby, Eng., 1857), a fashionable guide-book of the time, describes these figures as "Venus, Bacchus and Ceres," p. 202.

and grandeur united, need not yield the preference to any in England; in my opinion some indeed for bulk, some in one instance, and some in others, may excel, but for taste, elegance, grandeur and agreeable views this in my opinion holds the first place of all I have seen.⁸

From this pleasing spot we departed for Ashbourn, (Saracens or blackamoors head is the best inn, here we put up), the first town on the peak; tis a Country town, has a market and an episcopal church, but remarkable for nothing that I could learn except its being a station for those whose curiosity brings them hither to view Dovedale, Islam Gardens, the residence of old Chaucer where strangers are shewn the very spot he wrote many of his peices in; a most curious holy family of Raphael's at a Gentleman's seat near this noted spot &c. &c., this by the misinformation of our hostess we lost the sight of. Having passed the P.M. in rambling about the Town, both of us being in a state of uncertainty what route to take or how to put ourselves into a great road from which we had deviated were in low spirits and unentertaining company for each other. Rising early we departed.

Wednesday 28. At 6 o'clock in a post chaise for Castleton a town situated near the mouth of what is called the Devil's Arse a peak, the road is over many bare and dreary hills, the whole country that is enclosed is by stone walls extreamly barren of trees, shrubbs or bush; many 100 acres together not having the appearance of either; the lots or divisions of Land much larger than is to be met with elsewhere, and scarce an house to be seen; being situated, I presume in bottoms, hid from the road. The sheep, of which there are many flocks, are small and distinguished from all others by a kind of ruff or ridge of long hair round the neck, making an uncommon appearance as they run. From the plain we descended into the town, lying in the bottom, in a road encompassing half the ridge of mountains, extending to a great length. From hence, this road in many places is very steep and in almost every step extreamly hazardous, and the accident of the horses stumbling, the harness breaking or the wheels coming off would throw one down a precipice, which nothing short of a miracle would preserve life or limbs from destruction or loss. The Tower of the church of an ordinary heigth when first discovered seemed to be many 100 feet beneath us.

8. This classical mansion, built from designs of Robert Adam in 1759-1765, was visited by Dr. Johnson with Boswell the September following Curwen's visit. Johnson commented that "It would do excellently for a town hall!"

Arriving at George Inn and taking a guide, who seasonably arrived with some Gentlemen whom he had just attended through the Cavern — with our said Guide and a small decanter of brandy, sett off from the Inn to visit this remarkable subterraneous or rather sub-mountainous pit and a most frightful one it is, called the Devils arse a peak, distance from hence being about 500 yards; the entrance is between two lofty eminences almost perpendicular or rather overhanging; of an heighth eighty seven yards, its appearance awfully great and terrifying; part is craggy and clothed with trees and shrubbs. The passage into this natural cave is under an arch 14 yards high and 40 wide, rising as one enters somewhat higher; within this first cave resides a woman of 37 years of age, who was born in an hut here, and has inhabited it ever since; besides hers, here are dwelling 2 more families and several of the townspeople, who daily resort here to labour in the twine spinning, in which business more than a score are daily employed. Light enough is admitted to do that and any common work; from the mouth to the farther end of this first cavern is 80 yards and from thence to the first water is 70 yards making in all 150. Over this water I was conveyed in a small boat, lying for the greater part, of 14 yards its length, on my back; the arch being too low to sit upright. The depth of the water is about $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet, which the guide whose name was Robert Dakin waded through, pushing the boat before him; my companion choosing me to explore these unknown regions, I first entered and he took the 2d passage whom I waited on the further shore to receive before I proceeded. At the further end of the first cave a good woman with ten or a dozen candles attended, to furnish each of us with one apeice; which having lighted each took one in his hands and proceeded, in Number 10 or 12. From the first water we walked one by one in a narrow path to another cavern, a distance of 90 yards, the width of this being 20 yards and 40 high. From hence at a small distance is the 2d water over which I was carried first on our guides back 10 yards, its depth perhaps a foot. My Companion next followed and the rest of the Attendants forded it on foot. Our next Stage was in a Cave called Roger Rains from a continual dropping through the rocks and earth, its distance not known nor found, from hence to the Chancel is 19 yards. The entrance to the grand cavern is under an arch, its height I know not, it could not however be short of 12 or 14 yards, the form a kind of hanging gallery; on the top stood seven singers, each having a lighted Candle in hand and entertained us with “fill fill the glasses”; the agreeable splendor of the lights reflected from

the vaulted roof and the grand echo charmed and pleased me beyond expression. On our return we were again saluted by this same Company with "God save the King." Over this gallery the arch rose to an heighth just to be seen. From hence we went forward to the Devil's cellar, of the origin of this name we could not be informed. There is nothing in its appearance hideous, nor from whence we could conjecture its name should arise. Here are cut in the stone many names but neither time nor curiosity prompted us to add ours. From hence we descended 50 yards on a road of firm sand, and from hence a path leads to the Cascade, so called from a constant stream of water falling over broken rocks to be heard at a considerable distance; the discharge is by a stream dividing itself into two channels crossing the cavern and continued under the hill at the bottom of which, at its opposite foot, or rather out of its side, it forms a small river. From hence to a place called the three regular arches, and from thence to a place called "No top" denominated from its top not being to be seen on account of its heighth, and from hence to the four regular arches, as regular as though formed by design, and from hence to Tom of Lincoln, so denominated from its resemblance to the top of a bell, and its Enormous magnitude; and from thence to the extremity of the Cavern distant from its mouth 750 yards. The level at the further end below the mouth was taken by Dr. Solander and Mr. Banks and is 250 yards; my fellow travellers want of Curiosity deprived me of a sight of it which I should gladly have climbed the hill to have obtained. The beautiful and charming appearance of the external light on our approach towards the first cave on our return back excited a most pleasing sensation.⁹ Over the cavern is an ancient fortification or encampment in the Roman manner. After discharging the customary dues for candles, the singers &c., through a croud of beggars who always attend strangers, at the mouth, on their return which we were cautioned to neglect, passed on to our Inn, where we dined and soon departed for Sheffield. At a few miles from our last stage we alighted to examine some men women and children in bringing earth charged with particles of lead to small basins in the ground filled with water in order to prepare it for smelting by cleansing it from Earth and stones. Nothing worth notice

9. The accuracy of Curwen's detailed accounts of his tours is borne out by his account of this cavern. Adam's description of the same spot visited eighty years later (*The Gem of the Peak*, p. 319 and throughout) mentions the cord-winders, the candles, having to lie down in the boat, Roger Rain's House, the natural arches, almost identical dimensions, and the extraordinary effect of the light upon returning from the recesses of the cavern.

happened the remainder of the road except a few craggy cliffs and a long lofty plain called Scaramore heath from whence Sheffield is to be seen through its whole length. Here were also a few Coal pits.

At Sheffield we arrived about 6 o'clock alighted at the George Inn, and drank tea; the beds being full, the Landlady procured us a lodging at a Mr. Rolliston house No. 11 King Street, where we were comfortably and agreeably entertained during our 3 days abode. The remainder of the P.M. spent in walking about the town.

Thursday 29. Very pleasant warm day. Walkt out and delivered my letter from Mr. George Russell of Birmingham to his correspondent a Mr. Broomhead, whose reception of us at first was cool, but his after demeanour and hospitality much more than counterbalanced the former; I rather imputed it to an honest bluntness and ignorance of form. He is a wealthy cutler whose principal business lay in the American line. Attended by him we walkt round the town to several branches, as rolling mills, grinding cutlery, white lead mills &c. &c.

Dined at home, and from thence in company with himself and two Brothers stroled amongst the multitude to the race ground called "Crooke's Moor," the numbers supposed to be full 20 thousand. From a lofty stand opposite to the grand stand, I had a full view of the race; four heats were run, the first by 7 horses, and so on, as by a printed list and note this appears. The plate a gilt cup of 70 £ was gained by a horse called "Why not" who on the two first heats was almost distanced. The humours of the race I had an opportunity of seeing in perfection; the different passions wherewith they were agitated, afforded me no small diversion; the horses were called by the names of the different riders who were differently clothed as pink, who at last won the plate, orange, scarlet, striped &c. &c. If in the course of 4 miles the distance run, and perhaps in 8 minutes an hindermost horse got the start of the former *a change*, *a change* ran through the ground, and was attended by a shout or shouts enough to break the drum of ones ear. The second out, won the stakes; the two last heats were run by 3 horses only, four after the 2d were drawn or gave up the contest. The plate given by subscription of the town, was carried by the Constable attended by the town Officers in their habits, and preceded by a flagg. On the ground were erected many stands and all filled; the last heat was scarcely over till 9 o'clock Evening.

On my return I was surprisingly accosted by a young Lady by [2 or 3 words] nor less delighted on finding it to be a Miss Magnalis of

Chesterfield who hearing my voice came after me, and taking me by my hand expressed her joy at seeing me. This young Lady was a neice of Mr. Wilkinson of Litchfield at whose house I had been most hospitably introduced and with whom I had during my former abode at Birmingham formed a most agreeable acquaintance. From her and her Brother an Inhabitant in Sheffield I received a pressing invitation to breakfast which I readily accepted, and after a very fine chat took my leave, and joyned my company, and passed the remainder of the evening at my friends house.

Friday May 30. Morn cloudy; with my companion we called on Mr. J. Broomhead who attended us to Mr. and Miss Magnalis lodgings to breakfast agreeable to my last nights engagement, passing a very sociable pleasant hour. From thence through the town to the Colliery so called, being a roadway from the Duke of Norfolks pitts to the yard in which its taken up into Carts and conveyed to the town. The descent is easy and by means of a spring, the Carts by a kind of self motion without horses under the guidance of a Man is conveyed for more than a mile. At the end or bottom of the way, the Carts are run on stages through which by tilting them the Contents are discharged.

After a view of this curious contrivance we retired homewards but meeting Mr. Aspden¹⁰ of Philadelphia a Gentleman we had dined with at Mr. Smith's in Birmingham a few days before we set out, renewed our slender acquaintance and making known to each other our further intended route agreed to joyn company and depart from Sheffield immediately after dinner. Leaving him and my Companion to take leave of Mr. Broomhead I went to his house and was pressed to stay to partake of his entertainment, that the accidental meeting with Mr. Aspden prevented, provided for us in case of our abode here till the morning; at 3 o'clock with the 2 beforementioned, a fine cherry cheekd lass and a Londoner, we left Sheffield and arrived at Black Barnsley through a most delightful though uneven road; distant from the Angel Inn Sheffield 14 miles. Here we took post chaises and in 2 hours alighted at Wakefield.

This is a clothing town wherein appears evident tokens of taste in building and wealth; the avenues to it are delightful, the roads like a carpet walk and on one side a raised terrass walk for foot passengers flagged for more than 2 miles; the lands hereabouts excellent, and

10. Matthias Aspden (1756?-1824), merchant of Philadelphia, loyalist; left for London in 1776; his properties confiscated and given to the University of the State of Pennsylvania in 1781. He died in London, leaving neither wife nor descendant, but a famous law suit to determine the succession to his property.

under the most improved cultivation. The Westgate Street has the noblest appearance of any I ever saw, its pavements in the best order, its length near $\frac{1}{2}$ mile, its width 10 or more rods. Were it not for some old low buildings London could not boast a more grand and magnificent street. It has a very large episcopal church with a remarkable lofty tower and spire. The novel called the "Vicar of Wakefield" was taken from the late Vicar of this church named Johnson whose peculiarly odd and singular humour has exposed his memory to the ridicule of that satyr.

Here we abode a couple of hours, drank tea, and rambled about the agreeable town, and from thence in a post chaise and fresh horses departed for Leeds through roads as delightful as fertile lands, and good husbandry can make them. Once for all, from Sheffield to Leeds the face of the Country is more pleasing, the lands in better improvement and more peopled than is to be seen in more than 20 Counties I have passed through in England. Alighted at the Old King's Arms in this place about 9 o'clock; here we supped and lodged.

Saturday 31. Having ordered a servant with Mr. Russell's and Curwen's compliments to *S. Elam* we waited breakfast; he soon came but declined to partake, having before taken his, but after conversation and an hearty welcome to this Town we walkt forth, accepted his invitation to dinner, passed the P.M. in his company, drank tea with him, and rambled about and to a Village called Armley to see a scribbling mill by which more wool is discharged at once than 10 hands can do; tis performed by an horse, its peculiar construction cant be described as it is not exposed to open view, it being a favour shewn to Mr. Elam on whose account we were favoured with a sight of it; too nice an inspection would have excited suspicion we were to avoid. The manufacturers of every kind through England are not pleased to admit strangers to a sight of the machines, and process of their business. From thence we returned back in company with Mr. Elam who invited us to dine next day; on the side of the canal, which for the first time is to be opened with some ceremony next Wednesday. No part of it has hitherto been used. Passed the evening at lodgings.

Sunday June 1. Moderate though cloudy morn. Attended worship at St. ——— but the Church, the preacher and the text I have forgot. Dined with Mr. Elam; passed the P.M. at his house and drank tea; after taking an agreeable walk to a Village called ——— about [2 words] we took our last leave of him and returned to the Inn. A Mr. [Sharp?]

passed an hour with us, and pressed our taking a breakfast with him. After some reluctance we agreed to, and soon retired to rest. The Town of Leeds is said to contain 10 thousand people, many well filled shops, and various trades. Its principal business is narrow and coarse woolen cloths, consigned to foreign orders, but little to London or the Inland trade; many of the merchants wealthy. It has a very large cloth market built of brick consisting of 3 ranges, more than [*number illegible*] feet in length. Each range has 2 walks; in the midst of each, an [*1 word*] a kind of house, a certain portion of which is appropriated to each manufacturer, having his own and towns name painted, whereon he keeps his cloth, till sold; perhaps till 2 or 3 markets which are on Tuesdays, and sometimes Saturday. The market is opened by the ringing of a bell; no person to be admitted within the gates till then, and continues only an hour. No goods can be bought out of the market house, nor before the bell rings, nor after the market, nor anywhere but in open market. The ranges are called by the names of King's Street, Queen's Street, Cheapside &c. &c. In the markets were many Turbots at 4d and 5d a pound, the most Capital buildings of which there are not a few without the boundary of the Town, the environs extremely pleasant; Samuel Elam's house commands a most extensive view of that part of the manufacturing country, has the rivers, pastoral Villages and a great extent of a finely cultivated country in sight lying in an amphitheatre of no form.

Monday June 2d. Fine pleasant day. Breakfasted at Mr. [*1 name illegible*], a baize and rug merchant, from whence in company with his [*1 word*] who has been, and was soon going to America we sett off from our Inn for Huddersfield distant from Leeds almost 16 miles and the Town to which the Merchants of Leeds Halifax and Wakefield resort every Tuesday to buy cloths from the neighbouring Clothiers abounding in this neighbourhood. Here is a large Cloth market house to which the clothiers resort. Tis said not less than £50 thousand is returned in cash from this market weekly. The trade is so brisk that cloth does not come in fast enough for the orders, and Cash is paid down. The market is built of brick, is a round Edifice, its diameter 79 of my paces 2:9 inches each pace. The town is very old built; has a wretched appearance, and too dismal for our abode, as intended, in order to see the course of business in the cloth way. The butchery is an house built by Sir John Ramsey the proprietor of the land, whose rent is £70.

From hence as soon as a dinner of cold roast beef and boiled Eggs were swallowed, we entered a post chaise and left this dismal Inn and town and departed for Halifax, at which we arrived at 6 o'clock alighting at the White Lion, kept by a Mr. Murgatroyd.

This town is supposed to be bigger than Leeds, its streets, if it can be said to have any, are excellently paved, has a convenient flagged path on each side raised; lying uneven they are always clean, are very narrow in general and extremely short; each end bounded by a triangular house; many large well built ones in, but more just without the town; its situation on an uneven, low eminence surrounded by lofty hills on all sides in the most improved situation, laid out in lots bounded by live hedges, rows of trees and stone walls, almost as even as the wall of an house, the whole country for many miles within view abounding in manufactures and farm houses. The people here are numerous, industrious, and prolific; their houses peculiarly cleanly. Amongst other kinds of good conduct, we, in our rambles, saw 15 children, some of which are small, employed in bending wires and preparing them in the various branches of cardmaking, and were told their earnings were from 2/6 to 5/ a week; which employment not only keeps their little minds from vice, but renders them early capable of providing for their own support and takes an heavy burthen from their poor parents. Accompanied by a friend we entered a nap raising mill performed by laying cloth under an instrument divided into little squares, of the diameter of the nap designed to be raised, or rather bigger, carried by water. This instrument is about 8 feet long and 2 feet wide, and is jostled backwards and forwards by means of a little gage filled with teeth suited to a cog wheel which receives its motion from another communicating with the great wheel.

By Mr. Aspden's desire, we accompanied him to a Mr. Rawson's. Immediately on our arrival to his seat, a little out of Halifax called "Stony ride," meaning stony road; the road to it being stony, the Yorkshire people often using an i for an o. This was a friend to whom he had a letter; but neither Father nor sons were at home.

Returned back to our lodgings to which one of the sons soon came and would have engaged us to accompany him back but it being late we declined it for this evening, which he passed and supped with us.

Tuesday 3. Fine pleasant morn. Rambled with my 2 Companions to the lofty surrounding hills, from whence we had an ample view of the Town containing one only parish church the mother of 12 of the

neighbouring ones and sectaries of various kinds abound here. By the manufacturers living hereabouts, is building in stone, a large and commodious market house containing a square of 110 yards by 90, its lower story is fronted by short square pillars forming arcades; on the back part of which are rooms for each separate manufacturer of 12 feet by 8 and before the rooms a covered walk of 4 feet wide. The second story is supported by square pillars cut into rustic, its walk before as below, but more open and spacious; the pillars not being so large. On the floor of the third stand round doric pillars supporting the roof containing the same accomodations as below, the heighth of each story 12 feet. The town is all built of stone very irregular but it's streets the best paved of any Town in England, not even London excepted, and from the unevenness of the ground always clean. By the hospitality of Mr. Rawson we were delayed for 2 days here; whose importunity would not suffer us to depart till Thursday morn, passing this and the following day as pleasantly as we could wish.

Wednesday 4. Pleasant fair day. Dined and passed the P.M. at Mr. Rawson's, visited his copperas works; the copperas made from that part of common pit coal called slate, charged with sulphur, its process is easy and short, being collected and thrown into a large heap, perhaps two or three hundred tons; water poured on it which filtrating through, passes by pipes into an underground cistern, or large receiver, is boiled; and from thence carried into a smaller cistern like the distillers; there remaining till it cools and crystalizes.

Thursday 5. Fair but cold, and very windy. Departed from Halifax in a post chaize, taking leave of our late Companion Aspdin, who left us at the Inn for Preston on horseback, attended by an hired servant to carry his portmanteau. In passing the road we descended a long hill of more than a mile in length; soon after arrived at a very lofty ridge of the most desolate forlorn appearance, called Blackstone edge, continuing for several miles. The road level, hard and strait, and on that score pleasant; the land waste, and of a russet hue, covered with furze; not a tree, shrubb, bush, or plant, hedge or wall to be seen. To the left lies a valley, through part runs a stream, the descent quick and formidable lying in some places an 100 yards below us! had not the wind been too brisk, notwithstanding it's dreary aspect, this wilderness would not have been disagreeable. From hence we descended into low grounds well inhabited, and improved; in one respect this part

of England is more pleasing than the others, the grounds are covered with houses; each manufacturer having a small farm or parcel of land besides his trade to depend on, there being more freeholders, or owners of small farms and plantations here than any County of the Kingdom. We arrived at Rochdale about 2 o'clock, engaged a dinner, and took a ramble. The Church stands on an hill, to which the ascent is by 100 stone steps. This town is remarkable for many wealthy merchants; it has a large woolen market, the Merchants from Halifax &c. repairing hither weekly; its neighbourhood abounds in clothiers, of the species principally tammies, shalloons &c. From hence the road to Manchester distant about 13 miles is level and sandy, the soil light, the general nature of the land in this County within our Observation. About 6 o'clock we alighted at the Spread Eagle Inn, hanging Ditch and by the assistance of our Landlady procured private lodgings at a Mrs. Bartons next door to the Inn for the few days we propose to stay here.

Friday June 6. Morn clear and warm, wind at W. After breakfast and dressing walkt out to the Duke of Bridgewater's Canal quay. On the banks we picked up a Mr. Nelson, some few years since, a lodger at Mrs. Leavit's in Salem New England. He is lately arrived here from Ireland his native Country, and is on a journey through the manufacturing towns to London; by mutual consent joyned company continuing our ramble along the bank and from thence in our way stepped into St. Johns Church, a small but elegant edifice in the gothic style. Into this we entered following a company of Country Ladies who came for the same errand and engaged them in Conversation which at first like all this people they declined, but afterwards fell easily into. Over the altar is a very fine stained glass window executed at York, three Excellent images of St. Peter, Christ and St. James; the colours the most lively, the meridian lustre of the sun's rays not a little assisted. In the Vestry is another window made by the same hand. On this window is stained the Founder's name, a Squire Byrom, the year of its foundation 1768 and of its finishing 1769 being only one year in hand. It's tower is crowned with battlements and 4 high pinnacles; the body of the Church having such also all around the roof. On the outside work were wrote these Letters "XURXUBXUR₂X¹ for me" which I decyphered for my Companions. My imagination was en-

1. The inscription decyphered would probably read "Cross you are, cross you be," and so on.

livened by the agreeable conversation I had with the Ladies. From hence we adjourned to the Castlefield to see the exercise of this Militia, making as good an appearance as the Kings troops both in regard to Dress and exercise. This field is an eminence of an oval form; there is supposed to be the remains of an old roman encampment, the outside wall and cement being yet to be seen. From this place we adjourned to the Royal Oak Ordinary, and from thence passed the P.M. rambling about the town; drank tea at lodgings.

Saturday 7. Clear and windy and cool. Having by agreement with our new Companion Nelson yesterday met him at his lodgings, soon set off for the Canal intending to take a passage to Worsely to visit the Duke of Bridgewater's coal mines; after some delay we entered the passage boat drawn by an horse in the manner of the Trechscuits in Holland. This place distant 9 miles we arrived at in 2 hours, passing athwart the river Orwell² over which the Canal runs, being raised on arches not less than 50 or 60 in height, that stream passing under the arches of this. In many places the bottom of the Canal is considerably higher than the level of the neighbouring grounds.

At 12 o'clock we arrived at Worsely and dispatching a message the Contents of which were "Messrs. Nelson and Companion. Compliments to Mr. Gilbert and ask the favour of seeing the Dukes underground works." Our messenger soon received an order to the boatman to receive us. From this Inn in a few minutes we reached the boat on foot lying on a piece of water at the mouth of the Cave, and entered it, passing into an arch partly of brick and partly cut through the stone, of an height on a medium 9 feet from the bottom of the water, in depth $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet, to the top of the arch. In some places 'tis higher, and in some lower. Received at entering 6 lighted candles. This archway Called a Funnel, runs into the body of the mountain almost in a direct line 1000 yards, its medium depth about 26 yards under the surface. We were in passing that distance near half an hour. Here begins the first underground road to the pits, ascending into the Waggon road so called about 4 feet above the water, being an highway for the waggons containing about a ton weight of the form of a mill hopper

2. The Duke of Bridgewater's famous canal was carried over the River Irwell in 1759-1761 by the self-taught geniuses James Brindley and John Gilbert. Here for the first time in England could be seen one vessel sailing over the top of another. Edward Baines, *History of the County Palatine and Duchy of Lancaster* (London, Paris, and New York, 1836), 2:305. It is related of Brindley that though at first of sober and temperate habits, he degenerated into luxurious living and did not cease from eating at meals till a certain button on his waistcoat began to pinch his stomach (3:148n).

running on wheels to convey the Coals to the barges or boats. Under the guidance of a miner with each a lighted candle in hand we proceeded through an arched way from $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet to 5 high; walking on, our bodies making an angle of less than 60 degrees, through a road of 3 feet in width, from 3 feet to 4 feet high being in places obliged to crawl on our knees, in all directions dipping from 26 to 70 yards and in length of 260 yards, arriving at the Coal mine; which appearing about 5 feet through, the roof was supported by many posts, the arch about 20 feet square and the height scarce 4 feet. From this dismal abode which my Companion whose name was Chandler would have fain dissuaded me from proceeding to visit, say dissuaded me from proceeding, after a few minutes abode hastened back to our boat. One may go 6 miles in various directions by water; the waggon way to the pits lying below the level of the water in the Funnel, 'tis said the distance from the mouth is 6 miles; perhaps not in a strait line. An 100 men are every day employed; and each man is able to turn out a ton a day; the miner's wages 2/ and the laborer's 1/4. The price of Coals at the pit 2d, if bought at the key $3\frac{1}{2}$ d, at the door $4\frac{1}{2}$.

The boat going off before we had finished our dinner we returned to Town on foot, walking through fields and a very pleasant road of 5 miles. The center of this town consists principally of old buildings; its streets narrow, very irregularly built, many Capital houses interspersed. By Act of Parliament old buildings are taking down to enlarge the streets. It has a few good ones, Kings street is the best built, is long, of [1 word] width; most of its houses noble; great additions of buildings and streets are daily making, and of a larger size than at Birmingham, nor has the new ones so dusky a face as those and in this respect fairer and better, for extent of ground whereon it stands, nor number of inhabitants does it exceed in my opinion or come up to it.

The disposition and manners of this people as given by themselves is inhospitable and boorish. I have seen nothing to contradict this assertion though my slender acquaintance will not justify me in giving that character. In all the manufacturing towns there is a jealousy and suspicion of strangers; an acquaintance with one manufacturer effectually debars one from connexion with a 2d in the same business.³ 'Tis with some difficulty one is admitted to see their works, and in

3. Young, in his *Tour through the North of England*, 3:279, bears this out. "I could not gain any intelligence even of the most common nature, through the excessive jealousy of the manufacturers. It seems the French have carried off several of their fabricks, and thereby injured the town [Birmingham] not a little. This makes them so cautious that they will not show strangers scarce anything."

many cases can gain none, express prohibitions being given by the masters. The dissenters are some of the most wealthy merchants and manufacturers here but mortally abhorred by the Jacobites. A Mr. Rigby is said to be the most Capital trader, having one of the handsomest Town and Country seats in the County, and is a Dissenter. The dress of the people here savours not much of the London mode in general. The people are remarkable for Coarseness of feature and the language of the County is to me unintelligible. A specimen I have bought at Rochdale; 'tis called Tim Bobbins Lancashire dialect,⁴ contained in some dialogues and poems.

The passenger boat going off before dinner we walkt home through Eccles, and in the turn pike road, mostly a level sandy way, and arrived about 6 o'clock, my partner fatigued to a degree he supposes he shant recover this month.

Sunday 8. Cool morn. Accompanied by Nelson I attended worship at a Dissenters Meeting House, a Mr. Harrison preached a very ingenious discourse from *5 Ch. 1 Ep. St. John 18 V.*, "*we knew that whoever is born of God sinneth not, but he that is begotten of God helpeth himself.*" Dined at Royal Oak and attended worship at same place P.M.; a Mr. Gore preached from *13 Ch. Job 15 V.*, "*Though he slay me, yet will I trust in him,*" a most excellent speaker, but not so good a writer as the A.M. preacher. They both used written forms of prayer.

After service for want of an house to thrust our heads into, the family having dined abroad and not returned home, we were forced to walk to the end of Danesgate our Companion Nelson's house where we drank tea, and were amused by the free unrestrained chat of his Landlady named Hudson a Quaker in religion and Jacobite in political principle, the numbers of which since the English born prince has mounted the throne is somewhat lessened here, as I am told by our Landlady, who is in the abdicated family's interest, which is here openly professed; all of that sect putting up large Oak boughs over their doors on the 29 May to express joy at the glorious Event of the restoration of the Stuart family to the English throne; many such I saw. The Ladies, who if they take a party are ever violent, scruple not, openly and without restraint to drink Prince Charles's health and their wishes for his restoration to his paternal Kingdom. I saw the house wherein the Prince, as he is called, dwelt whilst here, the Gentleman

4. John Collier, *The Works of Tim Bobbins* (Manchester, 1775).

and his family still remain steady to their principles, which however did not hurry them into lengths that exposed them to the resentment of Government. His name is Dixon and his house in market street lane on the left as one goes from the market and our host a Mr. Bowes with whom and whom only we passed a very sociable evening at his house in Leigh street, told us Lord John Murray and his secretary lodged at his home at that same time. One of those executed here last Rebellion was a son of a woman who had borne 29 children.

These notes ever since I left Birmingham being wrote in a hurry when my mind was not in a composed frame, and many days after the events are the most superficial, short, imperfect, and displeasing tone of all I have taken in England.

Dined at the Bull head Inn opposite the market, a good Ordinary and cheap. Walkt to the College so called, an old building, having open and close walks, in the style of the religious Houses; has a library, with a fund of an 100 a year or more for the purchase of books. They are all numbered in cases, classed under proper heads, and defended by wire lattices. It consists of two Wings on one side almost filled, on the other, recesses; each having a window table, &c. for study, reading, transcribing, &c. 'Tis open certain hours every day except Church holidays. The number of books said to be eleven thousand. The College revenue maintain 60 scholars. There also is a free school, governed by a head master and 2 ushers; the same in the 2d, and the same in the 3d, the students are removed from the lower to the higher after a certain time, and from the highest to the University. The Mother Church a venerable old pile has as curious a Choir of Carved work as is to be seen; is under a Warden, 4 fellows and a Chaplain, its revenues considerable; has under it more than 12 churches in and out of Town. Attended evening service where were present the Warden, first fellow and reader, and goodly lot of pious wretches whose piety I hope will be rewarded with heavenly, having by their appearance but little of this world's, good things.

In our passing along the streets we heard and saw the most curious instance of female audacity, brawling menace and heresy from a young woman of no displeasing face and decent garb, towards a man who had offended her, whom she boxed and pummeld soundly, and being taken off, challenged the whole Company of soldiers and others to a bout at fisty cuffs. Either fear or shame or want of relish prevented their acceptance; in short she swore like a madwoman and fought like an Amazonian though but of a moderate stature. In meeting her soon

after and on enquiry recounted to me in a tone rather soft but spirited enough, and in decent language, the cause of her wrath. If she be a common baggage she's one of the likeliest of the whole covey I have seen.

After service was over returned back to lodgings; my partner and our common friend Nelson walkt out to Castlefield, leaving me to my meditations having had but little time of late, from the quick survey of various objects which rather becomes tiresome than amusing.

Monday June 9. Cold raw and unpleasant. Passed in rambling about the town with our new found Companion Nelson.

Tuesday 10. Ditto as former Day.

Wednesday 11. Cold and raw the last and many preceding a severe frost for the season, destroying the vines hereabouts. Having agreed to joyn Mr. Nelson in a post chaize to York in the neighbourhood of which we proposed to cease our labours; hoping the rewards of a cheap plentiful country to abide in for some time, for which purpose we went to engage a chaize at the old White Swan Inn where we saw 3 of our Countrymen a Capt. Gore,⁵ Joy⁶ and son at the end of their ramble from London, designing to return to Bristol by way of Wolverhampton. My fellow traveller on this discovery, tired of an expensive ramble, immediately took fire and determined to abandon me, and accompany them in their intended route; loth to part in this quarter, and in the situation I was then in for certain prudential reasons agreed to his fantastic plan though entirely contrary to my wish and views; and having disengaged ourselves from Mr. Nelson, to his mortification engaged a post chaize for Macclesfield and on.

Thursday June 12. At 6 o'clock took leave of our hostess and entered a chaize standing ready at the door to receive me, and my baggage, arriving soon at the Swan Inn taking up my companion I pro-

5. Captain John Gore (1718-1796), a member of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company of Massachusetts; addresser of Gage; fled to Halifax in 1776; banished then pardoned; returned to Boston where he died. His son Christopher was governor of Massachusetts, 1809-1810.

6. John Joy (1727-1804), merchant and housewright; addresser of Gage and Hutchinson; fled to Halifax then England where he died. Joy Street on Beacon Hill in Boston takes its name from his elder son Dr. John Joy, Jr. A younger son, Michael (1754-1825), Harvard 1771, accompanied his father to England, where he married and lived the rest of his life.

ceeded on, passing through a road of 7 miles, paved with pebbles to Stockport. This is a coal town, has some reputable buildings, its streets are narrow, and paved, and lies on uneven ground. From hence to Macclesfield in Cheshire about 12 miles being our first stage from Manchester. At 5 miles from there is the seat of Sir George Warren surrounded by finely improved lands and pleasure grounds, lying on our left. A little beyond on the right is the seat and lands of a Charles Leigh Esqr., possessed of 4 thousand a year and a considerable tract adjoining to Manchester that he has laid out in streets to be let on building leases.

At Macclesfield we alighted, breakfasted and taking new horses, Driver &c., departed for Leek a distance of 13 miles. The former town has a silk mill, or mills, and a manufacture but appears not to have much business. The town in general ill built, the houses, as in most manufacturing places, of most credit in its environs. From the George Inn we departed not greatly pleased with the hosts attendance nor I with my Companions behaviour here.

Leek at which I now am and in the George Inn, is a manufacture in the silk ribbon way and mohair buttons, the former very large for the great dealers at Coventry, though very largely also in foreign orders and the London supply, as well as the inland Towns. This town being a capital one especially in the latter branch. The churchyard to which I rambled and as usual with me read the inscriptions and Epitaphs 2 or 3 I took down. Here a conversational gentleman joyned me to my no small entertainment for a $\frac{1}{4}$ hour, from this spot [*1 word*] high is a fine prospect of well improved lands; the soil however is rather light and barren, but in the neighbourhood of this place carefully managed, an instance of this a friendly quaker whom I picked up in the street told me. Part of the dreary hills lying on one quarter of the town being by Act of Parliament to be inclosed; the Church wanting a Chorister or rather a fund to pay him took in 30 acres which would not before have rented at 30d; by being for 4 years enclosed by itself and well manured and managed, is now become an estate of £30. The road to this place lying over many hills and uneven grounds and for the most part barren and dreary, is just within the borders of Straf-fordshire.

From hence to Sandon in the Country language Sand is a distance of 18 miles which we were 4 hours in passing. The quality of the land not differing from our last stage, the roads not unpleasant. Here we alighted at the Dog and Duck, supped and lodged, the former as quick

served up and genteel as could be in London; at parting I paid one of the misses a compliment and received a very polite return. The town is small, houses scattered and of an indifferent aspect.

Friday 13. Morn moderate but cloudy. Departed without breakfast; through hurry I left my watch under the pillow, at 2 miles discovering it dispatched the Driver on one of the horses back, and in 40 minutes he returned with it, remaining on the road in the coach in the interval. The roads to Stafford the County town in general sandy, just before our arrival to the town, through which we passed they were level, and sandy but on our approach the lands began to assume a new face, the quality of the soil much for the better and the improvements in proportion. The main street through which we passed is paved, clean, the houses well built, full shops, an appearance of business and wealth. On our right at a mile distant stands on the summit of an insulated hill cut as should seem by art into a cone about $\frac{1}{3}$ down a stone edifice like a lofty tower and is the only remains of Stafford Castle, making an agreeable object to a traveller. From hence the lands and roads are greatly altered for the better, fine pastures, excellent live hedge fences, and rows of lofty trees in great abundance.

Our next stage was a distance of 10 miles at a place called Penkrick; here again we took another driver, Carriage, and fresh horses, and through a most excellent turnpike road and a delightful improved Country, arrived at the Old Angel Inn Wolverhampton. Here we dined, and having dispatched a messenger for my old friend Timmins, he soon arrived and by his invitation accompanied him and our companion to see the great manufacture of Taylor & Jones, who are also Merchants and exporters, in Japaning tin, paper snuff boxes and iron tools &c. This town is large, has a capital manufacture in the lock and hinge way and most other branches in the Iron business, and is supposed to contain 20 thousand inhabitants. Like all the old towns it is ill built and like Birmingham and for the same reason has a dusky look. Once for all its houses I judge are overated. Every City, town and burrough is commonly estimated above their real numbers.

After repeated invitations from my friend Mr. Timmins to stay to tea and pass the evening we declined his civility, and departed a little before 6 o'clock for Stourbridge, distant 20 miles, to which we arrived at $\frac{1}{2}$ after 7 o'clock being drove Jehulike through roads as level, hard and pleasant as a garden gravel walk; the Country yielding us a pleasant view from its excellent husbandry, fine fruitful soil, lofty

trees and live hedges. Here we were agreeably disappointed, for instead of a pitiful mean town as its avenues seemed to threaten, we found a large well built, lively, rich town, having noble wide convenient streets running the whole length of a mile, with cross streets, well paved. It's famous for glass, nails, heavy iron work, as anvils &c. and some cloth manufactures. For an hour we rambled over the town, and at 9 to the Inn, being known to none but ourselves, supped and retired to rest.

Saturday 14. Morn pleasant. Set off from our Inn without breakfast and at 8 o'clock arrived at the Crown Inn Bromsgrove through a road but moderately good which however we passed in an hour and half, being a distance of 12 miles. This is a respectable town but has no large manufactures, its only of any consideration is Linnen cloth. After breakfast we rambled through the town for an hour and falling into the Churchyard picked up 2 or 3 Epitaphs of which there are many, the most remarkable we took off.

The next stage was equally distant, time in passing equal, but the roads were incomparably better, in much better repair; the lands in an excellent state of husbandry, fertile; farm houses and gentlemens seats more numerous in this the following stage than any road we had passed in this route except the west riding of Yorkshire, to which in that respect it must be compared, but in fertility beyond it.

About 12 o'clock were sett down at the Bell Inn broad street Worcester, a very handsome well built city, having spacious airy streets, a noble cathedral, and elegant modern houses; its shops large, and well filled, the town lively and full of business. Its inhabitants has the character of polite and genteel, and indeed they have more the air of Londoners than any place I have seen. The Severn runs on one side of the City, from whence conveyance is easy to Gloucester, its distance being 28 miles, performed in 6 or 8 hours, in small Vessells, many of them then lying at the key on the river bank. Here is a manufacture of China, say porcelain, we visited, said to be the best made in England. After a little delay in our Inn we rambled through the streets, and falling by accident into the Cathedral green met a boy holding a prayer book in one hand and the Church key in the other, sitting near the Door, who accosted us with, "Gentlemen, are ye a mind to go into the Church"; on our agreeing to enter, the Door-keeper approached and admitted us in. It has many old monuments as well as modern; particularly King John's, whose body by his desire

was buried in the choir just before the high altar, over which spot is a flat statue of him. Here also lies in a little chappell the body of Prince Arthur eldest son of Henry 7, and an Oswald a Bishop of this See before the Conquest. The only modern I thought worthy to remember is the worthy Dr. Hough about 40 years since Bishop of this See. The chapter house also used as a library, is of an oval form, and its walls to a considerable height covered with Cases faced with glass and very well filled with books, many of them in new binding and ornamenting. In the City is a magnificent State house, a town hall, having below, many full length portraits; of which 3 are the Coventry family or of their descendants, the present Lord who is the recorder. Being market day the streets were so thronged that our chaise could scarce make its way through to the Inn.

Having spent 4 or 5 hours in this beautiful pleasant place, we departed for Tewkesbury, a considerable town just within the borders of Gloucestershire, through roads as far as Worcestershire extends equally pleasant and good, but on our approach to Gloucestershire, visibly inconvenient and rough and disagreeable, the latter County wanting the materials, the trustees less faithful and attentive, but the land equally well kept and fertile. Here the apple orchards began to appear, they being of an uncommon height and bigness. From the western quarter of Staffordshire to the very houses of Bristol through the delightful counties of Worcester and Gloucester the fields, pastures and inclosures are of an uncommon richness and verdure; the fruit and forest trees in much greater abundance, of a larger girth and greater height than are to be seen elsewhere in England; many of them having a kind of moss about the bark like those we observe on the [*1 word*] lands exposed to the sea air, or in swampy grounds.

From our last stage to Tewkesbury is 16 miles; this is a considerable town and as far as I could learn had no capital manufacture, except for white cotton stockings for which the town is noted. 'Tis remarkable for a parish Church, being 107 yards long and more than 25 broad, its roof supported by round shafted pillars 7 yards in girth, has several old monuments, the first I observed was Richard Nevil the great Duke of Warwick, called the King maker, raised on a lofty monument, scarce as big as the life, in a kneeling position with uplifted closed hands and in a chappell, decumbent his Daughter and her husband George Duke of Clarence; and in a flat grave just before the door of the Choir is a tomb of Prince Henry, son of the unfortunate Henry 6 of whom before; the last is of a Robert Fitz Hamon, founder of this Church who came from Normandy 1107. Near this town is the field

called the bloody Meadow for a reason before given. After a scurvy treatment by a false step my Companion made in neglecting to call for supper we left the Swan Inn and departed

Sunday 15 early without breakfast and through roads rough dirty and for that reason disagreeable. We arrived at the Bell in Gloucester at 9 o'clock. Notwithstanding the fine plentiful harvests of Corn Cyder and pasturage for which this County is noted, the houses for miles round the City are small, dirty in ill repair; the avenues slovenly, fences and walls in a ruinous state; their barns generally of wood, many large, and all tottering to their fall; their bridges the meanest, and in worst condition on the roads any where to be passed. After breakfast and dressing, we all adjourned to and attended worship in the Cathedral being decently and respectfully provided with seats in the Quire; the service was chaunted, the text in the *18 Ch. Ezekiel 30* verse. "*Repent and turn yourselves from all your transgressions so iniquity shall not be your ruin.*" The Dean and Sub Dean performed the Communion service.

From Church I repaired to the Inn, leaving my fellow travellers to pursue their ramble till dinner time. The cold drisly dark air rendering the fire a more agreeable sight than dirty narrow streets and mean small, ill repaired houses, which constitutes too great a part of this City to render it an agreeable residence. After dinner Young Joy and I rambled into the Cathedral, the cloisters reckoned the finest in England. After reviewing them we retreated into the Church and meeting one of the Vergers, were conducted by him to the old monuments and from thence back to the Inn and from thence immediately took coach and left the City, part of our company being already gone.

The next stage was at Newport, consisting only of 4 Inns, and a dissenting Meeting House, distant from our last stage 15, and from Bristol 18 miles; the roads are dirty and rough, the slovenliness of the farmers houses and the richness of the soil as before; here we lodged, and

Monday 16 after breakfast departed alone, our fellow travellers being already gone; and at 12 o'clock alighted at The White Lion Inn, broad street, Bristol; dined and after visited Radcliff Church; drank tea at Mr. Waldo's and passed evening at Inn.

Tuesday 17. Fine morn; breakfasted at Mr. Waldo's, walkt to Hot Wells and Mr. Gouldney's grotto. In our return from Hot Wells we

passed a person dressed in green with a small round hat flapped before very like an English country gentleman who is the supposed Count Falkenstein⁷ under which character the Emperor of Germany travels incog, rather tall of stature well made but not over flushed. After dinner accompanied my fellow travellers to Taylor's glassworks; in our way through "Long row" were attacked by the virulent tongue of a vixon who saluted us by the names of damned American Rebels &c. Removed our trunks to a Mr. Sladen's in Queen Square, to allow 14/ per week during our stay which probably may be some weeks. Unless I can be [*1 word*] of a good reputable family in the neighbourhood of the [*1 word*] a quiet retreat will be rather my choice if to be procured.

Wednesday 18. Moderate air. This being the day in which Mr. Chester the successful County Member is to make his triumphant entry into the City, was ushered in by ringing of bells and discharging of Canon, the noise of which early disturbed my rest. On the towers of all the churches were displayed Colours, jack, ensigns, and pendants on most of the Vessells, lying at the keys; on Brandon hill were placed 22 Cannon, discharging several rounds in the day, answered by the Vessells at the Quay. After dinner I strolled through the streets that were lined with people not to be numbered for multitude, reaching from the extent of the City on the further side quite through and up to the rising grounds on the down beyond Park Street; the windows on each side filled, to behold the great Man. My stand was in the open space on the hither side of the bridge over the *Avon*. The procession began at 7 o'clock, footmen 2 and 2, then followed others on horseback 2 and 2; in the Center Mr. Chester, preceded and followed by more than a 1000 of which 150 mounted and cloathed in new blew Coats, and Breeches with buff waist coats made on the occasion; they were headed by the Champion dressed in blew silk armed Cap a pie and at all points, bearing a mace in his hand, every 100 steps waved stopping his horse at the same time, on which arose 3 loud huzzas. The rear was brought up by near an 100 Carriages. The day was devoted to mirth and festivity nor was the following night without its share. The Duke of Beaufort whose man Mr. Chester was, privately left the procession as I was told just before its arrival in town

7. In the translation of Dr. Edouard Vehse, *Memoirs of the Court and Aristocracy of Austria*, 2 vols. (London, 1896), 2:247-248, it is stated that the Emperor Joseph II traveled through Switzerland and France in the spring and summer of 1777, incognito as Count Falkenstein, but as he approached Spain he was recalled by news of the illness of his mother. It is therefore unlikely that he was the "person dressed in green" who passed by Curwen.

and took a stand in a friends house with his Dutchess to see the parade through the town and enjoy the triumph over his rival without observation.

Thursday 19. Passed this A.M. in rambling to Brandon hill, Durdham down &c., the P.M. in I forget.⁸

Friday 20. Same as the former, P.M. at American Coffee house Broad street.

Saturday 21. Walkt out to Bedminster Churchyard and copied off some Epitaphs; very few having any point or salt in them.

Sunday 22. Cloudy, rainy, within the A.M. till near 12 o'clock I walkt over to the Cathedral, entering just as the sermon was about to be begun. Mr. Haynes a Canon preached from 1. *Ch. Revel. 13, 14, 15, 16 verses*, "*and in the midst of the 7 candlesticks, one like unto the son of Man, clothed with garment down to the foot, and girt about the paps with a golden girdle, his head and his hairs were white like wool, as white as snow and his eyes were as a flame of fire; and his feet like unto the fire as if they burned in a furnace; and his voice like unto the sound of many waters, and he had in his right hand 7 seven starrs, and out of his mouth went a sharp two edged sword and his countenance was as the Sun shineth in his strength,*" a dull heavy writer and speaker, but a likely figure. The Church is kept in nice order; there are some old and several new funeral monuments of very late date, with excellent [*about 1 line cut off*]. One half this building was demolished by Cromwell when he bombarded it, and forced Prince Rupert to retire who for some time kept him out, but was at last forced to abandon it. From hence we adjourned to the Maior's Chappell in which I saw several monuments erected 1268, 9, it having been I presume the Chappell of a Knight Templars house. Here we heard the conclusion of an excellent sermon by the Chaplain a Mr. Ireland. In the P.M. attended worship at St. Stephens, the Curate preached from 4 *Ch. St. James 11 verse*, "*Speak not evil one of another Brethren, he that speaketh evil of his Brother and judgeth his Brother, speaketh evil of the laws and judgeth the laws; but if thou judge the laws, thou*

8. Curwen wrote this day to Isaac Smith telling of his arrival and residence in Bristol and of his wish to go to Exeter which "with all its faults is paradise nay heaven itself to Manchester or any town in the North I have seen. Tis the beggars prayer from Hell Hull and Halifax good Lord deliver us, but it may with great propriety be the Gentleman and Strangers, from Manchester good Lord deliver me."

art not a doer of the law but a judge." Walkt out in the evening to Mr. J. Waldo's in Brunswick Square, and agreed on a forenoon ramble the next day. Saw in my return a post tarred and feathered a la mode d'Amerique.

Monday 23. Fine warm clear morn. Walkt out to the Cay. P.M. rambled about Town.

Tuesday 24. Cool and windy. Ditto as yesterday.⁹

Wednesday 25. Ditto. P.M. passed at Mr. Barne's at quadrille with Mr. Waldo, Oxnard and Mr. Barnes, Met S. Porter there on his return from Wales.

26 Thursday. Cool and hot, fair and showry.

Friday 27 as yesterday. Walkt out with Mr. S[ewall] and Oxnard through Stapleton to Lord Bottetourts seat and pleasure grounds now the Dutchess dower of Beauforts. The House is situated on the brow of a hill, standing on a lofty foundation of stone, its front as approached from Stapleton; has an angle covered with 6 square towers and between, an open piazza below, the whole House covered with battlements. It is built of white stone, and possesses a most extensive view of the pleasure grounds, and a finely improved Country all before it. In 3 or 4 hours space we were catched in 5 showers and as almost as much drenched in water as if we had swum to it through the Froome; at 2 we returned home; took a 2d ramble after tea to Bedminster Churchyard to take off the remainder of the Epitaphs; there accompanied by Mr. and Mrs. Richards a daughter of the house, passing through Somerset Square returned home in the fields by way of Vauxhall.

Saturday 28. Clear pleasant morn. Rambled about town before A.M. and after, walkt with Mr. and Mrs. R[ichards] and Betsy S. and Miss R. to a strawberry garden where we regaled ourselves with 9 [1 word] of fine strawberries and cream.

Sunday 29. Attended worship at the Maior's Chappell, a Mr. Estabrook preached from 126 Ps. 5, 6 verses, "*They that sow in tears shall*

9. A letter to George Russell, advising of his residence in Bristol and thanking him for his letter of introduction to Mr. Broomhead of Sheffield.

reap in joy, he that goeth forth, and walketh, bearing precious seed shall doubtless come again rejoicing, bringing his sheaves with him." Met Mr. Boutineau with whom we took a few rounds in the College Green amidst genteel company and received an invitation to tea. Dined at home, and in the P.M. meeting Mr. Barnes and F. Waldo we joyned them going to St. Nicholas Church, a Dr. Buck preached a most excellent sermon and delivered with great propriety and fervency from 20 *Ch. Gen. 11 V.* "*And Abraham said, because I thought, surely the fear of God is not in this place.*" Drank tea at Mr. Boutineau's in company with 2 Highgate ladies. Passed the remainder of evening at home.

Monday June 30. Rain and sunshine alternately, wind fresh. At the Theatre, "Cymbeline" and the entertainment "Dr. Last in his chariot," a performance of Foote's, an unnatural Satyr.

Tuesday July 1. Rainy, all day within.

Wednesday 2. Fair, brisk wind. Walkt over Dundham down to Blaze Castle and Lord Clifford's seat at Kings Weston passing Hinsbury, the former a round Tower having small ones at equal distances from each other, forming a compact body, rising in height about 50 or 60 feet from the foundation to the leads, from whence is to be seen the Severn for many miles, the County of Monmouth, in Wales; Kings road, wherein lay only 1 or 2 Vessels; the mouth of the Avon and a considerable length of the river; Lord Cliffords seat called King's Weston to which we rode over a lofty ridge extending even to my Lord's kitchen garden. Lord Clifford's seat, a noble one; we entered his grounds, walkt round his house but declined entering, being fully gratified with the sight of such buildings, having visited many in my late and former excursion. This commands a fine prospect, has many agreeable vistas, a most picturesque lawn all around it, and the finest views as from Blaze Castle. From hence we returned to the City not a little fatigued.

Thursday 3. Rainy and raw. Within all day. Yesterday received an answer from Mr. Smith dated at Exeter; sent a reply by young [1 word].¹

1. A brief note to Sally Bretland, acknowledging hers and arranging for the payment of a small debt.

Friday 4. Morn fair and blustering; noon cloudy, and raw; P.M. rainy, within all day.²

Saturday 5. Cold raw blustering and rainy. In P.M. or rather in the first of evening walkt to the Cat and Wheel, read the news and drank fine ale.

Sunday 6. Attended service at St. Stephens, heard Dean Tucker preach from *1 Ch. Math. 20 Verse*, "*For that which is conceived in her is of the holy ghost.*" Among other points endeavoured to be established by the Doctor was the following, that Joseph never lived with his wife Mary after the manner of a husband, to prove which he advanced texts of Scripture to show that the expression of the Evangelist "and he knew her not till she had brought forth her first born" did not imply that he knew her after. Only one I remember, "and Samuel came no more to see Saul until the day of his death." Surely says our reverend reasoner he never came to see him afterwards, from whence it is inferred by analogy, Joseph never knew his wife, though tis expressly said James and Joses were our Lord's brethren, but, it seems, in the Jewish language all near relations are called Brethren; the Evangelist's expression strongly implys he did, the scripture is everywhere else silent about it and if we appeal to our natural feelings we cannot credit the Doctors assertion. Joseph and Mary must be endued with singular continence to abstain from the allowable use of each other; and what other married Couple of that lascivious nation ever before then forebore.

Monday 7. Cold raw cloudy and boisterous morn. Walkt early down to the Quay to see a large ship launched, a great deal of Company of every age, sex and condition. Saw young Smith of Birmingham. P.M. at home being cold and rainy.

Tuesday 8. Raw and rainy. Within all A.M. Drank tea at Mr. Francis Waldo's lodgings with him, Mrs. Barnes, Mr. Russell &c. by invitation, and after took a few rounds in our square.³

2. A short business letter to an unnamed addressee. An undated letter appears between two letters dated 4 July, six pages long commencing "Gent" and, too, with no indication of the addressee or addressees. It contains details of coaches and inns for a proposed trip to the Peak.

3. A short letter to William Browne reporting his ramble to the North and arrival in Bristol.

Wednesday 9. A fine clear sky, brisk air. Took a walk of more than 5 miles out to see Dundrytown, the steeple so called of a Church situated on a very lofty ridge commanding an extensive prospect over the Severn into Wales, far into the St. George's channell, into Somerset, Gloucestershire and far beyond. Strolled along the Quay, meeting a Swansea coaster with whom I partly agreed, being minded to make a tour through the South and West part of Wales.

Thursday 10. Fine, clear morn, wind fresh at N. Walkt out with Mr. Joseph Waldo to Kingswood New Church, air hot and sultry. Returned back by 1 o'clock. Remained within till 7 o'clock. I walkt in the Square for an hour with Parson Russell, who I afterwards found to be a plain irish Country Gentleman, and 2 more.

Friday 11. Fine clear morn and warm. Took an early walk to the Swansea slip in the back to look for another Larger Coaster; talkt with him, shall delay going by water till, he sails, the Vessell being larger and the master more experienced. Indisposition and lameness confined me within all the P.M. Went to the theatre at half play, saw the 2 last acts of *West indian*⁴ and the *Misers*, the former entertaining, Major O'Flaherty well taken off by Moody, a native Irishman; since, I am told he is not one, and surely if he is not one he is the best imitation of one that was ever born out of the Island; the latter an unnatural plan and but ill performed; a very full house.

Saturday 12. Close and warm air but cloudy. Confined within all day by a weakness and pain in my broken leg.

Sunday 13. Cloudy but moderate, left off my underwaistcoat; attended worship at St. Stephens, Dean Tucker preached from *24 Chap. St. Luke 26 verse*, "*Ought not Christ to have suffered,*" in proof of that article of the creed "*Dead and buried,*" offering reasons for its injection by The Fathers of the Church. After evening service walkt to Dr. Lascelles house in Dowry Square Hotwells, accompanied by Miss Betsey Haven to tea being invited by a Mr. Wrentmore, whose lodgings it is; he was absent, having dined out. From thence to the pump room, drinking each a glass of the waters, and from thence along the bank of the Avon to the Cliffs that seem almost perpendicular and more than an 100 yards in heighth; returning back the same way we

4. *West Indian* by Richard Cumberland (1732-1811), first produced in 1771.

went, meeting and overtaking multitudes of people with whom this is a day of festivity.

Monday 14. A very clear still warm morning, wind if any at N. Road out to change; sitting on a seat within, a Gentleman joyning me fell into discourse, and invited me to his house to dinner, his name Japee a widower; lives in Somerset Square; took a friendly bottle and returned, asking him in return to my lodgings when it suited his leisure. In P.M. took a few walks round our Square; was not a little mortified at the unreasonable behaviour of my late fellow traveller who proves and professes himself to be to me a most inveterate Enemy.

Tuesday 15. Walkt out with him and endeavoured to soften his envenomed tongue and groundlessly embittered mind, to some, I hope, good effect; my peculiar situation rendring such a conduct needful on my part; continued our walk to Redland parish and returned by Mr. late Cousin's pleasant seat. P.M. drank tea at Mrs. M. Richards; afterwards rambled to the hotwells, intending to accompany home the 2 daughters of the Family on a Visit at Dr. Lascelles; but they not inclining to return so soon, we staid to the christning supper; passing the time agreeably enough till near 12 o'clock.

Wednesday 16. Fine, clear, warm morning. Walkt out to engage horses to carry us to Bath tomorrow, weather &c. suiting. Took an airing with S. on our Square in the P.M.

Thursday 17 July. A fine, clear, pleasant morn. Sett off on horse-back for Bath; fine roads, sun excessively hot and scorching, almost choaked by the dust which arose in clouds, by the Carriages and horses we met and overtook in great numbers. Alighted at the Grey hound and Shakespeare Inn, High street; visited the places of resort; rambled about the City sweltering in a hot sun almost roasted and fairly fatigued. Dined and at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 4 o'clock departed having been in town since 10 o'clock; designing to return by way of Kingwood were discouraged by the Colliers who to give us a specimen of their disposition having suffered me to pass on a few rods, soon put on their horses, galloped before, and raised such a cloud of dust as almost suffocated me; on this my Company thought it best to leave the road to the Colliers and pursue that over the bridge, returning by the same way of Keynsham &c. that we went.

Friday 18. Warm but pleasant morn. Somewhat fatigued I abode within the A.M. Reading just now, I met the following Epigram "On the contented farmer" —

"I eat, drink and sleep, and do what I please
The King at St. James's can do only these."

Drank tea by invitation at Mr. Francis Waldo's lodgings, and afterwards adjourned to the theatre where I was very agreeably entertained at the performance of the Committee or faithful Irishman and the Bon Ton. Should that peice be a just picture of the general condition of the rich and noble to what a degree profligacy and depravity is the manners of the upper ranks fallen. 'Tis to be hoped such is not the state of the greater part, if it be, we have everything to fear from the avenging hand of the just and righteous Governor of The World.

Saturday 19. Cloudy and brisk air. Walkt out to Cothamhill. P.M. cloudy and drisly. My Lameness prevented going out; in the evening very low spirited and indisposed.

Sunday 20. Moderate and pleasant. Within A.M. P.M. attended worship at St. Stephens, the Curate Mr. ——— preached from 23 *Exod.* 2 "*Thou shalt not follow a multitude to do evil.*" At 6 o'clock evening service at Lady Huntington's Chappell a Mr. Venn preached from 15 *Ch. Luke* from 25 *V. to 32 incl.* "*Now his own son was in the feild; and as he came and drew nigh to him*"; the preacher earnest, the audience attentive, the singing good, myself entertained, though not instructed.⁵

Monday 21. Cloudy drisly and raw. The preceeding night rainy. Within all day therefore.⁶

Tuesday 22. Cloudy fresh wind at E., sun now and then peeps out. Walkt forth. P.M. rainy and within.

Wednesday 23. Cloudy and drisly. This day news arrived of the capture of the Fox Man of War of 28 guns by some American privateers; unless more spirited measures take place, or others are

5. To Robert Mason at Birmingham he wrote recommending the as yet unnamed addressees of his letter of 4 July who intended stopping at Birmingham on their way North.

6. Curwen wrote on this day to William Cabot at London suggesting he join him on a short ramble into Wales.

employed to plan or execute I know not whether the Island itself will not be surrounded by ships from the Western continent and their allies. Two ships just sailed from this port of Bristol; 2 or 3 days after their departure were taken in St. George's Channel, as many more have been from, and to Ireland since my residence here of 5 weeks. The nation is in a dead lethargy; and for ought that appears, is like to continue so, treachery, venality or inability will, 'tis to be feared destroy this devoted people. Visited Mrs. Barnes and Mr. Waldo. At 1 o'clock cleared away. Walkt out to Dr. Lascelles Dowry Square Hotwells.

Thursday 24. Cold raw drisly day. Staid within. Disagreeable news to Administration from America via Liverpool General How burnt Brunswick 20 June, broke up his camp, going to abandon the Jerseys, to strengthen his lines at Kingsbridge apprehending an attack there, and with remainder of his forces and the ships to go up the North river on a secret expedition. The Boston fleet of 18 privateers sailed, with orders to keep together for 25 days, and after, each to repair to their several destinations; the Newfoundland fishery disturbed, the ships on the Grand bank scattered, some sunk, the whole almost totally dispersed and ruined. London and the trading part, even though attached to Government, I am told, begin to grow very uneasy, and talk loud. If it should continue, a change in Administration must proceed. Alas to what a low ebb is this nation fallen that lately gave land to the 2 potent states of France and Spain, in a contest confessedly unequal on the side of its own subjects, but such is the state of human affairs. Goliath was humbled and slain by little David, and those provinces that lately sued to Great Britain for protection and aid, now boldly defies and enter the lists against that very power. Drank tea at Mr. Francis Waldo's. Engaged my passage to Swansee in Captain Hawkins who is to sail tomorrow at 10 o'clock A.M.

Friday 25. Windy and drisly. Wind at E. Within all A.M. Mr. Francis Waldo called upon us and informed of Mr. Barnes arrival from London, invited us to tea in P.M. At 5 o'clock walkt out and called in at Mr. Waldo's, passed an agreeable hour; the evening at home preparing for my departure tomorrow.

Saturday 26. Pleasant fine morn, clear, wind fresh at E. Cleared off our scores; procured stores and sent our trunks aboard the sloop and at 11 o'clock accompanied by our late Landlord Mr. Sladen took

shipping, and with 2 pilot boats ahead cast off from the Quay, our vessell deep laden with goods and passengers of the number not less than 25 men women and children, 10 men, 11 women, 4 children, except a Mr. Stock, who by much greater part such as one might judge, the Hospital Almshouses or goals had poured forth for transportation.

In ——— hours discharged our pilot boat in Kingsroad, distant from the City 5 miles, having before parted with the other at Pitt, a small town lying in the river, where the river pilots reside. At 6 o'clock anchored, the tide being spent, about [2 words] within the flat holmes. At 11 broke ground and tided it as far as Minehead just without which we lay at anchor for the space of another 5 hours.

In the mean time about [1 word] and half turned into the Cabbín half filled with charitables, judge my situation sitting on the soft side of a locker, having a matt over a rung of a chair only for my head to rest on and 4 hours of the time a woman's head in my lap, and between both my legs a young girl stuffed in. Men and women and children were lying on the floor in all directions in every form

[The last page of volume 6 contains the following statement:]

This book like the former, is wrote partly by way of pastime and partly with a view to future amusement, should it please the sovereign disposer of Life to lengthen mine beyond the period of banishment and restore me again to my native country; if otherwise; and his will be done; may it, and the former prove an entertainment to my friends and family and to them and either I commend them requiring their care to keep them from the inspection of all others, being wrote too negligently but for the eye of Candor and friendship.

JOURNAL NO. 7

COMMENCED 27TH JULY 1777

BY SAMUEL CURWEN

(continued from the last page of the former book)

and shape, on the floor of the cabbín, heads and points, across and athwart, men women and children intermixed. By the light of two candles in bottles which for want of candlesticks we were fain to have

recourse to, appeared a curious spectacle and might have afforded an ingenious master of the pencil an opportunity of exhibiting as entertaining a view as the March over Finchly Common.

The greater part of the night was passed by many of our fellow passengers in groaning, roaring, snoring &c. &c. &c., besides a long train of disgusting &c.'s. Think then the condition of those of us who were well and capable of rest. Impatient of day, we abode in that mission of filth and stench for 6 long hours. Light at length appeared; this with the womens needs of privacy concurred with our own wishes to leave that worse than Lazaretto to its proper inhabitants nor did I return thither again during the remainder of the passage. This memorable night will not, I presume, be soon erased from the tablet of my memory.

The return of the ebb served, instead of a favorable wind to carry us nearer to our port of destination if indeed it was, as the sailors say, right in our teeth, the strength however of the current is such as to overpower a light gale; in which case vessells coming in or going out, drop anchor during the ebb or flood. When unfavorable night proved dark and drisly, just after midnight we dropt anchor. Daylight discovered the master's judgment in the choice of the ground he had chosen to anchor in, who is an excellent pilot, lying about a mile without the bar in the little bay called of Swansea.

At same time we discovered a boat rowing toward us which came out the evening before to meet us, from the "Mumbles" 3 high roundish lands making N.W. extremity of the bay. We put out our live stock glad to be released, chose to go on shore in the pilot boat that was going off. The day promising fair and the bulk departing, I chose to remain till the tide that was beginning to flow should convey us without further fatigue up to the Quay, the others who went off being to be landed on a marsh and walk a mile to the town. Breaking ground too early we stuck on the bar, the day being calm the wind favorable and the tide flowing quick were soon afloat and by the help of oars arrived without harm to a stony beach called the ferry place below the Quay almost $\frac{1}{4}$ mile from the town, the tide not being high enough to carry the Vessell up. Setting my foot on firm ground I almost resolved never, hereafter, to trust myself again to that uncertain element beyond necessity.

From the boat I walked to the Rose and Crown Tavern, supporting a gouty crippled fellow passenger, a Bristolian named Stock, and there breakfasted, but they being full, we adjourned to the Falcon where

we were received; passed the A.M. in settling for our passage and recovering the packages. Here we dined on roast chicken and Sewin, a fish so called of the salmon kind, beyond all comparison of a finer taste, and pleases me of all fish the most. After dining I walkt to a Dr. Collins to whom I had a letter from Mr. Barnes, without effect; he not being at home I proceeded to a lofty hill from whence is an extensive view of a romantic wild country. Being not a little fatigued for want of rest the preceding nights I retired early to my Inn, and shortly after to bed; glad once more to stretch myself at full length on a feather bed ashore. Had a most comfortable refreshing night.

July 29. Morn pleasant, wind brisk at N.W. Strolled about the Town; in passing along I observed a numerous body of people chiefly the lower order. Enquiring the cause of their meeting, was told a Court baron was then holding in the Town hall; my curiosity, ever alive, urging I entered. The Magistrate on the seat of Justice with the Officers and clients below awaiting the decision. This Court is instituted for determining pecuniary causes under 40/ sterling, is held every three weeks and is equivalent to our Justices Courts in New England. Tis I presume appendant to every manor, the Lords of which have the nominating if not appointing the officers to this trust. The manor in which this town lies is called Gower and belongs to the Duke of Beaufort, who has the right of choosing its chief Magistrate called Portreve, the present a Mr. Gabriel Powell, Justice also in the former Court, being him whom I saw on the bench. I saw one decision which I confess gave me pain; a poor female who was obliged to pay 1/9 for a debt of 9d which she appeared to think an unjust demand. I compassionated her case and determined to replace the money seemingly extorted unfairly from her but the croud being too great and turbulent I was obliged to give over my attempt.

From thence adjourned to my lodgings, dined on Duck and Sewin, and for an P.M. walk bent our course to Morris's castle a large 4 story building of stone standing on a high hill overlooking the Town. The 4 angles are covered with each a square tower rather higher than the body of the building and crowned with battlements, giving it the appearance of a fortification, and is appropriated to the use of 24 labouring familys. In our way hither passed many small dwellings of a forlorn and wretched aspect, suited to the appearance of their tenants whose ragged dirty dress and looks denoted want.

In passing through a street I read on a sign of the heart these lines

"Tis not for pride nor yet for gain
But friendships children to maintain"

and on the other side under the heart

"The onest harte

Good ale and choice liquor to be sold."

This raising my curiosity to hear the piteous tale, I entered, and fancying I spied an honest opprest heart laid out a few $\frac{1}{2}$ pence and in return received a curtesy with thank you very kindly Sir.

Passed evening at our Inn. A stranger by the name of Calvert sent in his name desiring to be introduced. He had married a neice of the late Mr. Gwynn of Newbury Port Massachusetts who was one of the coheireses having one or two sisters. His business was to make enquiries about his late Uncle's affairs of which I could give but an imperfect account. He invited us to his house to breakfast the following day, and took his leave.

-30- Cloudy and rain; wind boisterous at S.W. Breakfasted agreeable to invitation the last evening. Our host was particular in enquiries to which I couldn't give a very satisfactory answer and did only tell him in general that when I last saw him he had a wife and effects supposed about 2000 £s if administration and Congress would indulge strangers to come into possession which I thought unlikely. The man was a Mr. Carpenter in large business and ingenious in his profession of which I had proof. One of the company at breakfast was the Doctor to whom I had a letter from Mr. Barnes but he not choosing to make himself known, we took no notice of each other though we were both apprized of our meeting together, which on his part I thought an impropriety.

My foolish companion's capricious resolution to return back and the ill reception of my recommendatory letter were considerations that prevailed with me to accompany him, which was no sooner formed than executed and I instantly set about preparing for departure after dinner which was accompanied in as violent a shower as that which deluged the globe; and then in an instant was my design of remaining in this principality for some months frustrated by an injudicious connexion which might have been foreseen and avoided. This being wrote after my return, I regret my abandoning a plan that I plainly see could have been executed more satisfactorily alone than in his company.

Having dined and taken leave of our gouty companion I bent my

course to the ferry and was soon wafted over the said River Tawey in a boat guided by a rope, the rapidity of the tide rendering such an expedient necessary. Having landed we jumped into the carriage standing on the shore ready to receive us. At a little distance from the river we ascended a lofty hill, on the side lay our road being a fine level turnpike encompassing it in a circular line for more than a $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile, but the rain continuing to fall in cataracts accompanied with big winds obliging us to keep the glasses up thereby prevented our enjoying a most pleasing extensive prospect that the height of the road would otherwise have yielded us of lofty mountains and allees, improvements and the river for a considerable length in a variety of serpentine courses or directions from Swansey to *Neath*.

Our first stage was in the post chaise language 9 miles, in truth 8 only. This town consists of about 150 houses, and is situated on the Bristol channel or about the embouchure of the Severn, is a place of some trade in the same way as the former, though not to so great an extent. On the further side of the river are the remains of a magnificent monastery but under what denomination its former occupants were I did not learn, having only a passing view. Just beyond the town on the same side of the River on which they both lye are the seat and grounds of Sir Herbert Mackworth under excellent improvement. Standing in the gate of the Inn I heard one telling another that the Lad then passing was the Male descendant of him whose name was Pendrell that concealed and furnished King Charles the 2d whilst he abode on the Oak of Boscobel now standing, after Cromwells defeat of the Scottish army at Worcester.⁷

Continuing no longer at the Inn than to procure another carriage and fresh horses we departed for Pyle at Solitary Inn called the White heart. The hills continue of an extreme height through all this as well as the former stage. This house lyes in a village or parish of the same name and is 14 miles distant from our last; the lands assuming a more cultivated and useful pleasing appearance the further we receded from Swansey. The rain though not so cataractous was yet too plentiful to admit of letting down the glasses and concealed the heads of the mounts. The roads were good in this stage; passed the lands of a Mr. Talbot, called Murgum of 12000 a year by report, his mansion house

7. For their services to Charles II, by patent of 24 July 1776 an income was settled forever on the Pendrells and their heirs. The Royal Oak of Boscobel has disappeared but as late as 1931 the *London Times* reported that the Pendrell pension was being drawn by "a George Penderell of Brooklyn, U.S.A., a retired laundryman." Sir Paul Harvey, *The Oxford Companion to English Literature*, 4th ed. (Oxford, 1967), p. 630.

very large, but neither elegant nor mean. In the midst of a wilderness of native trees of which the sides and summit are clothed, stands an object in the form of an ancient Castle.

Thursday July 31. Moderate cloudy, now and then rain. At 6 o'clock we left the Inn; at 8 o'clock alighted at the bear inn Cowbridge, a long straggling town of better built houses and to appearance larger than Neath, lying on the River, and is a place of little trade. Length of last stage 12 miles. Here we breakfasted, during which 2 boys entering respectfully asked of us the favour of a play day; this address puzzling me to account for, was explained by the Landlord who was standing by. It was the custom for a long standing for the boys to obtain leave by a written note to the Master from any Person, Stranger or Townsman, and this being the day of the week they seeing us enter, availed themselves of it. Being explained I called for pen ink and paper and wrote the following:

"Messrs. ——— and Curwen present compliments to Mr. Williams, being informed that it is a custom in their School, ask the favour of a play day as this day for Scholars." Making their bows they went off, no doubt with glad hearts.

From hence we soon departed with fresh horses and a new carriage, and in 2 hours alighted at Cardiff distant therefrom 12 miles; roads generally level and a good turnpike, our abode the red house Inn. Cardiff is small but neat and clean, 'tis the Shire town of Glamorgan, where the Assizes and County Courts are held. It has one episcopal church, the streets are well paved, the houses modern built, none costly or much decorated, but neat. The inhabitants here and further on towards Monmouth begin to anglicize and loose Welsh manners and language, few or none in the Town speaking it though the mountaineers here and all over the principality make it their mother tongue and politically and I think very prudently and respectfully continue it. 'Tis observed that those towns and villages that have the least connection with trade retain their original tongue in greater use; North Wales more perfectly than South Wales, having less mixture with foreigners. In the Town hall I observed 8 or 10 full length portraits of the Earl of Windsor family who are Lords of the Manor within which this town lies.

After an hour's rest, and taking a refreshment we sett off in a post chaise for the mountainous Country to obtain a sight of a singular bridge over the River Taaffe called Ponty pridd, consisting of only

one arch spreading 142 feet, in heighth 34. Since I am told its heighth is 72 feet but this I suppose, from the bottom of the bed of the river, or of the foundation of the abutments on each side. Asking, very innocently a passenger on the bridge a question he replied *Tim sasnic*, exciting no little mirth in my mind this unexpected answer being what I had been before my arrival in this Country, told, would be given by a Welch man who did not understand english, those words meaning No English or as much as if he had said I don't understand english. This surprizing bold undertaking was planned and after 2 defeats executed by a common Mason whose name is Thomas Edwards still living. 'Tis said to be the greatest work of the kind in the world; exceeding the famous Rialto at Venice. Writers say it would do honour to the Roman Magnificence in the most flourishing times of the Empire.

From hence we returned by the way we went, and arriving safe at the Inn, refreshed with a cordial bowl of punch, supt on roast duck and delicious Sewin and then retired to rest. Memo; this fish is peculiar to Wales and so little known in England, that but few in Bristol to whom I mentioned it knew about it, or scarce heard of the name.

1777, *August 1.* After breakfast we walkt through the town and to the Castle remarkable for its being the prison of the unfortunate Robert eldest son of the first William and Duke of Normandy, who was not only deprived of his sight, of that Dukedom and the Kingdom of England the Government of which last was his by right of primogeniture but being made a prisoner by his younger Brother Henry languished here 26 years till death kindly released him from captivity and sufferings at once. This castle is almost entire, and seems as compleat or rather less ruined than any of the ancient ones not in the hands of the Crown. The dungeon wherein the unfortunate prince was kept is shown to strangers as a curiosity. It lyes under the outward tower, the descent is by 6 steps and was secured by 2 doors, one within another; the apartment about 18 feet high and as much diameter, of an octagon or round form, having an arched roof, admitting no light but through a wicket just under the coving jutting out from the body of the tower. The extent of the Castle within the walls about 12 acres; most of the cross walks and buildings within are taken away, the keepers house still standing and going to be repaired for the reception of its owner Lord Mount Stewart who married the eldest dauter of the late Earl of Windsor and holds this Castle and

the manor in right of his Lady. The magazine about 40 or 50 feet over is to be covered with an arched roof or ceiling in the style of the Pantheon or Ranelagh, to be highly finished, being intended for the ball room. There are yet some remains of its former strength and grandeur. Some subterraneous communications between different parts of the garrison have been by my Lord's curiosity explored, one lately of more than $\frac{1}{4}$ mile from hence to a Monastery of White Friars still standing.

From hence we returned to our Inn and gave orders for a carriage being intended soon to leave this town. Here on enquiry I found I could have full boarded at 24 £ a year. After my departure I learnt that a daughter of the late Parson Pigot of Marblehead was an inhabitant of this place.

Our next stage was Newport being nearly the same distance as the former, roads of the same quality. Here we alighted at $\frac{1}{2}$ after 11 o'clock at White Lamb and abode near an hour, passing the interval in rambling through the town like Cowbridge long and straggling, houses of a meaner appearance, part lying on an hill and endways on the river Usk; over it is a long bridge, the hither part standing on stone piers, the further on lofty wooden piles covered with planks, in so weak a condition as to render passage over seemingly hazardous, a single chaise making the whole fabric to tremble, the width scarce convenient for a carriage. On the banks of the river near the foot of bridge on the Town side are the remains of an old Castle in ruins, reduced to its present state by Cromwell, as I am told, all the castles in this Country were, wherein they abounded, scarce a town being without one, passing several in sight of the road, and all in a like decaying condition. This is now become private property; the parade containing $\frac{1}{2}$ an acre of ground is turned into a cow-yard. What remains of the towers, two whereof are entire are converted in stores. The side facing the river is also entire, and at each end or angle are 2 lofty towers. In the center under the walls is an arched gate-way communicating with the banks of the river whereon it stands. The town is but indifferently built, and seems to have no manufactures established among them. Here are a few retail tradesmen's shops and Inns which appear to constitute their whole employ.

From hence to the new passage is 16 miles. The lands for the greater part on our left were a level or moor, whereon I saw feeding numbers of herds of horned cattle, and on the road many peasants leading or driving their horses laden with hay. On enquiry I found the mountaineers supplied themselves with fodder for their cattle from the

low lands, their mountain tops yielding sufficient to maintain them.

At the inn we arrived about 12 o'clock, here we dined and loitered till 5 o'clock waiting for the flow of the tide and then with a fair but faint breeze entered the boat and loosed from the Welsh shore. Our freight consisted of horned cattle, horses, sheep and hogs, designed for the Bristol market, beside half a dozen passengers and 3 or 4 stout fellows to manage the boat, which but for their adroitness and address would have been carried on the shoals, a ledge of dangerous rocks lying in the river. Our escape was narrow, being within a few boats lengths of them. The tide at its beginning to flow comes in rapidly. This danger passed we had a pleasant passage and in 40 minutes arrived at the Gloucester side, devoutly thankful therefor, having ever a dread of long ferries especially over the Severn where frequent miscarriages happen.

Here we waited no longer than whilst the horses were putting to and taking our seats were conveyed across a pleasant extensive lawn filled with herds of black cattle and large flocks of sheep, bordered by a circular range of finely improved hills, and in 58 minutes arrived at the City end of Durdham down and soon alighted at our late lodgings Mr. Sladen's in Queen square, having finished an idle useless tour of 200 miles in 7 days at an expense of £3. From henceforth determined to consult the genius turn and temper of my future companions; my late fellow traveller's want of curiosity &c. &c. &c. renders him a very unfit companion and frustrates every purpose of rambling.¹

2 August. Pleasant day, mild air, wind N.Wly. Visited Mr. B[rowne] and W[aldo]; invited to tea, passed P.M. and evening there; received a letter lodged for me during my absence from G. R. Birmingham.

3. Air and weather as yesterday. Attended worship at St. Stephens. Dean Tucker preached, text "*Communion of the holy ghost.*" In P.M. walkt to Redland Church, text, "*Confirming the soul of the disciples and exhorting them to continue in the faith.*" Returned home via hot wells, by Mr. S. desire stopt for ½ hour into an ale house.

4. Air and weather as the 2 preceeding days. A.M. at home. Took a solitary airing toward evening.²

1. A brief note of acknowledgment to one of the rambles to the North, name not mentioned.

2. A long letter to Isaac Smith, clearing up a misunderstanding about a small debt and detailing his late ramble into Wales.

5. Air and weather same as yesterday. Visited Mr. B. and W. and by invitation passed P.M. and evening at Quadrille.

6. Cloudy and rainy appearance, Wind at Wly. Within all day writing. Evening walkt out for air and exercise.

7. Clear air and pleasant, Wind Wly. Attended worship at College. Bishop Newton³ well known in the learned world by his writings, confirmed about nine score persons, chiefly females, from 14 to 30 years of age, some few above.

August 8. Cloudy and showers all night, rainy, wind Wly. Took not withstanding an A.M. walk. Mr. B. called to invite me to his house to tea and cards. Air close. At 8 o'clock it began to thunder and lighten, continued with great severity for 6 hours, attended with heavy ——.

9. Cloudy dull day, some rain fell, wind Wly. Within all A.M., low spirits, drank tea and passed the evening at Mr. Francis Waldoes.

10. Attended worship at the Maior's Chappell. Baron Hotham the Nisi prius Judge present, accompanied by the Maior and Alderman in their formalities. A Mr. Underwood preacht from "How can I do this wickedness, and sin against God," service not beginning till 12. In the mean time I stept into the College. Ending late and a pain in my head prevented my going out till the evening I strolled to the hot well meeting and overtaking great numbers. Drank a glass of water. Returning home found the family increased by 3 Visitors from Wingfield.

11. Retired last night and this morning awoke with a severe nervous headach. Morn high winds continued with clouds all day. Walkt over to Mr. Browne and Francis Waldo by invitation. Drank tea and passed evening at quadrille, in great distress all the time from my pain.

12. Awoke with an increasing pain, horribly distress through the whole day. Utterly unable to support myself, having passed the preceeding night without a wink of sleep.

3. Thomas Newton (1704–1782), bishop of Bristol, prolific writer. Of his *Dissertation on the Prophecies*, Dr. Johnson remarked that it was "Tom's great work, but how far it was great and how much of it was Tom's was another matter." Hill, ed., *Johnson*, 4:286.

13. This most excruciating pain continues till mid P.M. it began to abate. Within all day.

14. Last night very restless, hot; pain still continues, just enough to cause attention, entirely incapable of reading, writing, or any exercise, scarce ever experiencing a more cruel or more lasting distress of this kind.

15. Confined all day by the bloody piles, great pain, attended with considerable swelling in ano, this being 3d day.⁴

16. Same as yesterday.

17. Within till evening Service, attended at Redcliff Church; the Rector of Bedminster to which this church is appendant whose name was Sprye preacht. Evening at Lady Huntingdon's Chappell, a Mr. Dymer preacht to a full and attentive assembly, text "But unto you that fear my name—as Calves of the stall." During service in great pain.

18. Confined all day by my disorder.

19. Within till Meridian Head dizzy, akishly inclined. A few turns in the Square, returned and passed P.M. and evening at Mr. Barnes's. By the ship *Lady Gage* from New York, 15 July, advised that General Heister is returning to Europe, the troops are withdrawn from Jerseys, that Lord and General How are embarking, destination unknown; discouraging news for Government, and is a convincing proof, I should think, that an insurrection excited by an enthusiastic ardour for liberty, rightly or wrongly understood, and in such distant provinces is not to be easily quelled. A contemptuous idea of the weakness of the colonies, and their inability to withstand the power of this opulent and once potent state is the chief, if not the only source of the present discouraging condition of their affairs in North America.

20. Thin light clouds, sun peeps out, warm air. An A.M. walk per me ipsum. P.M. drank tea, evening at quadrille at Mr. Francis W. per invi-

4. In reply to a letter from Isaac Smith giving the terms of boarding at Sidmouth Curwen wrote inquiring "Whether a fire is constantly kept in the dining room and the boarders are to use it, or keep a fire in their own rooms by themselves separate from the family; whether bread and butter, milk and oatmeal is to be found them, or tis expected they breakfast on tea, chocolate or coffee with the other articles at their own expence; and whether in case of a fortnights or months absence any allowance will be made."

tation. Advice from New York that General Prescott was surprized and carried off at midnight from a detached house a little beyond his lines to which it was known he had repaired by a few daring sailors who landed in the Island from the Continent to the amount of a dozen, headed by an enterprizing fellow late a hatter at New York whose name was ———. This attempt was made in revenge for General Prescott setting a price on General Arnold's head dead or alive to be brought in. General Pigot succeeds the former in command. That Lord and General Howe soon to leave New York with 17000 troops, expedition not known, supposed to Northward, to act in concert with General St. Leger who is coming down through the Mohawk Country; that General Burgoyne has taken Ticonderago, and a confirmation of the capture of Fort Mifflin by the Hancock and Boston privateers. 'Tis also said the Massachusetts people begin to be greatly disconcerted, and accuse each other of folly in engaging in an opposition that seems to promise such bitter fruits. Should General Burgoyne be able to establish a line of communication between Canada and New York and thereby separate the Northern from the Southern Colonies, woe to the promoters and abettors of these disputes, and good by to Congress Authority. The Indians will naturally fall into the heaviest scale especially when enforced by such powerful motives as Great Britain can offer. Should that event take place may it please God to preserve my poor Country from the desolating judgments of a merciless savage Indian war. 'Tis said the provincial fleet from Cork is arrived at New York.

21. Morn rainy. Before noon cleared away. A.M. walk. P.M. strolled as far as Bedminster Down. Read a letter from my friend I. Smith. My piles extreamly painful and troublesome. Applied a specific thrice without any visible good effect. Received a pot of it as a present from Mr. Taylor our late Visitor from London, 'tis a patent medicine, and one of those advertised never failing ones which in truth hardly ever do fail to disappoint the fond expectations of the credulous.⁵

5. To Dennis Deberdt he wrote: "I have heard of your engagement in the matrimonial state. I doubt not your judgment in the choice of a wife, hope you will prove worthy of each others regards. You have my warmest wishes for your mutual happiness . . . You will oblige me by employing a few moments in acquainting me with the condition that the bed I left under your care may be in being solicitous it should be preserved from ruin, not knowing what occasion I may have for it and little able in my present situation to replace it if spoilt." He also wrote to William Cabot at London about a watch borrowed from Mr. Toulmin, a wig in care of Mr. Walker the "wig dresser and maker," and further to look into the condition of his bed at Mr. Deberdt's.

22. Wind Wly. and boisterous, frequent sprinkling. Dined by invitation at Mr. Stock's Kingsdown hill. Passed P.M. and drank tea there, evening accompanied the 3 daughters of the family to the tragedy of "Tamerlane, or fall of Bajazet,"⁶ Entertainment "Irish widow," performance so so, a full house, some interruption.

August 23. Wind fresh, at N.W., a fine clear air, warm. A long walk through the Axbridge and Cross roads. Returned by Somerset square. P.M. drank tea at Mrs. Richards, after per me ipsum beyond Lowfords gate.

24. Fair, brisk wind at N. At Broadmead Baptist Meeting House, a Mr. Evans the minister. A.M. Pitham preacht from "*O Lord truly I am thy servant, I am thy servant and the son of thine handmaid, thou hast loosed my bonds.*" A useful, correct discourse. The house full, the assembly respectful and well dressed. P.M. at All Saints, accomodated, for a rarity, with a convenient seat. Dr. Stonehouse⁷ preacht an excellent serious discourse from "*Turn ye to the strongholds, ye prisoners of hope, even today do I declare I will render double unto Thee.*" A full assembly, the preacher of a venerable aspect, resembling, in my eye, the late Governor Shirley in his shape and make and size. Evening at Lady Huntingdon's Chappell adjoining Coulstone School. A Mr. Venn preacht from "*But one thing is needful, and Mary hath chosen that good part, which shall not be taken away from her.*" During my absence a Gentleman called on me.

25. Cloudy dull morn. A.M. walkt to Cotham hill from thence to Tindale's park where for the sake of air and a fine pleasing prospect continued walking with Francis Waldo 2 hours. P.M. and Evening at Mr. B[arne]s at quadrille, uncommonly unlucky.

26. Wind fresh, at W., cloudy and dull morn; at 10 o'clock cleared off pleasant. Intending for a long walk I left my lodgings, and with a Companion steered my course to Rownham passage proceeding over Leighdown, a common dry high situation, 3 miles long, at the further end stands a parish church called Abbots Leigh that I mistook for Pill,

6. *Tamerlane*, a tragedy by Nicholas Rowe (1674-1718), was first produced in 1702.

7. Sir James Stonhouse (1716-1795), baronet, physician and divine; took orders in 1749; wrote many theological tracts: advised Hannah More as to her reading; spent many years at Bristol for the waters.

whither I was bound, and entering the yard read the following epitaph and for its singularity copied off:

“We both lies underneath this stone;
Flesh of one flesh, bone of one bone:
Dissolved to dust, and burned to clay,
In hopes to live at the Great day.”

Having discovered the mistake, we directed our course through Mrs. Gordons ground, late known by the appellation of Lady Trenchard, which former name and title she exchanged for the sake of an husband for the present, to avoid the dust and heat which now began to be inconvenient in the road. This house sheltered King Charles 2 after his defeat and flight from Worcester. He was in the Kitchen when his pursuers entered, whom the more effectually to conceal the habit and character of a scullion the Cook maid struck with a ladle over his head, calling him a careless dog and ordering him to wind up the jack, which he obeyed getting on a stool to perform. The house is a large, noble, old fashioned structure, in the Court yard is a small piece of water filled with carp. Here we abode some time diverting ourselves with seeing them rise to the surface of the water to catch the crumbs of bread I threw in for that purpose, my Companion never before having had such a sight. From hence we departed and addressing ourselves to foot labour soon arrived at Pill, the end of this ramble. This town consists of about 150 houses, generally small, low and indifferently built and wholly inhabited by the Avon Pilots and lying on the river. Crossing the passage, as ferrys in this Country are called, we entered the Inn known by the name of Lamplighters hall, the origin of which my curiosity long in search, was now gratified by a discovery and as follows: About 30 years since, a Mr. Swetnam by trade a tinman, with 2 others contracted to furnish the city of Bristol with lamps and lights. The profits arising from this bargain enabled the undertaker to purchase the lands hereabouts on which he erected the present building, but tradesmen's country houses and villas at that period were not common appearances especially out of the neighbourhood of London, and this attracted the public notice occasioning the name of Swetnam's folly to be given it. The mans pride being hurt by such a reproachful name, he applied to an acquaintance for a new one, who sarcastically gave the present, which equally hurt the Owner and will last till all

human follies shall be lost in oblivion. From hence, after taking a refreshing draft of cool ale and $\frac{1}{2}$ hours rest sett off in as scorching a Sun as ever discharged his burning rays on the sands of Afric, hastened to the Inn at Kings Weston where we dined and abode till He that is the Sun had finished near $\frac{1}{2}$ his post meridian course, and at 6 o'clock arrived weary and almost dissolved at lodgings.

27. Clear, warm air, light thin clouds. Walkt out $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles on bath road. P.M. drank tea and passed evening at Mr. B[rown], received letters from W. B., W. C[abot], D[ennys] D[eberdt], R[ichard] W[ard]. Advice from home that all friends are well, the last dated April 6. Kings Weston is an estate belonging to Lord Clifford, Family name Southwell. At the Inn yesterday I heard that Lord and Lady Clifford had that morning sett off for the South of France on account of the ill health of the former, leaving a dead child in the house to be buried when convenient.

28. Morn rainy, at 10 o'clock cleared up. Walkt with Mr. B. to view Panpark cavern. It has been generally thought a natural one, but there are people now living who know it to have been a lead mine and remember the working. It has 4 paths, the descent is quick, though irregular runs into an huge frightful cavern, several score feet deep, the bottom covered with water. Here a young Clergyman accompanied by a young lady, whom he was soon to have married, came to this fatal spot on a Sunday P.M. about 2 years since and met an untimely fate for prompted by curiosity to explore he rashly ventured beyond a possibility of return and was hurried to the bottom, his body found some 10 days later floating on the water. Twas remarkt the lesson read by him in the morning service included among others the following expressions from the 88 Psalm, "free among the dead"; "I am counted with those that go down into a pit"; "Thou hast laid me in the lowest pit, in the darkness, in the deep"; "I am shut up that I cannot come forth"; "Thy terrors have cut me off"; &c. &c. Annual Gloucestershire feast this day. Drank tea at Mrs. Richards by invitation; part of P.M. passed there, the procession walkt from Concert hall to the Inn headed by Duke of Beaufort. Reported yesterday that Sir William Erskine by a masterly stroke of Generalship, having deceived General Washington by some movements had taken Philadelphia at the head of 4000 men without bloodshed. It proved a false report.

29. Clear brisk A.M., wind N.Wly. An A.M. walk. Mr. Timmins, Judge S. and Lady are arrived here from different quarters, the former from London, the latter from South and West circuits; passed an hour with them last evening.⁸

30. Rainy all day, wind Wly. Visited Judge S. and Mr. Timmins A.M. At home remainder of day.

31. A.M. clear and pleasant. At St. Stephens Church Dean Tucker preacht from "*Again the Kingdom of heaven is like unto a net which was cast into the sea &c.*" A circuits ramble with Judge S., Mr. T., B. and Fr. W. from Queens Square through College green and on terrass lying on banks of the Avon, with 2 former walkt to P.M. service Redcliff Church, Mr. Sprye the Rector preacht from "*Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain.*" Took an hours ramble round the city with my Companions; from thence I proceeded to John Westleys Chappell, Broadmead, his service being just ended I shaped my course homeward. Service at Lady Huntingdon's just beginning I stept in. A Mr. Venn preacht his farewell sermon from "*Then they that feared the Lord, spake often one to another.*" Remainder of evening at home. Retired early to bed.

Monday September 1, 1777. Clear warm morn, wind at N.W., accompanied my friend Judge S. in search of new lodgings, without effect, he continues at Mrs. Reynolds. Amused myself ½ hour at seeing 4 doggs dresst out in men and womens clothes dancing to the sound of the hand organ and hurdy gurdy. P.M. and evening at home.¹

2. Clear and cloudy alternately, sky threatening aspect, wind fresh S.Wly. Had a passing view of the half yearly fair held in St. James Church yard, through which I leisurely strolled; at this time are exposed in huts sheds and the adjoining houses along the street called horse fair, clothes, linnen, stockings, and every article in the haberdashery, and bauble way that are commonly to be met with at such times all over England, and besides the buyers both wholesale and retail are attended by numerous flocks of such characters as compose our Cambridge Common Gentry on a commencement day, and for the

8. Another letter to William Cabot thanking him for his advices requested earlier, offering him a loan of £50 of the 70 in Russell's hands, and making other business inquiries.

1. Curwen wrote a brief letter to George Russell authorizing him to let William Cabot draw on him to the extent of £50.

like purpose of festivity lewdness and fuddling. Confined within from Meridian by a violent pain in my gums jaws and cheek.

3. Pain and soreness lasted the whole night and still continues. Morn dull cloudy, wind varies on Wly. quarter and fresh. A.M. within, Mr. Timmins visited me. Abroad in P.M., passed evening at Judge S., introduced by him to Dean Tucker,² a famous political Divine, an Anticolonist, judges them a burthen to Great Britain and presses Administration to cast them off. After his departure played at quadrille.

4. Cloudy, moist air, wind W. Morn walkt solitarily after breakfast to Durdham down, returned by the hot wells and the Avon bank terrace. Fearing lest I may fall into some intemperate and rash expressions, perhaps actions that might —— a foundation for painful regret, from the repeated insults, abuse and folly of an ignorant, ill-natured self concerned clown with whom I've been unhappily connected for some months past, am now, at length come to a settled deliberate resolution to break those chains that have I know not why or wherefore, held me, as it should seem, in captivity; and shall, therefore, immediately write my young friend Smith at Sidmouth, for his assistance to procure lodgings informed of his success therein. At home till after 6 o'clock. Evening at the tragedy of George Bornewell³ in whose example is to be seen the fatal influence of a crafty, abandoned jilt over youthful inexperience. The entertainment a laughable tale, a very unfruitful conclusion of the former melancholy story; in their separate lines laudably enough performed.⁴

5. Dull cloudy morn, moderate and warm, wind W., now and then sprinkling. All day within preparing for my departure, forming list as usual.

6. Delightful morn, fine clear air, mild. A.M. walk. On change had an hours conversation with a stranger, a rare Event, people in England greatly indisposed to join with unknown persons. Memo: the Bristolians remarkable for early enquiries into character of all strangers

2. Josiah Tucker (1712–1799), economist and divine; rector of St. Stephen's Church, Bristol, and in 1758 Dean of Gloucester; wrote voluminously on trade and economics and theology, provoking Bishop Warburton to remark that he made a religion of his trade and a trade of his religion.

3. Possibly John Fletcher's *Sir John van Olden Barnavelt*, a historical tragedy first acted in 1619.

4. A note to Judge Sewall regretting his inability to call on him.

for commercial motives, and soon fasten on all worth making a property of, if practicable. All others of how great estimation soever are neglected. A general truth; there are exceptions. This city remarkable, to a proverb, for sharp and hard dealings. There runs a proverb, I write from report, *One jew is equal to 2 Genoese, and one Bristolian to 2 jews.* Number of its inhabitants by last estimate 72,000. George Campbells sermon, which Judge Sewall kindly brought me over, on the [3 words], very sensible, the Author, however, argues from a defect in the constitution here, that America should submit to the same evil that both reason and sound policy requires to be remedied and which perhaps, even this dregs of the state is not irremediable.

7. Fine soft air. At College, the Cathedral so called; Dr. Stonehouse preacht, an useful and excellent discourse from "*Then one of the 12 called Judas Iscariot went unto the High Priests and said unto them, what ye &c. &c.*" Had a convenient seat in the Choir. The preacher from practicing medicine, has now turned his attention to cure spiritual maladies, his discourses are serious and sensible and his delivery with decent and becoming energy, very unlike the insipid coldness of the modern taste among the preferment seeking amusement hunting Macaroni persons who to the shame and dishonour of this age and nation constitute the bulk of those of the established clergy who possess valuable livings. In P.M. at All Saints, same preacher, text "*And Moses went up from the plains of Nebo to the top of Pisgah, that is over &c.*" Sat in the Maior's pew, each parish church being furnished with one, which by custom he is to use once during the year. From hence walkt to a street adjoining Kings square to attend John Westleys⁵ preachment, he being seated on a decent scaffold addressed about 2000 people consisting of the middle lower and lowest ranks from these words, "No man can serve 2 masters, ye cannot serve God and Mammon." The preachers language is plain and intelligible without descending to vulgarisms of expression. In returning home via Lady Huntingdon's Chappell and service beginning, as though I could not be overladen with orthodoxy I even became a humble attendant on a Welch parson named William who held forth on the following words "Look unto me, and be ye saved *all the ends of the earth, for I am God, and there is none &c.*" A boisterous speaker.

5. John Wesley (1703-1791), founder of the Methodist Society with his brother Charles. At that time he was at the height of his field-preaching and still a member of the Church of England.

8. Morn delightful, air uncommonly clear and soft, wind E. A long A.M. walk to show Judge the finest view of Britain, the air now becoming sultry. Invited into Mrs. Cantles Knowl hill, the most agreeable situation about Britain, and returning stopt at Sam Taylor's glass house. P.M. at home till solicited to accompany the young women of the family to the Fair.⁶

9. Dusky close, mild air, thin clouds render sun dimly seen. Passed day in writing to G.R. Birmingham and W.C., London. Took a late P.M. walk to the Fair.

10. Air mild, thin light clouds, wind at E. An early morn walk to Cotham hill. 'Twas reported and greedily swallowed by the Court party, but it proved the lye only of an hour; that General Washington was taken prisoner, his army refusing to fight. Walkt with company on the square. In the evening per me ipsum.

11. Mild soft air, milky atmosphere. Walkt to Fare and round by St. Thomas calling at Cornets Frye who was on his Western journey. Drank tea, passed P.M. and evening at Mr. B. by invitation.

12. Cloudy, air raw, wind at ———, took an airing, passed remainder of time at home.

13. Cloudy, dark unpleasant morn. Accompanied by Mr. Timmins bought at Fare a mourning crow [coloured waistcoat?] expecting soon a Court mourning for the Duke of Gloucester whose death is every day expected advice of from Rome. Drank tea, passed evening at Judge S.⁷

6. A misunderstanding arose between Cabot and Curwen about the loan of £50. Curwen's letter book contains a rather formidable reply to one from Cabot, at the end of which appears, "This was not sent but the following of the same date." The following letter in a more moderate tone reports Curwen's request to Russell and his receipt of a draft to his order on Messrs. Gibson, Winter & Johnson of London on ten days sight, and enclose the draft endorsed to Cabot. The cause of the trouble appears to have arisen from Cabot's having mentioned that he knew Curwen had funds on deposit with Smith Son & Russel but declined to tell Curwen how he had discovered the fact. This same day Curwen wrote to George Russell acknowledging receipt of the draft and giving an account of his ramble into Wales.

7. To Isaac Smith he wrote of his intention to remain longer in Bristol and invited him into a speculation. "What say you to a bold stroke for 5000 £ [2 words] rather than stand out. For as the old proverb has it 'tis better to play at a small game than stand out. Perhaps your ill luck and mine shook together may bring for the good, like two negatives in Algebra, added together, you know, produce an Affirmative. In-

14. Delightful morn, wind fresh, at N.E. At St. Stephens Dean Tucker preacht from "*In whom we have redemption through his blood &c.*" After service walkt to College green with Mr. Timmins and Francis Waldo. In P.M. at All Saints, Dr. Stonehouse, the P.M. preacher instructed us from "*Grieve not the holy Spirit of God,*" a most excellent discourse, but like most I hear, tis I fear seed dropt in barren ground. After this service ended I once more attended John Westleys in the same spot as the last, having the heavens for his canopy. He began with an extempore prayer, followed by an hymn of his own composing and adapted to the subject to be preacht over. Sermon concluded with a pertinent prayer, a 2d hymn followed and then the blessing of common form concluded the whole service. He is a man of Dr. Holyokes⁸ size and heighth. He wears his own gray hair or a wig so very like that my eyes couldnt distinguish; not a graceful speaker, his voice weak and harshish. He is attended by great numbers of middling and lowest class, is said to have humanized the almost savage Colliers at Kingswood who were before his time almost as fierce and unmanageable as the wild beasts of the wilderness. He wears an Oxford masters gown, his attentions seem not employed on manner and behaviour, not rude but negligent, dress clearly not neat. He is always visiting the numerous societies of his own forming in England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland. Though near 80 years old reads without spectacles the smallest print, rises at 4 and preaches every day at 5 and once besides, a no uncommon instance of muscular bodily ability. Evening at home.

15. Clear morn, bright sun, wind N.E. Solitary walk to Sam Taylors, from my return abode within till 5 o'clock. Informed by the late tax gatherer in St. James parish that the number of inhabited houses therein is 3000, 8 souls in each on a medium. At a jewellers auction I saw 2 gold chain case watches sold at £6/7/6 each.⁹

16. Morn clear, early chilly and cold; A.M. air softened, sun bright and mild. A.M. a long walk with Mr. B. In P.M. within till [4?] o'clock.

closed is a scheme; in the 3 former of the Irish I am an adventurer already and I do not much care if with you I sport 20/ more."

8. Edward Augustus Holyoke (1728-1829), Harvard 1746, for many years Salem's leading physician.

9. To his wife Curwen expressed his pleasure at learning she was well, asked for more particular news, and said, "by some advices from America tis judged this ruinous ——— may be ended before another season is over, nor am I without hopes, however faint, to see you within a twelvemonth."

Accompanied my Landlord to the Cat and Wheel, Castle Green. Passed evening in a room full of Company drinking ale involved in a thick cloud of tobacco smoke. A delightful evening after a dull cloudy unpleasant P.M. Often the case here.

17. Early in morn foggy, A.M. clear sun, mild air. Headach, a disagreeable nausea, unusual symptom with me.¹⁰

18. Air and weather as yesterday. Indisposed to exercise from same cause. Forced myself reluctantly out and in one hour encircled Queens Square 7 times.¹¹

19. As yesterday, took an emetic to little good effect. 2 large ships laden with coals sailed for New York.

20. Morn moderate and pleasant, air dustyish, thin clouds dim Sol. Exercise and motion increases the nausea which a glass of Stoughton's elixir happily relieved. P.M. air raw, kept within till 6 or 7 o'clock walk to Askins wine cellar to engage a dozen raisin wine.

21. Morn dull and cloudy, P.M. pleasanter. A.M. at Lewins Mead Meeting House. Mr. Wright gave us an excellent discourse from "*Yet one thing lackest thou.*" Mr. Wright began by prayer and reading, the subject serious advice to sincerity in our religious profession, and the part of universal righteousness. The house old-fashioned, large assembly respectable for numbers and appearance. Here attends the Charity children with blew coats and bands like the episcopal foundation of Christ Church Hospital London. In P.M. at Meeting House Castle green. Mr. Walker the minister preached a serious sermon from "*O Thou that hearest prayer, unto Thee shall all flesh come.*" A small house much more elegant taste, assembly small but well dressed, an anthem after service, indifferently performed, few only staid.

22. Clear fresh air, wind N. Confined within by an obstinate costiveness, rendering me listless and unfit and incapable of exercise or any application of Body or Mind.¹²

10. A long letter to William Pyncheon dated this day, full of gossip and the desire to return to Salem.

11. A short letter to "Mr. Whitcher of Christ Church, Harts" inquiring about knit silk stockings and his desire to buy a dozen pair of lads' or small mens.'

12. A letter to Cabot expressed sorrow at learning of the death of his sister. "I am grieved for this redoubled stroke on your much to be pitied Aunt Gerrish whose

23. Same as yesterday. Relieved by a dose of salts. Within all day. Visited by Mr. Timmins, passed an hour with him at backgammon. Uncommonly lucky.

24. Sun rise clear, pleasant morn; wind variable. Within all day. Rose early, called up by a natural demand.

25. Morn clear, air agreeable very like our New England weather at this season. A.M. visit to Judge S. and Mr. T., neither being within. Accompanied by Mr. Barnes I rambled to Bedminster Church; on the front of one of the buttresses is this inscription "T.I. I.P. C.W." underneath "1 ω ω 3," denoting I presume, 1003, the year of this church's erection. The two first couplets are the initials of the names of Church Wardens denoted by 2 last letters. This, though comparatively a small Edifice is the Mother Church of St. Mary Redcliff, one of the largest and perhaps finest parochial churches in England. At home remainder of the day.¹³

26. Morn delightful, P.M. cloudy and drisly. Visited by Judge Sewall, Mr. Timmins, Barnes and Francis Waldo, by whom I was agreeably detained within till dinner time. Before their arrival I took an early walk to Hotwells and in passing down noted the wet Dock now called the Merchants, and is designed to receive the loading of pitch, tar, turpentine and lumber on its Quay for the greater safety of the city, lying on the Avon more than a mile below it. 'Tis in length 180 of my paces in width 90 which at 2:9 inches renders the dock a superficies of 13611 yards square. It has a depth of 21 at the gates and about 12 at Upper quay. The whole faced with wrought squared stone accomodated with convenient stepps and is capable of holding many score shipp. 'Tis reported that General How is gone to Boston and if he makes a successful landing and is powerful enough to penetrate into the Country Woe betide my poor native Country. A few days [undecidedness?] with regard to the object of General Howe's expedition.

27. Warm, cloudy morn, drisly, wind as yesterday at S. P.M. same. Took, however, an early walk, weather unfavorable. Judge Sewall

multiplied losses in the death of 4 grown up sons who would have been able to have sustained her declining age now bending with sorrows, I have a compassionate feeling for."

13. To Cabot he sent a letter to be "carefully" forwarded and expressed a willingness to advance another £10 if needed.

and Mr. Timmins passed 2 hours with me at backgammon. Received my pamphlet 3 Dialogues concerning Liberty.

28. Cloudy, moderate. At Tuckers Street Meeting House, a Mr. Davis preacht from "*Judah thou wast cold or hot etc.*," a plain homespun speaker. In P.M. at Temple Church Mr. Romaine preacht to a numerous Audience, text "*And they worshipped him*," the design to inculcate that Christ, the Imanuel, God man was the true God, the eternal Jehovah, and had been worshipped, to use his own language, to this time, by the collidge of prophets, of Apostles, by the Christian church on earth, and by the whole host of heaven; and it was doubtless swallowed as divine teachings, wholesome spiritual food by the bulk of his hearers. The structure is large, seems to be of some Centuries back, is, and to the commendation of Bristol be it said, like all the rest of their public edifices in neat order and excellent repair.

29. Moderate, cloudy, wind E. Early woke. Visited by Mr. T. and Judge S. who passed the time at backgammon. P.M. at Mr. Barnes by invitation, drank tea, evening at quadrille with 13 Americans. The Temple Church is so denominated from its having belonged to the Knights Templars from whom the street also wherein it stands bears its name. That powerful and dangerous body of men was dissolved about 1270.

30. Moderate, foggy, wind at E. By my friend Mr. Timmins interest I obtained in company with Judge S., Mr. B[arnes] and Fr.W. a sight of the copper works. P.M. and evening within.

1777 *October 1.* Mild moderate morn, wind at E. within all day.

2, 1777. Clear, pleasant morn, wind N.W. —where how when.

3. Fine morn, clear agreeable soft air, wind N.W. Accompanied by a Mr. Cooper, a Merchant and acquaintance of Mr. T., Judge S., Mr. Fr. W. and myself walkt to the Great Glass house of Coghlan Ekton, Miles & Peach, wherein the weekly consumption of Coals are 100 horse loads at 3 barrels each horse load makes 1800 barrels reckoning 6 days amounting in the year to 93600 barrels per annum. A Mr. Wilcox the 1st Clerk attended us through. From hence Mr. Cooper conducted us to the white lead manufacture but neither his nor Mr. Wilcoxes interest were powerful enough to obtain us an admission,

not to my disappointment, not expecting it knowing the manufacturers reserve on that head having been once before at Derby denied. On our return we entered the Library wether the City, Merchants or a private society's, I enquired not, nor was told. The building is an handsome stone structure on King street, the room about 26 or 28 feet square, 16 high, the cases of oak, the books in general neatly bound, in number perhaps 2000. Passed P.M., drank tea, evening at quadrille.

4. Clear cold morn, wind fresh and at S.W. Retired last evening with headach, waked with the same. Before the Lexington privateer was taken, it had burnt, sunk and destroyed 52 British merchant ships, on coast of Great Britain and Ireland, as appears by their log book, as well as by papers and letters on board her.

5. Clear favorable sky, wind boisterous at N.W. Headach continues, body, however, in good order, a rare instance. Confined by pain. West Indies fleet are all arrived safe, to the no small contentment of owners and insurers.

6. Fresh, pleasant, wind brisk at S.W. Dined by my friend Mr. T. introduction at Mr. Gibbons an hardware merchant; gave me a general invitation, in particular next Monday, his plumb pudding day; his custom as in Yorkshire where he was born, to begin with that which is observed no where else, generally, in England. He seems hearty and is unceremonious. Walkt with Mr. T. over Brandon hill, and returned via Hotwells. Passed evening at home at quadrille. Supt on remains of an annual feast the Landlady observes in honour of her wedding day.¹

7. Rainy, wind at S.W., blustering. Abode within all day.

1. Curwen wrote to Isaac Smith that he was about to move to Exeter, adding "The number of our country folks in this city are 18 of which the following is a list, Mr. Boutineau and Lady, Mr. Benjamin Fanneil and Lady, Judge S. and Lady, Mr. Barnes and Lady and niece, Mr. Fenton, dauter, Lady dead, I presume you know, 2 months since, and son, Mr. Francis Waldo, Mr. Timmins, Col. Hatches 2 dauters at school, myself . . . Gov. Hutchinson in a letter to Judge Sewall writes that the news respecting the defeat of the Americans at Saratoga is corroborated by other circumstances concurring to establish the credibility of the Lieutenant's letter; the remainder of the story stands on its own bottom, or in other words is doubtful; 'tis however believed by some that 200 only of the Royal Army fell in the attack and of the Americans 1500 are killed, wounded and prisoners with artillery and stores. He also writes that he has it from high authority that Lord George Germaine believes Lord Howe gone to Chesapeake bay and the King to the Northward, but my belief is that this is a stroke of court policy to keep down discontent in the minds of people who begin to grow impatient."

8. Pleasant dry air, wind N.W. A.M. walk with Judge S. and Mr. T. to Kingsdown hill from whence is a fine view of the City, and a large extent of a finely improved Country. P.M. walkt over to Temple Churchyard; contains no curious epitaphs. From thence to the Great Gardens so called, now laid out in houses and streets in the lowest style and from thence across the Avon to St. Philip and St. Jacob Church, never before seen. Evening at Moravian Chapel, a Mr. Le-Trapp preacht from "*All that the Father giveth me shall come to me, and him that cometh to me I will in no wise cast out.*" A ready lecturarian, of great freedom and fluency in delivery. Doctrine that redemption is offered to all indiscriminately; Christ is very God and very man in one person subsisting; lamented infidelity, appeared to possess a benevolent heart, void of zeal against any for difference in opinion.

9. Moderate, fair weather clouds, wind N.W. In P.M. walkt with Mr. Sladen to Baptist Mills being Hurfords brass works on Froome; no admission but by a proprietor's order. At a Mr. Baileys saw an artificial magnet called an horseshoe, consisting of 8 peices, each suspends 16 and together it exceeded my strength to pull off the cap.

10. Clear fresh day. Within the whole day. Alarmed by chimneys taking fire, 10 barrels of soot and burnt cinders, the neighbourhood in no small danger.

11. Clear fair day. A.M. walk. P.M. and evening at Judge Sewalls at backgammon and Quadrille.

October 12. Cloudy, chill air. At Lewins mead Meeting House. Mr. Wright preacht from "*And as he reasoned of righteousness etc.,*" a pathetic address not to delay the important concerns of the Soul to a dying day. In P.M. at All Saints Dr. Stonehouse preached from "*and when he was come near, he beheld the City and wept over it etc.,*" a serious earnest persuasion to embrace the present season of grace, since delays may produce never ending misery. Evening at Moravian Chapel, a Mr. Worthington formerly a musical performer in and about London, preacht from "*This is his commandment, that we should etc.,*" superlatively orthodox, a fluent speaker, no regular arrangement. He said "the Deity is impassive, the eternal Jehovah condescended to become incarnate, and by suffering the death on the

cross to expiate for the sins of man committed against himself." I verily believe if this be true theology, I shall go out of time in to eternity with the stain of Infidelity.

13. An A.M. walk per me ipsum. Dined at Mr. Gibbons with Mr. Barnes, who drank tea with me.

14. Cloudy, drisly morn, wind S.W., blustering. A.M. abroad. P.M. at home.

15. Cloudy, rainy, wind at W.

16. Moderate, as yesterday, wind at W. Walkt through Clifton to Hotwells, drank glass of water, returned [pereandum?] drank tea at home, passed evening at Judge S. by invitation.

17. Clouds, drisle, rain, wind at E. Within all day.

18. Moderate, wind at E. Walkt in Square at Meridian. In P.M. a ramble through the streets. A violent headach, supposed occasioned by tea.

19. Waked with same, abstained from breakfast, which with rest subdued the pain. Within all day. Received bank bill from London. Wind at E.

20. Cool air, but pleasant; wind E. Wrote an answer to W.C., London. An airing round Square. P.M. took the round of City. Evening at home.

21. Fine clear morn, wind fresh at E. Rose at 6 o'clock and went a coarsing with 2 greyhounds and a Spaniel for hares. Started one and lost her in a turnip field. Returned about 2 o'clock not greatly fatigued, though after a ramble of 15 good miles over hedges, fences, ditches, etc. Within remainder of P.M.²

22. Clear cold morn, wind fresh at E. Walk through Tondales park and Kings down hills with Mr. Russell, an Irish Gentleman. At home remainder of P.M. and evening.

2. A letter to Cabot acknowledging receipt of a bill.

23. ———

24. A thick stinking fog, at 9 o'clock cleared off; air serene and delightful bright sky. Rode to Shepton Mallet on a visit. Road through the villages of Knowl, Whitchurch, Stoneheason, Chetwood, Pensford, Clutton, Temple cloud and Gournaysland, in the third is situated the estate of the well known Hipplesley Cox, Member from Somersetshire, whose large fortune is diminished by several scores of 1000s of pounds as many [tinst?] gamblers have to their own gain experienced. Kindly received by Mr. and Mrs. Davis at my arrival at their house, where I passed the evening, being joyned by Mr. and Mrs. Broadrip who pressingly urged my stay till Monday with them, that I declined for reasons of prudence.

25. Cloudy, sky of a menacing aspect, wind SW and brisk. Arrived from Shepton Mallet by 4 o'clock. At home remainder of day.

26. Wind S.W., boisterous, cloudy, air unpleasant. Lewins Mead Meeting house, Mr. Wright preacht from "*Ye are my friends, if ye do whatsoever I command you*" serious, sensible discourse. In P.M. at All Saints Dr. Stonehouse preached to a crouded house as usual "*Now they do it to obtain a corruptible crown, but we are incorruptible*"; the Doctor breaking off in mid-sermon to call for candles, the house being dark. In passing to Church I overtook a female who accosting me by name caused me to turn and look at her recollecting a face I had [seen]; enquired her name, it proved to be Molly Church a maid servant in the family of my late father in law Mr. Russell of Charleston, who came over a servant with a Mrs. Borland.

27. Cloudy, moderate, wind N.Wly. Took an A.M. and P.M. walk. Entered the workshop of a shot caster wishing to see the whole process but the master's shyness and reserve, giving a reluctant consent to admit me, determined me not to accept his offer, the sight and information already had renders a further attendance needless.

28. Foggy and cloudy, morn raw, wind at N.W. Had a sight of the Pennsylvania [host?] which manifests a confidence in their ability to support their late acquired authority. 'Tis a triumph to a few, misery to many I fear. Invited by Judge S., I passed the evening at his house with company.

Wednesday 29. Cloudy, rainy morn, wind boisterous at W. Remained sett at home all day.

30. Rainy, wind at S., very fresh. Settled and discharged all accounts, being to depart on the morrow, rendered insupportable by the incessant illnatured clownish treatment of my fellow boarders and the younger daughter of the family. After tea with Miss Cookson of Mr. Joseph Waldoes house whose niece she is, left under her care one of my trunks.³

31. A fine still morn, sky remarkably clear, wind N.W. Arose between 3 and 4 o'clock, and in an hour, most part of which, from the inhumanity of the family I remained alone without fire or candles, departed at the call of the Waiter from the bush tavern, from whence about 6 o'clock with 2 fellow travellers I entered the Diligence the day before engaged. My 2 said Companions were Brothers of the name of Britton, the one a person of a cheerful humour and of the learned tribe, the other late from East Indies with a few 1000 pounds which he was early retiring to enjoy whilst he had a relish for the pleasures of sense. Breakfasted at White Hart Cross, dined at Kingshead Bridgewater, and at ½ past 8 alighted at half moon Exeter, having run a distance of 82 miles in 16 hours.

November 1, 1777. Morn pleasant. About 10 o'clock departed from the Inn on horesback attended by a servant with my Portmantua, passing the villages of Bishops Clift, Newton Poppleford, and Farmington and in 2 ½ hours alighted at my friend Isaac Smith's lodgings Robert Folletts house Sidmouth, welcomed in a friendly manner by the family. Proposing to pass a fortnight here before I fix down in my winter quarters Exon. In P.M. strolled with my friend Mr. Smith on beach and through feilds, evening at quadrille.¹

2. Dark, cloudy, wind boisterous, at S. Within A.M. Attended at Meeting House, Mr. Smith preached from "*Again, the Kingdom of heaven is like unto a net cast into the sea &c.*" Evening at home passed in conversation.

3. Cloudy, moderate, within till Meridian. A few turns on beach; P.M. and evening at home.

3. To Col. Browne at Haymarket a brief note advising of his intended removal and remarking on the "unsuitable companion" he had on his long tour to the North.

1. To Mr. Sladen at Bristol, Curwen wrote asking him to forward his wig,

4. Same as yesterday.

5. Gun Powder plot observed as a Thanksgiving. Mr. Smith preacht from "*I said, this is my infirmity &c.*" Pleasant air, clear sky. Drank tea by invitation at Mr. Abraham Folletts.

6. Moderate, thin clouds, wind ———. Dined at Mr. William Carslucks with Bowling Green club. Passed P.M. and evening till 12 o'clock.

7. Moderate, cloudy, P.M. drisle. Rode to Beer, a fishing Town, containing, perhaps, 100 houses, mudwalks, thatched roofs, inhabitants in looks and dress resembling Mill Head folks. Dined at a Mr. Cotts, she a [princip stud and Act?] in the orthodox dissenting Congregation here. Stopt in our return at a farm called Baldash minister of Collyton named Cornish; with the Parson agreed to exchange pulpits, he, it seems, is a most cordial advocate for America and its independency. He is for retiring to woods and caves to avoid religious persecution.

[8. *Curwen omitted this day.*]

9. Clear air, fresh gale, wind at W. Rode with Mr. Smith to Collyton, was hospitably entertained at a Mr. Slades, a wealthy man of the order called Gentleman farmers. Mr. Smith preacht from "*Therefore being justified by faith, we have &c.*" A small decent house, hearers in A.M. about 50, P.M. more than doubled. Text "The Lord hath prepared his throne."

10. Moderate, pleasant air. At 10 o'clock departed, intentionally for Axminster, which had like to have been fatally prevented by our Guide Mr. C.'s misadvice in fording the rive Axe, the water being high, by late rains, my horse sunk into a hole under the bridge among the piles carrying me nearly up to my breast, unable to disengage my feet out of the stirrups, but he happily recovering his foothold, brought me dripping out of the river thankful enough for my narrow escape.

Being by this plunge obliged to return to Collyton I was provided at the Dolphin Inn by the friendly offices of the Mistress with dry clothes of her husband's, and soon in a condition of remounting my horse and proceeding to our intended objective Axminster, to where arrived in 1 hour passing through a Villa called Killminton; from an

eminence in the road about a mile from Collyton is a most delightful prospect of the Vale, through which the Axe flows in a Serpentine direction, under high improvements bordered by hills of a moderate heighth laid out in paths and feilds up to the Summit; from [where] was seen at the mouth of the river, supposed to have been a roman port not the least trace of which is now to be seen, nor is the spot, if ever one, known. In this road lies a stately old house called Ash, wherein the great late Duke of Marlborough was born, a Village of no account called Musberry, and at the extremity Axminster. Here we dined at the Green Dragon; introduced to the Carpet Manufactory called from the Town, invented and still carried on by a Mr. Whitty an ingenious obliging person of the profession dissenting.

Here is also wrot beside his own of a peculiar construction, Turkey carpet so very like in figure colour and thickness as not to be distinguished. They are wrote in perpendicular looms by females, whose fingers, by use, move with a velocity beyond the power of the eye to follow, the Ob or shute² consisting of as many colours as the shades of the figures is placed aloft on a reed or barr through rings running thereon, each ring passing a different colour through. There was working a most beautiful large one for the Countess of Salisbury of 36 feet square amounting to £96. From the following account he obtained the knowledge of making the Turkey carpets; an old fellow in a ragged military garb stopping at his door desired to see his manufactory, always open for a 1/ from each visiter, a customary fee forming a fund for the labourers, divided every Christmas. The old man on being interrogated said he had wrot all over Europe in all kinds of businesses; in the Carpet way, yes, Turkey carpet, yes; from him he obtained his knowledge and now makes to as great perfection as the genuine, his carpets consist of one piece only, not like the other manufactories in widths of $\frac{3}{4}$ or $\frac{1}{4}$ wide. The Wilton the next in value are 9/ apiece, the Axminster 24/ as I was [told] the next day by his son who rode with my Companion and me to Lyme.

From hence to Ford Abbey is a distance of 8 miles through dirty cross roads. Here we alighted at the Inn. This seat was possessed by a Mr. Gwynn, whose body now lies at Bath to be conveyed hither tomorrow to be deposited in the family vault under the Chappel having died there a few days since. This house was formerly a Monastery and seems as perfect as if not 20 years standing; its length in front 108

2. Bobbin and shuttle.

of my paces. 'Tis reported it pays more window light tax than any house in England next to Woburn Abbey. The front of the Kitchen and Offices longer than main front is wholly covered with Ivy. We couldn't be admitted to the great hall, by repute a most noble apartment the Lady giving order since the death of her husband to admit none. The Chappell is small on the style of 3 or 4 Centurys and in good order; afforded a sight of the vault, my curiosity however did not prompt me to visit the mansions of the dead till it shall become my last abode.

Under the guidance of a boy furnisht from the Inn we passed a dirty blind road in the dark, a dirty manufactory parish in this County, and arrived at Golden Lion at Thorne [comb?], a pompous sign, ill answering the rest of the appearance without or accomodations within; filthy [*1 word*], dirty walls, disagreeable smells, wretched accomodations, but here necessity constrained our abode, making the best on it we called for supper of poached eggs, for beverages, rum and water, and tolerable beer. There is a manufacture of narrow clothes, and being a good farming country great quantities of butter are sent to London. The late Vicar of this dirty parish was Father of Commodore Samuel Hood lately commanding a squadron of men-at-war at Boston.

11. Cloudy, rainy at spells, wind S.Wly. and extremely boisterous. Road in part lay on side of an high hill called High Church hill, on one of its summits are the ruins of an ancient Castle called Lammas. The excessive high wind prevented our climbing to it. At 11 o'clock arrived at Lyme Regis, lying on South Channell, in an exposed situation. It has but little trade, coast or otherways, supplying the neibourhood with Coals imported here from the North. 'Tis also a watering place, being accomodated with a few bathing machines, a terrace facing the beach and [mar?] adjoyning for walking, a long room for tea and cards of a south aspect, and of late a neat Assembly room. The inhabitants supposed about 1200 chiefly as I'm told, dissenters; houses in Number about 200, one Episcopal Church, one for Presbyterians large handsome building, a Mr. Harris the minister, whom we visited. One baptist Meeting House. Here is a house still standing known by the name of George Inn, wherein the Duke of Monmouth first slept on his invasion. For the security of the vessells coming in here, is a circular pier of several 100 feet, built by the ever famous Sir John Oldcastle, Lord Cobham and from him denominated the Cobb. This town at the last [*1 word*] in King Williams reign, out of its great zeal

for the glorious sovereign, gave in a valuation up to its full ability; since, falling into decay, it has become unable to pay its tax, and is therefore yearly in arrears to the [them?] from whence a mistake has arisen that it pays no tax. Government, however, forbears to demand its arrearage and in return the Ministry is sure of having such numbers as it shall propose.

After patrolling through the town and visiting every thing worth seeing we retreated to the Inn and paying the hostess demand, called for our horses and mounting departed for Culliford through which we passed without stopping for Mr. John Carslucks at Wish Coomb, name of his estate, so called from its situation which in Devonshire dialect means, dreary, forlorn, Coomb, Vale, this name properly describes. Kindly entertained and lodged, passing evening at Cards, the Master and 2 Ladies one a sister, of a youthful aspect, for her age bordering on 40.

12. Cloudy and drisly, wind at S.W. At Meridian took leave and mounted, shaping course through the Country to Slade, seat of Mr. Lee, one of Mr. Smith's hearers; calling we notified them of our intention to dine, and passing forward proceeded to Branscomb consisting of 5 separate clusters of small mean hutts of mud walls and thatched roofs, standing on uneven ground about one mile long, called Branscomb, Dean, Church meaning the point wherein the Church stands, Bank, Petheridge so called meaning the Vicarage, or Vicar's residence, and Saysaside, or Seaside, the estate lying thereon; the parish formerly an estate of the Branscomb family was given to a monastery at Caen in Normandy, and remained appendant thereto till the downfall of popish tyranny in England. Returning back to Mr. Lee's we dined and drank tea and at 7 o'clock resuming our saddles took leave, and crossing Salcomb hill alighted at lodgings after a circuit ramble of 47 miles performed in 4 days over roads for the greater part more dirty, stony and disagreeable than is generally to be passed in our own country.

13. Cloudy, now and again drisly; within all day.

14. Clear air, wind mild at E. Took a walk on beach and onward towards Peak hills with my friend Smith; uncommonly pleasant, within P.M.

15. Clear air, bright Sun, wind brisk at N.E. Within all day.

16. Air clear and mild, wind N.W. Rode with Mr. Smith to Sidbury. He preacht to a thin and informal house from "*After this manner, therefore pray ye.*" Returned home to dinner. In P.M. at Meeting House, Mr. Smith preacht to largest assembly I ever saw there, from "*Let every Man be fully, &c.*"

17. Took an airing over Peak hill. Evening in a large Company at Mr. William Carslucks, Coddington house, his seat. Drank tea, an elegant and generous supper, Cards &c. till after 1 o'clock. Caught a most distressing nervous headach.

18. Cloudy and showery; rode however and with a headach, passing a farm called Thorn from a thorn bush or tree standing on road near by, said to be more than 300 years old. Evening at Old Captain Samuel Folletts.

19. Moderate, cloudy. Taking leave of Mr. Follett's family I [retired?] and departed in Company of Mr. S. Follett and Smith, designing for Ottery where we arrived in 2 hours being a distance of 8 miles alighted at Inn, from thence on foot to a Mr. Sanders, son in law of our old Companion Mr. S. Follett. He is a serge maker and shopkeeper; here we dined, drank tea, supt and lodged. The town is called St. Mary Ottery, is a parish, an hundred and a Manor of the Lords Sir George Young, and Sir John Duntre an Exeter merchant; is situated on an eminence of a medium heighth in a Vale, of a fertile soil and fine improvements, the river Otter running through the midst, from whence, probably the town takes its name which also gives name to 2 more places. 'Tis scarce of the bigness of Honiton, its business is serge making, in the devon dialect and means a common serge, druggets, duogs &c. &c. that in the white or from the loom are sent to Exeter to be drest &c. The Center is modern built, of brick, covered with pan-tiles; a fire some years ago having destroyed the old buildings. It has a market, one episcopal Church, in the cathedral style of building and by the townsfolks said to have been the model of St. Peters at Exeter, by tradition erected 1060, some few years before the Norman invasion. It has a look of Antiquity and indicated every mark of age and decay. Within and without, not to the credit of the place, tis called a quarter College, from its enjoying all the rights and privileges of a Collegiate body, possessing considerable estates and revenues, at least this with 4 others did but whether it still retains them I cant say, most

probably not. Most ecclesiastical foundations at Henry the 8ths attack on the Church of Rome abridged most of them. Attended a weekly evening lecture, Mr. Bunckam the Orthodox minister preached from "*Whosoever will come after me, &c.*"; his doctrine, manner, and tone, very like our Country mode; the house large and audience thin, singing excellent.

20. Moderate, cloudy, drisly. At 10 o'clock departed from Ottery and at 1 alighted at Misses Standleigh, my intended lodgings, in Fore-street Exeter just beyond Northgate street. Here we put and abode. Mr. Smith dined with us. Passed P.M. and drank tea at Miss White's, evening at Mrs. Bretland's my former lodgings. Played Quadrille.

21. Moderate, but cloudy. Dined at Mr. Nations, Mr. Smith before engaged. Drank tea at Mr. Hogg's, passed evening together at Mr. Pearces house, he absent.

22. Cloudy, sun in and out alternately. Agreed with the younger Miss H. for 25 £ a year or, if less than a $\frac{1}{4}$ year 10/ a week, to find my own tea, wine, sugar, firing. Within all A.M. P.M. walkt abroad. A conversation with young Read just returned from Salem, having been carried in there in a prize, from whom I could not receive any distinct intelligible account of any of my friends and acquaintances, and a very blundering one of the state of the town in general, no trade scarcely but privateering which he represents as surprizingly successful. Some buisy stirring men of nothing to loose and who have every [thing] to expect from confusion and lawless licentious conduct will I doubt not amass, whilst the more worthy orderly and good will perhaps loose their all. A Mr. Ward he represents as one of the most known, buisy and successful.

23. Fine clear air, pleasant. At Mint Meeting House, Mr. Hogg preacht from "*Commit thy works unto the Lord, &c.*," in P.M. the same. And thin, A.M. about 50, P.M. 75.

24. Clear fine Air, wind N.W. Visited Mr. Towgood, Micajah. P.M. at home writing a letter to Mr. Timmins.³

25. Cloudy, raw frosty morn. Abode at home, nervous headach.

3. Curwen wrote briefly to Timmins "at Mr. Gilbert Harrison's, No. 4 College Hill, London," telling of his move to Exeter and asking for news.

26. Sleepless night occasioned by headach. Waked with it. Cloudy but moderate. Within all day.

27. Cloudy, at times drisly. At 11 walkt to Countess Ware bridge, caught in a shower, returned by Topsham road. Invited by Mrs. Bretland. Confined within by headach and pain.

28. Clear fresh morn, cold. Drank tea and passed evening at Mrs. Bretlands.

29. Cloudy, dull air. At Molls Coffee house. Visited Mr. Pearce whom I saw for first time, dined and drank tea at Mr. Britton's my road Companion. Passed Evening in Company Mr. Liscomb, an Apothecary, a Mr. Rowe a relation of Jonathan's, Counsellor Roberts a merry Companion and three Scots. A very stormy night, returned home about 12 o'clock.

30. Clear, pleasant, within A.M.; P.M. at Mint Meeting House, Mr. Hogg from "*But the fruit of the Spirit is love, joy &c.*" Memo: dined yesterday on John Dory,⁴ the first time I had tasted it.⁵

1777: 1 December. Clear, mild, pleasant day. At Molls Coffee house, a Conversation with 2 Gentlemen there, on American affairs. Drank tea at Mr. Crosses. Evening at home, wrote to W.B. Esqr. 'Tis reported in this credulous city which finds faith for all reports that a Mr. Sanders has received advice from his Correspondent at Falmouth that advice is received from America that will surprize not only Great Britain but all Europe. Tis well if this surprizing news be not a ridiculousness.¹

2. Fair mild air. Confined within all day by a nervous head ach.

4. A food fish (*Zeus faber*) of the Atlantic Coast of Europe. It has a dark spot on each side and is fabled to be the fish from which St. Peter took the tribute money, the spots representing the imprint of his thumb and finger.

5. To William Browne at London Curwen wrote his customary letter of foreboding for the future, but also asked Browne to inquire of Hutchinson "if he recollects a town on the eastern shore, but whether in the province of Main or beyond, is unknown here, called *Mary Town*, formerly *Romboscoda*, of which a quarter or part is known by the name of *Misconess*, wherein a Gentleman of this city had a tract, but being at a loss where to find it applied to a friend who desired me to make enquiry." Hutchinson, he continued, was "the only person on this side of the water to whom application can be made."

1. A two-page letter to Isaac Smith with the latest news, "General How in possession of Philadelphia . . . had 4 engagements with General Washington . . . soundly drubbed him," and more to the same effect.

3. Mild but cloudy. Waked, as usual, with headach. Within till Meridian, walkt with my friend Bretland on Friars bridge. Drank tea with Mrs. Bretland. Evening alone.

4. Clear and cloudy by turns. Rode to Credition with a view to visit the Parson, he was from home; dined at Ship Tavern and Inn with a dozen Serge makers who happened at that time to have a meeting here. After dinner walkt to Mr. Berry the Dissenting minister house here, leaving my name and compliments he being absent. The center of this town being some years since burnt down is now of modern construction of brick, has a market, two dissenting Meeting Houses, one Presbyterian the other a Methodist and an episcopal church, right of presentation lodged in a corporate body or select members in the parish independent of the Bishop, College, or Lord, and is one of the comparatively few possessed of an independent right of electing. The trade serge in a great extent; in coming to this town one passes through a Village called *Newton St. Cynor*, containing a church and about four score houses, low situation, walls mud and roofs of thatch, the constituents of the greater part of the houses in the village &c. through England.

5. Clear and pleasant but raw, wind fresh at N. At Meridian walkt on Norney with my friend Mr. Bretland and passed the evening at his house.

6. Cold, cloudy. Confined by a violent headach and diarheea.

7. Pleasant mild air. Confined all day. Cholic pains increasing since yesterday. Visited by Mr. Bretland. Consulted Mr. Apothecary Lavington, took his prescription, a comfortless night.

8. Air raw. Disorder remains.²

2. A letter to an unnamed person confirming "the mortifying news of General Burgoyne's surrender of himself and whole army with the artillery, military chest, late acquisitions etc." A second letter to ——— Esq., London, acknowledges receipt of news from America via Mr. Routh and continues with war speculation: "Should Gates and Washington join and Philadelphia be surrounded by the combined armies before the Howes are masters of the river I shall tremble for the fate of the royal army in that city. If this campaign proves disastrous, I shall look on our case as irretrievable and myself doomed to pass the few remaining days of a life I am heartily tired of in a land of aliens."

9. Symptoms abate, still confined. Apothecary visited me and thinks the cause removed. My feelings contradict his opinion. Received a letter from Mr. Smith, returned an answer by his messenger Mary Follett.³

10. Light dusky clouds, moderate. Yesterday St. Nicholas Fair began. Streets filled with Sheds containing all kinds of marketable articles, cloths of all kinds, linnen &c. down to smallest baubles, eatables and drinkables. Headach returned, disorder in bowells and stomach still a 3d prescription of Rhu, allowed broth and boiled mutton for dinner 1½ hour after taking dose. Visited by Mr. B[retland] and Apothecary in Evening.

11. Cloudy, dusky moderate. Visited by Apothecary. Confined by weather.

12. Cloudy, but moderate, air dry. Visited last evening by Mr. Cross. Greatly disturbed in my bed by a dream or vision for I know not what to call it, the plainest and most distinct I ever remember to have had on my pillow, the impression too deeply Engraved to be soon worn off. To account for it I confess my self at a loss it being not like any trains of my waking thoughts; but to the subject. All at once I found myself in my own or late house in Salem, in the midst of my wife and acquaintance, my house naked and destitute of furniture, on enquiry, effects all gone, my wife unable seemingly or unwilling to account for the sad forlorn pillage state in which my house was found, myself returned back from England moneyless, and creditless, my former acquaintance and neibours in flourishing or comfortable circumstances, my self single without the means of support or capacity of procuring any, exposed to the scorn and derision of my neibours who did not [*1 word*], nor one friend to render me assistance. The distress operated too strongly to continue this sleeping reverie and brought relief to me by awaking me which however for some time I could hardly realize so strong was the impression. Wether this be an anticipatory view of my future condition, or a hint to prevent this melancholy event by forwarding orders home for an enquiry into the management of my affairs and directions for the better and more thrifty conduct of those who are intrusted with them I know not.

3. A long letter to Isaac Smith with war news and gossip: "All that is known you have in Goadby's Mercury of yesterday."

Perhaps tis the effect of a disordered body and sickly imagination being under apprehensions of future wants; be it as it may, it causes no little disquietude in my grief laden mind. May a submissive, resigned, uncomplaining temper to what shall hereafter be my lot, be it adverse, mark my conduct through the remaining course of life that may be allotted to me. Visited by my late landlady Mrs. Bretland. Took a dose of Rhu.

13. Cloudy, dark, misty, moderate. At Meridian cleared up pleasant. Walkt out for first time since my confinement. To Churchyard and on to the Friars, and with Mr. Bretland to Countess Ware Bridge on Horseback. Dined on John Dory.

Sunday 14. Cloudy, misty, raw. A.M. within. P.M. at Mint Meeting House, Mr. Hogg preached from "*Yet show I unto you a more excellent way.*" 'Twas the hour of the day that General Washington flushed with success of the Northern Army against Burgoyne had attackt General Howe's lines and had failed, was attacked in his turn, defeated, taken prisoner with 9000 and then slain, remainder disperst. Undoubtedly fabricated to move some public or private purpose perhaps to relieve under the disgraceful surrender of a British army to an American General. This day General Burgoyne's mortifying capitulation is arrived in town.

15. Moderate, cloudy, cleared up at Meridian. An hour on Friars with Mr. B[retland] Visited and drank tea at worthy Mr. Micajah Towgood. Part of eve at Mrs. Hogg's, remainder at Mrs. Bretlands. Received the Craftsman containing Burgoyne's terms of capitulation, which I am disposed to think establishes American independence and french Alliance till this capitol blow wavering.

16. Cloudy, moderate, Meridian walk on Friars per me ipsum. P.M. and evening at home.

17. Cloudy, moderate, at Meridian cleared off pleasant, brisk air. On Norney with Mr. B., P.M. and eve at Mr. Whites, invited to dinner next day.

18. Cloudy, moderate. City alarmed by unexpected marriage of a Mr. Parminter of 40 years of age with Betsey Bretland my old Land-

lady's younger Dauter but 20 years old with scarce a gown to her back; this probably would cease after 7 days. My acquaintance Mr. Thomas Pearces wife died this day of a paralytic disorder she had been labouring under some years. Dined as invited at Mr. Whites and lightly. Walkt with Mr. B. to Cowley Bridge.

Decr. 19. Cloudy, raw. At Meridian air moderate. Dined with venerable Mr. Towgood to whose respectful notice I'm not a little beholden. P.M. and drank tea there. Mr. Smith arrived from Sidmouth.

20. Moderate, cloudy. With Mr. B. walkt to Cowley Bridge. Drank tea at Mr. Crosses with Mr. Smith.

21. Cloudy, within all day with nervous headach.

22. Cloudy, fog. With Mr. Smith visited our common friend Mr. Thomas Pearce.

23. Cloudy and chilly. Passed P.M. and evening at Mr. B.'s house.

24. Morn cloudy, moderate. At Meridian rain. A.M. within P.M. and Evening at Mr. Nation's, pressed in a polite and friendly manner to frequent my visits demanding my warmest thanks.⁴

25. Morn and A.M. fair and moderate. P.M. weather changed. Within 'till P.M. service at Cathedral there being no service at Mint Meeting House. No shops fully opened nor business publicly and generally carried on, appearance in some measure saved through the day otherwise negligently enough observed, nor indeed can more be expected considering the low ebb of religion here. Passed Eve at home. Eat minced pye at dinner.

26. Morn cloudy as usual, Meridian fair and foul by turns. Walk on Friars, after drank tea and passed evening at Mrs. Clarkes Bartholomew Yard in company with my friend Mr. Bretland and 5 or 6 Ladies, played quadrille, passed time agreeably, the Company well behaved and chatty.

4. Curwen had grown suspicious of everyone over the years in England and to James Cassin of Bristol he sent a word of caution this day not to inform "any one that may have been impertinent enough to inquire into the condition of my ——— two or three knowing of my concerns with you that way."

27. A.M. dull cloudy. Clear and cloudy alternately at Meridian and P.M.; in Churchyard taking walk, received a letter from W.C. London advising of my friends and wives welfare by a letter from Salem of 14 October Mr. Smith from Sidmouth to preach with us tomorrow. Agreed on new terms of board to allow 8/ a week to commence from 25 past. Discharged former board and took receipt.

28. Moderate, cloudy. Waked with head ach, within till P.M. At Mint Meeting House, Mr. Smith preached from "*And if ye call on the Father, who with respect &c.*" With Mr. Smith drank tea and spent part of evening at Mr. Nation's at his invitation.

29. As yesterday. Meridian walk on Norney with Mr. Bretland and after to Heavytree with him and a young Mitford. Paid Mr. Manning a wedding visit, received 2 letters from London and Bristol.

30. Cold, raw, cloudy. Within A.M.⁵

31. Raw air, snow. P.M. dusky, pinching air, sky wild of a threatening aspect. Very like our New England weather at this season, producing disagreeable sensations. Accompanied by Mr. Smith drank tea with Mr. Towgood by invitation, former passed Eve and supped with me on minced pyes and thus ends the old year. Mr. Pope observes—

With added days, if life gives nothing new
but like a sieve lets every pleasure through
some joys still lost as each vain year runs o'er
And all we gain some sad reflection more
Is this a birthday 'tis alas too clear
Tis but the funeral of the former year.

1778

Thursday January 1st 1778. Cold raw pinching air, within till Meridian. Visited by Mr. Smith; Mr. Britton and Mr. B[retland] with

5. He wrote to Cabot asking the return of the £50 borrowed, "if keeping the money you had of me is of no further use to you." He also asked him to check the list of prize winners in the lottery against a list of numbers he enclosed, adding "but of this be kind enough to say nothing."

whom I walkt to Ide. Drank tea with Landladies and their Company. Evening in my own room.¹

2. Very chilly, pinching air. Visited Miss White, invited by her Father to tea in P.M. and accepted and Evening at his instance, Kindly urging my stay.

3. Wakt with violent headach, abode within all day. Dark unpleasant morn. Received a letter from W.B. Esq. London. Miss Edgcomb my former fellow boarder drank tea and passed Eve with me.²

4. Morn clear and pleasant. No worship at Mint Meeting House. Went to Cathedral, not obtaining a seat I turned my back and went home. In P.M. at Bow Meeting House Mr. Mugg preached from "*God sent not his Son into the world &c.*"

5. Cloudy, moderate. With Mr. Bretland visited Mr. & Mrs. Parminster, played a game of Shuttlecock in their great chamber. In Evening at the Duenna, and Miller of Mansfeild;³ a full house, first time of its performance here, tolerable.

6. Dark dull morn and raw, at Meridian cleared. To Newbridge with Mr. Bretland. P.M. and Evening at Mr. Nation's with Mrs. Nation and Miss Tremlet a maiden Lady of 45, sisters, both of excellent understanding, refined taste and great reading.

7. Same as yesterday. An hour's walk in Church yard with Mr. Bretland in eve, from thence home.⁴

1. Not a word in the journal of his success in the lottery. But this day Curwen wrote Mr. James Cassin of Bristol, "By your last favour and a former I find myself entitled to two prizes, one in the Canal, and one in the Exchange amounting to 3/3 irish money, the net product of which I presume you are ready to pay on demand; be pleased to acquaint me what the amount is in sterling and when I may receive it. I wish you the compliments of the season."

2. Curwen wrote to Nathaniel Dabney, apothecary and druggist of Salem who he addressed as "Dr. Daubeney," that by Col. William Browne's letter he was informed of Col. Peter Fryes's arrival in Halifax and Dabney's arrival in London. He asked the nature of the present government "if there be any" and for information as to his family and a long list of friends.

3. "The Miller of Mansfield," the subject of a ballad included in Thomas Percy's *Reliques*, who entertains Henry II unawares and is knighted by him.

4. On this day Curwen wrote Joseph Waldo in Bristol: "I take the freedom to send you the two inclosed tickets No. 2864 entitled to a prize of 40/ irish money in the Canal Scheme for which Mr. Cassin, Lottery Office keeper Small Street Bristol is willing to pay on demand and receipt of the tickets 34/ and No. 38295 a price of

8. Dull chilly air all day. A Meridian walk and visit to Mr. Waymouth's family, at home remainder of day.⁵

9. Same as yesterday, a Meridian walk in Church yard with my friend Mr. Bretland. P.M. walkt to Ide with Mr. Bretland; on return stopt at a Farm house called Cowick formerly a small Benedictin Monastery, a Legacy to Counsellor White by a Mrs. Speake, half sister to Lady North.

10. Cloudy and dull, the Sun not affording one chearing ray. Walkt with Mr. B. through Collumpton road through Heavytree, home. Treated the females of family with tea and Cakes.

11. Chilly air, dark morn. From Meridian sun out, chilliness continued, awakt with nervous headach, A.M. within, P.M. at Mint Meeting House Mr. Hogg preached from "*The fear of Man bringeth a snare, but whoso &c.*"

12. Morn moderate, cloudy, at Meridian rain. Bishop Ross installed, Archdeacon, in the Chapter house, as on Saturday he was Prebend and on following days this week is to be successively Canon, Treasurer and Bishop, each ceremony being ushered, accompanied or announced by tolling the great bell and thence after the Chimes play. On the demise or decease of a Bishop, the King in effect chooses under the

30/irish in the Exchange Scheme for which he will pay 26/. 'Tis too small an affair to wish you to make an enquiry about what they may fetch, perhaps he offers as much as any one will give, the charge of registering and letters amounting to 4/8 leaves 55/4 sterling. If you will please to buy for me and send by the Coach or Diligence 7 pounds of Eliot's best coke for which he asks 2/6 a pound you will extremely oblige me. He must warrant it to be his best, let it be put up in white paper inclosed in a stout brown paper bag and well secured by twine and agree for the carriage."

5. A good example of Curwen's financial transactions is in the letter written this day to his friend William Cabot of London: "Please to receive at the bank a bill for £ 14.7.6 and forward to me; at the same time take 10 £ in Cash which added to the £ 50 already in your hands and making £ 60, inclose and forward to Messrs. Smithson and Russell in a bill . . . Dont on any account decline to remit £ 60 to Birmingham as desired on the other side. You say in yours that you shall remit to me at the same time you send the Benjamin Pickman bill—directly contrary to my express order and interest. I repeat it, send £ 60 in a bill to Birmingham and only send me 14.7.6 in a bank post bill; it is equally easy and must for that reason, I presume, be as indifferent to you. You need only write that by Mr. Curwen's order, you send the inclosed bill of £ 60 to them on his account." Between this date and 18 Jan. there appears in the letter book a four-page letter undated and with no addressee named (but in Ward's edition 17 Jan. and addressed to Isaac Smith) giving a long account and argument as to the progress and prospect of the war.

fallacious compliment of recommendation to the Chapter &c. with a Conge d'elire, or liberty to choose for that purpose. The choice follows of course and is so understood. He is presented, kisses the King's hand on his preferment and is installed by proxy in the distant See. In the meantime all business is at a stand in the ecclesiastical Courts till a new choice and instalment which from thenceforth there is in the new Bishops name, he is personally enthroned when his new Lordship pleases. How long it may be before we are to be favoured with his

personal presence 'tis not said. P.M. and Evening dark and drisly, at home. Received an invitation to pass following eve at Mr. Hornseys Southgate street.

13. Mild, cloudy, at times drisly. Passed Eve at Mr. Hornsey's, Company Parson Tozier; otherwise called General from his always using in his discourses 1, 2, 3 general heads; of Bow Meeting, wife, son and a Mr. Green. Passed time in playing a game with cards called Snip, Snap, Snorum—Method of play—To each is delivered 6 or more Counters valued ad libitum, each keeps his Counters till forfeited; in the midst stands a pool, containing as many in it as all the stakes amount to. To each is dealt 6 Cards. The person on the Dealers left hand puts down a card face up, the next if he can match it for instance Ace to an Ace &c. the former forfeits a stake and puts into the pool. The person who matched it crying Snip. If the 2d be matched he cries out Snap, and the person is again matched, puts in 2 stakes to the pool, this more rarely happens. But if these cards be again matched, which is very rare, the 3d person whose card is matched puts in three stakes the former crying out Snorum, and in this manner the Cards are dealt and played till all the stakes are drawn out of each players hand, which if they or he looses his interest in the pool and ceases playing, till one person who keeps the remaining stake in hand takes the whole pool. The parson made one of the party Cards being his favourite amusement, otherwise remarkable for the soundness of his religious principles wherein he is rigidly scrupulous. Broke up at 12 o'clock. Returned in soaking rain.

14. Cloudy dull morn, drisly, moderate. Waked with headach, confined thereby till Evening. Mr. Bretland and a Mr. Estin, a young Bristol dissenting parson, called and taking me to the Library, from thence to home of former, passing together a sociable evening.

15. Cloudy dark sky, from Meridian rainy. A.M. within, P.M. and evening with Mr. Bretland in his school reading Farmer on Temptation of Christ.⁶

16. Cloudy dark sky, A.M. within. At 5 o'clock visited at Mrs. Bretlands invitation; drank tea Mr. and Mrs. Hogg, passed Evening at Cribbage.

17. Cloudy, foggy, moderate, rainy at times all day. P.M. walk, report that Lord Cornwallis passed through city last night and this day a Captain Stuart, son of Lord B., in a post chaise with 6 or 8 attendants from America. Declines to communicate any intelligence, sad mortification to our news catchers whose ears are ever open.

18. Cloudy and raw, Meridian rain, continued all day, remainder of at Mint Meeting House, Mr. Hogg preached from "*And every man that hath this hope &c.*" In P.M. at same place, same parson, text "*And Abram said Son remember, yet thou &c.*" Thin audience. Drank tea and passed part evening at Mr. Nations.⁷

19. Morn pleasant, windy. Received letter and bill from W.C., London. This day heard that a travelling stage Quack named Sully was killed by his host and Innkeeper named Penny some hot words having past between them on the sin of the old decriped Doctor's young wife, whom he supposed had been guilty of incontinence with the said Host; as far as I could acquaint my self with the story. The indifference of the Quack's Character and a fee with a powerful person saved the Murderer from the gallows. Past part of P.M. and evening at Mr. Pearce's.

20. Moderately pleasant, sun peeps out through thin clouds now and then. From Meridian it continued to drisle and rain. A.M. abroad, P.M. and evening within.⁸

6. Hugh Farmer, *An Inquiry Into the Nature and Design of Christ's Temptation in the Wilderness*; a third edition was published, London, 1776.

7. A further letter to Cabot resulting from a disagreement about the repayment of the £50, which, however, was repaid, as Curwen advised Messrs. Smith Son & Russell it would be in a letter of 19 Jan.

8. Curwen gave Col. Browne a brief description of Exeter in a long letter dated this day urging him to consider a trip to Exeter: "Take the following short imperfect sketch: Exeter for extent and numbers is somewhat less than Boston perhaps by 3 or 4000, in buildings as unlike as the wrinkled age of fourscore differs from the healy florid complexion of thirty. To your or any eye familiar to modern structures, this

21. Cloudy and at times showers, at Meridian called out to walk in Church yard and Cathedral as wether permitted. Accompanied Mr. and Mrs. Nation at their request to a wedding visit at Mr. Parminter's. Passed Eve till 12 o'clock at quadrille.⁹

22. Wind boisterous at N. by E., sun, wind and rain as in the Fable. The force of the former, in This Country, is too feeble to contend with the fury of the one, and the predominancy of the other which here may be considered almost as its peculiar domains. Visited Miss White, drank tea at Mr. Crosses, wrote 2 letters.¹⁰

23. Cloudy, moderate, waked with cruel headach. A.M. within. Visited by Mr. Bretland, drank tea, passed Eve at Mr. Nations, wife and son at quadrille. Returned with an increased headach.¹¹

place will appear as uncouth as a female trickt out in a Fardingale, or in court dress of old Queen Bess. I am led to this comparison having often heard that the houses especially in the forestreet are of her age, and indeed they no more resemble the modern than the dress of that day does the present. The streets are very narrow, ill paved and (I wonder why not to a proverb) dirty . . . Within the walls there are 3 walks for taking the air, on the [1 word] a circular one called Norney lying back of the Castle encompassed with trees through which on the outerside over a vale filled with houses and improved fields are cut vistas, much frequented. Here is also the Church yard or the inclosure within the walls and gates round St. Peters, the Cathedral. Another hard gravel walk called the Fryers, commanding a fine field view, besides many others without the City. And for indoor amusements, a theatre, Concerts, a Coffee house called Moll's and an Hotel, both in the Church yard, where the London papers are brought 4 days in the week."

9. The coke ordered from Mr. Waldon on 7 Jan. arrived as the following note of this date attests: "Mr. Curwen's compliments to Miss White and family, should have waited on her in person to have acquainted her that the Coke was arrived; that having ordered his friend in Bristol not to send them unless Mr. Eliot would warrant them to be his very best, hopes and presumes they are so. There are 7 pounds; begs to know how many pounds Miss White will take, or if she chooses to taste before she determines.

January 21. Wednesday Noon."

10. The coke, however, must not have met with Miss White's approval. Curwen wrote again this day to Joseph Waldo: "I was sadly disappointed at the sight of the coke received yesterday. If Mr. Eliot has any of a superior kind, I would gladly be at the expense of sending back this; it would be but obliging in him to exchange. I used when at Bristol to buy of him a sort that seemed to be a mixture of half nut and half shell, this sort I wanted, and being for a lady of delicate taste this sent would not be of any service. I would not desire to give you or him needless trouble but for her sake I am hurt. You will therefore please to excuse my present request and inclose the account of cost."

To Isaac Smith he wrote this day that there was as yet no news on the Irish lottery.

11. Curwen's constant worry about affairs at home is illustrated by his letter of this date to Nathaniel Dabney: "Do you know whether my wife does any business and what it is—wether she has been insulted in her person or in the house or my property pillaged by the mobb or any rude individual, or any exorbitant demands made on her by the Authority of town, Country or Provincial Congress conventions or committees and if so, what it was; wether my neice Richard Ward's wife and

24. Cloudy with rain all day. Waked with headach, after an almost sleepless night. Miss Edgcomb drank tea and passed Eve with me. A Mr. Reed declared Bankrupt in this City, first instance since abode; Exeter Bank in for 2000 £s.

25. Raw air, cloudy, snow, wind E.Nly. Headach all night and still, within all day. Received 2 letters.

26. [1 word] but pleasant somewhat cold. Within till 4 o'clock, drank tea at Mr. Bretlands, part of evening at home. I am told the Officers lately arrived and arriving from America generally declare the Conquest of it is a vain expectation [even] with a very great additional force.

27. Clear cold Morn, wind Ely. Drank tea and passed eve at Mr. Towgoods in part and remainder at home.

28. Cloudy, raw, peircing air. Wind at E.

29. Clear and pleasant Morn, at Meridian on Norney with Mr. Bretland. Accompanied Miss Bretland to the Duenna, indifferently performed entertainment, Harlequin Execrable; an agreeable entertaining conversation with Mrs. Hudson one of the Capital Actresses on this stage.

30. This being in Church of England language Charles Martyrdom 'tis farcically observed as a fast day. The Churches are open and service suitable to the solemn occasion read, to complete the absurdity here the Cathedral pulpit was covered with black cloth, the tip staves Sword and mace carried before the Maior in the same grim garb. Being desirous to hear what could be said on this ridiculous occasion I attended but was agreeably disappointed, Chancellor Quick the preacher gave the Audience a modest decent discourse from "*Every*

her aunt have any acquaintance, what business he is in or has done, or wether he has been concerned in any privateers. The foregoing being questions of importance to me I must ask an explicit and particular and distinct answer to each. My importunity you'll excuse, declining health, long absence from home, and no opportunity of obtaining information relating to my wife and family concerns urge me to a freedom this way which in any other case might not be decent nor should I use." Despite such importunity, Dabney wrote an answer from which, as Curwen said in a note to his friend Timmins a few days later, "I learnt nothing more than that in general they were well."

Kingdom divided against itself is brought to desolation." He began by showing the causes of divisions in a state, the evils flowing therefrom; the use and improvements to be made wasn't to reproach the living with the condition of the dead but to take warning from their misdeed, mistakes and wrong doings, all evils being intended as warnings and admonitions to avoid their conduct as we would wish to escape their sufferings. He cautioned against too freely censuring persons in authority, nor too greedily to hearken to the insinuations of buisy factious men who for base and sinister purposes spread evil reports abroad to the Injury of others characters. To save appearances some of the shops are almost $\frac{1}{2}$ darkened, Churches are opened, in other respects like as on all other working days business is going on as usual, streets are walked in, carts carriages &c. running.

31. Cloudy, raw, wind N.E., waked with headach. Confined all day thereby.¹² Mr. Smith passed eve with me.

February 1. Cloudy, raw. At Mint Meeting House, Mr. Hogg preached from "*They are the enemies of the Cross of Christ.*" Communion Day. P.M. same text. Evening at Mrs. Bretlands.

2. Cloudy, raw, wind N.E. A.M. within. P.M. short walk. Miss Edgecomb my female fellow boarder drank coffee and passed evening with me.

3. Raw air, cloudy. This being the day appointed for the installation of Bishop Ross in the Episcopal seat, or inthronisation, ceremony was performed by Archdeacon Hole of Barnstaple the Proxy and one of the Canons of St. Peters. The Chapter consisting of the Dean, Canons, Prebends &c. &c. a sett of well fed priests of the largest dimensions except the first who are in London walked in procession to the Cathedral preceded by the Officers properly habited whose coming was announced by the sound of the great bell. Having arrived into the

12. In his confinement Curwen continued to correspond with Joseph Waldo about the coke for his lady friend: "I am really ashamed to give you a 3d letter on so un-concerning an affair but this I am unluckily forced into by my needless complaisance to a Lady. She is desirous to have the very best, altogether, as you express it, of the nut kind. Not having spoken to Mr. Eliot, I know not how I can with propriety address the bag to him and therefore have addressed it to be left at the White Hart Inn broadstreet Bristol addressed to you. $\frac{1}{4}$ has been used, let as much of the best be sent as this sent back amounts to, unless he chooses to send 7 pounds in which case you'll let me know the price at the same time."

Church, the Chapter proceeded to the throne where they attended; after being seated a short space the Proxy arose and advancing to the front read an oration in praise of the late, concluding with an encomium on the present Bishop in which he declared he took *real actual corporal possession* of the episcopal Chair for his Lordship, the foregoing words being the same he used and I fancy an essential part of the form. The seat or throne as tis called is of a singular construction and the most magnificent of any. 'Tis a square of about 16 feet, lined with crimson silk, the cushions Velvet of same colour edged with a broad gold fringe, the Canopy 30 feet high, supported by 4 wrought posts, carried up to the ceiling in gothic open work, decreasing till it ends in pinnacles. Opposite stands the pulpit, both at upper end of Quire. Wind S.Wly. P.M. at home, drank tea with Landladies Mrs. Hogg being one of Company.

4. Morn cloudy, at Meridian moderate, pleasant, wind brisk S.W. On Friars P.M., drank tea at Mr. Nations invited also by Mr. Waymouth.

5. Cloudy damp air. Mr. Smith breakfasted with me. Within all day. At Mr. Crosses with Mr. Smith latter part of Evening.

6. Cloudy, dark raw and then sprinkling, wind at N.W. Miss Edgecomb breakfasted with me on Coffee, abode within till 4 o'clock and took a short walk. Miss Edgecomb in my room at tea and evening.

7. Dark clouds and rain, wind W.Sly.

8. Clouds and rain, air raw, wind S.W. At Mint Meeting House Mr. Hogg preached from "*And if thou doest not well sin lieth at thy door.*" In P.M. same preacher and text. Miss Edgecomb drank tea with me. Received a letter from Colonel Browne, London.

9. Dark, cloudy morn, moderate mild air, wind S.Wly. Called out by Mr. Bretland, walkt with him on Norney. P.M. a violent headach. Called out again and walkt in Church yard. Evening at home alone. Received a letter from J[oseph] W[aldo], Bristol.

10. Cloudy, dark morn, mild. Walk on Friars. In Evening walkt with a sensible Quaker named Ogden, in Church yard from 6 to 8

o'clock, he has just sentiments, conversation entertaining. Received a letter from W.C., London informing that by a letter from N[athan] G[oodale] Salem all friends are well. Glad of it. Sundry arts entertained here in a character which I dont at present understand, having lost the Key.

11. Dark drisly day, but moderate, wind S.W. In Evening walkt for an hour in Churchyard, my Room occupied by a Country couple.

12. Same as yesterday, wind same. P.M. called out by Mr. B. walked to the Lock on Haynebank. Evening read Thompsons Seasons to Miss E. in my room.

13. Dark, cloudy day, wind at S.W. A.M. within, contriving new characters. At sunset called to walk with Mr. Bretland to Heavytree. Evening at home.

14. Dark raw air, rain and snow, wind S.W. Severe headach. Walk. Various sorts of weather in course of day, rain, shine, fair, foul, dark, bright, clear, cloudy, hail, snow quickly succeeding each other. Received a friendly letter from Mr. Timmins acquainting me that he mentioned my name in all his letters to Mrs. T. at Boston whereby my friends have more frequent accounts of my welfare; that he has lost one of his fine Twin sons of his own sirname; his loss, if at this time, he thinks the death one at this distressful time, I sympathize; though corrective may it prove beneficial, as all evils are designed and capable by a wise disposition, of becoming; that Mrs. T. seeing no end of these disturbances is going to pluck up staves and remove with flocks, herds and children. Should I continue my residence in these parts where is plenty and a comparative cheapness 'tis my wish to encourage his removal hither which he seems not averse to. Mr. Smith passed evening with me.

15. Dim sun, raw chilly air, wind N.E. At Mint Meeting House. Mr. Smith preached from "*For I am ashamed not of the Gospel of Christ &c.*" P.M. at George Meeting House Sir Harry Trelawney a Cornish Baronet possessed of 1500 a year son of the late Governor of Jamaica, an Oxford bred scholar, preached from "*O worship the Lord in the beauty of holiness.*" Taking a religious turn he fell into methodism and set out a flaming preacher of their notions in spreading dis-

sending admonitions to episcopal orders of the lowest kind; has charge of a small flock in the neighborhood of his own Estate. His natural good sense has cooled his first heat and he now addresses with fervour but candor and affection. A crowded assembly; just as he entered before service began an elderly Lady in the pew adjoining to this seat sunk down in a faint fit and breathed her last without groan or struggle. Passed evening per me ipsum completing a set of Characters for my own use perhaps.

16. Raw air; snow, wind at N.E. A.M. within, visited by Mr. Smith.

17. Air somewhat cold. Mr. Manning and son called on me, carried by former to dine, passed P.M. and drank tea together, evening at home per me ipsum.

18. Fine clear brisk air, bracing. Mr. Smith breakfasted with me, with Mr. B. on Norney; more Company than usual at Meridian. Mrs. Bretland drank tea with me. After walkt to Heavytree to view an house in consequence of Mr. T. letter to me on the subject of procuring one. Wind N.E. peculiar brisk bracing air through this day.

19. Clear fresh somewhat cool air, wind N.E. A Meridian walk, viewed another house for my friend with Mr. Bretland.¹

1. A six-page letter to Col. Browne, heavily interlined with additions and corrections, gives Curwen's present view of the state of the war and the justice, though misfortune, of his own position. "I presume it needs no proof to convince [you] of my leaving America under a strong conviction of the almost physical impossibility of her waging a successful war with this powerful state and therefore of the unjustifiableness, imprudence, impolicy, ruinous consequences and even madness of the undertaking. Nothing short of such a state of mind could absolve me from the imputation of the extreamest folly to abandon my Country, friends, wife, estate and effects and all my hopes in this world at my time of life with little money in my pocket, very few connexions here and no expectations . . .

"The pernicious system of politics adopted by France, even ever since she raised her views to universal monarchy under Louis 14, has justly brought on her the detested character of unfaithful, false, crafty and perfidious, so that French faith now like punic of old, you are sensible, goes current in Europe for the four preceding characters; nor has the late behaviour of the court of Versailles faild to verify the disgraceful imputation, even at the very time the Ministers of France, upon some spirited remonstrances from our Court, were pouring forth a profusion of seeming fair promises and specious declarations of amity into the lap of Lord Stormont, ordering a few vessells with and a few without cargoes to be restored to their right owners and even shutting up their ports on paper against American privateers, even at that very time [they were?] not only conniving at but carrying a [1 word] trade to the [1 word] colonies. In the harbour of Nantz there lay ready to sail for America 3 or 4 large ships laden with all kinds of merchandise, cannon and artillery, stores and waiting only for a favourable wind. Is it not a well known fact that the most

successful depredations on the trade of this island has been in Europe and West Indies and is now making in the latter by french pirates under Congressional colours, and that prizes [are] daily selling at open market and all pretences to reclaim denied. Now and then indeed to save appearances in imitation of these ministers on this side the water a few feeble unregarded prohibitions are issued but none executed to effect.

"Spain whose political and commercial interests so naturally allies it to England that it is even a proverb, *Pace con Inglaterra y guerra con todo el mundo*, celebrated from time immemorial for honor, true magnanimity and fidelity to its promises, has ever since the Bourbon Idiot that now fills its throne, nay ever since the days of his pusillanimous, weak father adopted french manners, frivolity, levity, dress, politics and faith to the expulsion of true Castilian gravity, dress, honour, and regard to the real interest of the Country; witness the shuffling and chicanry of the Court of Madrid just before their illjudged declaration of the last war; review the authentic accounts of the friendly reception of America and french American [?] privateers, and the open trade of the colonists at Bilboa, Cadiz, and in all the ports of Spain during these troubles, though royal orders, edicts and mandates, tagged with an *Y el Rey* have been successively transmitted down to the seaports. So well is the Court purposes understood that within 4 weeks 2 or 3 English prizes were publicly sold in one of their Southern ports in open day, in the face of the sun, and the privateers refreshed and furnished with all needed stores and unmolested suffered to depart laden [with] the substance and property of the subjects of England. King Solomon says, where the word of King, there is power; that he said from his own experience. Who in his witts, can believe that the Spaniards who are [*1 word*] slaves as King Solomons or that abject Turkey race of pirates inhabiting on the opposite shore durst have acted thus in defiance of their sovereign if they had not well known the artful distinction of his secret and revealed will. With regard to the article of Nantz and a Spanish port, [*1 word*] they are facts that stand, for aught I know, on the same foot of credibility with the other articles of foreign intelligence that pass uncontradicted; and if these be facts and facts are of a stubborn nature, they bend not to our wishes, they carry conviction, what must we not infer, loth as we may be. The natural inference is, that both these two Courts do invariably adhere to that line of conduct mark out by them from the commencement of this trouble, to distress this government as much as it is in their power, steal away our trade and ———.

"The officers through the course of the winter who arrived at the western ports in passing through this City in the journey to London have one and all declared, as fame reports, that 30 thousand at lest [least?], in addition to those already in America are necessary to effectuate the reduction of the continent. I do not take the opinion of these folks as the verbum [Apollinis?] but probably they speak the sentiments of the Army there. There is not, that I know, reason to think them disaffected to the service nor partial to America. [*1 word*] by continuing its duplicity provokes this Court to commence hostility against them, flagrante bello Americo as Lord North expresses himself. I should tremble for the consequenc. Think you in the embarrassed state of it's finances it could carry on a war with any prospect of success and its commerce at the same time?

"The foregoing convictions are the grounds for my doubts, fears, apprehensions, and if you ask me whence I fetch my facts, my reply is from the common spring heard of popular intelligence. My practice is not to hunt after news papers for I seldom go to the Coffee house or the shops they are taken in at, but when by accident they fall into my hands I indiscriminately read all, from the Court Gazette published by authority to the Sherburne Mercury. The public papers I well know, are justly stigmatized vehicles of falsehood and sedition. I rarely attend to political essays or remarks, scarce ever giving them even a cursory glance. Articles of foreign intelligence I credit as far as they are free from self evident inconsistencies in respect of time and other circumstances. As to company my principal view in the choice has ever been the instructive and entertaining; nor am [I] unhappy in my few acquaintance here. My chief companion is a philosopher of my old friend Parson McGilchrist's

20. Cold air, wind Nly. Headach as usual. Wrote a long letter to my wife.² Walkt to Cowley bridge with my usual headach. Evening at home per me ipsum.

21. Fresh clear, wind N. P.M. walked to Alphington to view another house for Mr. T., accomodated with garden and apple orchard, but in bad repair. P.M. drank tea at Mrs. Bretland, company Mr. and Mrs. Parminter. Evening at quadrille.

22. Cloudy, dark, wind Nly., moderate. Confined by cholic pains. P.M. thin light clouds, sun now and then peeping out.

23. Dark clouds, wind Nly., light showers, and boisterous gale all day. Still confined by Cholic, took a Rhubarb draft. Visited by Mr. Bretland at Meridian.³

stamp, and too deeply engaged in moral and philosophical researches to trouble one with politics, for that is rarely a topic of conversation. This city like every place I have been in has about an = mixture of one and tother side even, for every individual almost throughout the Kingdom has taken sides, and it happens to me as it does to all the world to fall into company of people of different politics; making it a rule not to in[illegible]pt any ones faith, I am at liberty, thank God, unquestioned to enjoy my own, for I am called to account by none. By the trouble I have taken upon myself in writing and given my friend in reading this tedious letter he will see the high value I set upon his good opinion. Fain would I preserve it, reposing an entire confidence on his candor to make allowance for those differences in small matters, while, in essential, we keep *the faith whole and undefiled.*"

The next letter in the letter book bearing only the date "Feby. 1778" is to John Timmins and gives a view of Curwen's activity in Exeter, including a description of several houses he had looked at on Timmon's request, of which this one is typical: "The house, finished in the modern taste has on the ground floor raised 5 or 6 stepps, an handsome parlour, large kitchen, and small drawing room; on second floor, 3 bed chambers, and on the 3rd as many, all necessary conveniences behind, and under; a pump &c. Rent 18 guineas judged cheap, the back windows on both floors above has delightful country views."

2. Curwen complained to his wife: "I can't but wonder that no letter has been sent me from my own house these 18 months though several from that town have arrived for me. I am willing to account for it as favorably as I can, though I cannot say it does not give me concern and puzzles me to account for it. That you may be preserved in health of body and peace of mind is the hourly prayer of your most affectionate.
S.C."

3. On hearing rumors of a treaty between America and France, Curwen wrote in despair to Isaac Smith, "The coup de grace is given to British glory; its Sun is set! Alas, how fallen, my friend how short sighted is human wisdom, how weak is human power at best! The roar of the british lion will no more be heard; the french cock may now crow and strut undisturbed. America that lately were humble supplicants to Great Britain for aid against a few french troops and indian savages disturbing her frontier settlements, have dared, what have they dared, to renounce her authority, set her power at defiance, reduced her commerce, defeated her armies, sunk her natural credit, nay invaded her coasts, established her independency in spite of all efforts, and tell it not in Gath, allied itself to her natural, professed, and most dangerous enemy."

24. Air clear, wind boisterous and cold at N. At Meridian visited Messrs. Nation and Cross, my Apothecary disappeared going out. P.M. and evening within, told to my surprize, that Mr. I. was thought poor; discouraged the report, imputed the report to the prejudice of the people against strangers, twas confirmed from numerous small insignificant debts he either couldn't or wouldn't discharge.

25. Morn clear and pleasant, wind N., dark, clear, snow following in quick succession. Still confined by same disorder. Apothecary paid second visit. Mr. Bretland paid me an evening one.

26. Clear bracing air, cold. P.M. between 2 and 5 frequent flights of snow. Fair &c. alternately. Visited Mr. Towgood, invited by him to dine, declined. After at Mr. Bretland, by Mr. Nation to tea. Miss Edgecomb passed evening with me.

27. Cold chill air, dark, snow, wind Wly. Fast day appointed by proclamation. Last night restless by violent pain in bowells, proves diarheea attended with sleepiness and oppression of spirits.

28. Bright sun, air milder, wind Nly. Rose at 12 o'clock, preceding night comfortable, spirits poor. Received Lord North's 2 Acts respecting the exercise of the right of taxation, confined to commerce, and appointing Commissioners to adjust all matters in dispute. These offers are, I fear, too late, the fatal treaty with France is already signed. Visited by Mrs. Hogg who kindly offered and sent me 2 jellies of black and red currants. Miss E. with me in Eve.

March 1. Raw dark drisly morn, wind N. P.M. clear and cloudy alternately. Dined [on] meat by Apothecary's advice. Visited by Mrs. Bretland who with Miss E. drank coffee with me after service. Evening alone.

2. Fair clear, bracing air, bright sun. Disorder abated. Mr. Smith from Sidmouth called on me. Mr. Bretland and Miss E., Mr. Lavington, Apothecary, drank Coffee with me. By Maiors zeal for a strict observance of the fast produced an order to prohibit hair dressers and bakers exercising their callings on that day. In Canon Barlows Sermon in St. Peters were these remarkable expressions which for a dignitary

of the established church wishing to rise is singularly and dangerously bold. He said "the war with America was unjust," that "They are a religious people, and may expect a blessing, and we the reverse."

3. Sun dim, wind E., air raw. Took a purging draft that well performed its duty, producing a moderate effect, body in good order. Mr. Bretland elder visited me in P.M.

4. Sun clear and clouded alternately, wind N. P.M. sky overcast. A quarterly fair called Lent Fair held in Forestreet this being Ash Wednesday. Service at Church. Visited by Apothecary in evening. Miss E. in danger of being burnt by a candle in my hand as she was writing an address on a letter to Smith at London for me. The candle set her cap suddenly on ablaze, but was soon extinguished, little damage to her cap, none to her person or hair.¹

5. Fair, clear sun, mild air, springlike, wind N.E. Apothecary visit. Received a letter from P.F.² at Halifax. Alone all day and evening.

6. Thin clouds, sun out now and then, wind at N.E. Abroad 1st time since confinement, to buy a canister of coffee for trial. P.M. dark, alone. Evening visited by Mr. Bretland. Court hurried away the Andromeda with Lord North's conciliatory propositions to the Hows in America. For a week past disturbed by sad distressing dreams.

7. Dull morn, wind Ely. American advice, boat taken by a Guernsey privateer deceiving her by hoisting signals of distress close on the land of France, her packets passed this City a few days since. Though confined, in good spirits, used much exercise.³

1. The letter to Isaac Smith at London reveals of Curwen's personal problems: "When I left London I bespoke a watch of Mr. Samuel Toulmin of the Strand to be made against my return there that I then expected would have been in a few months. I have since my absence been informed that it is finished; at the same time I received the one I now wear from him on loan, leaving a deposit of 2 guineas. Though I don't want this I would gladly take it at ½ a guinea above the deposit, recollecting he said the deposit was not it's worth. I do not remember he mentioned its value. I am afraid he will think me trifling and unfair, characters I would fain avoid the imputation of. I know not how to convey the watch to him."

2. Peter Frye (1723-1820), Harvard 1744, colonel of the militia, judge of the Court of Common Pleas of Massachusetts, addresser of Gage. For safety he left Salem for Ipswich and then went to Halifax. He arrived in England 1779, where he died in 1820 as the then oldest Harvard graduate.

3. A note to Mrs. Nation on learning of her husband's indisposition.

8. Morn dull, cloudy, mild, wind E., after air raw and peircing. Took a dose of Rhubarb to remove costiveness. My good old Landlady B^{ld} drank tea with me.

9. Morn cloudy, damp air, wind at E., continued unpleasant all day. Still confined though recovered greatly. Visited by Mr. Bretland and Miss in Evening.

10. Morn cloudy, dull, at Meridian sun shone. P.M. wind E., mild. Visited Mr. Nation, staid 2 hours, first going abroad after a fortnight's confinement. Within remainder of day.

11. As yestermorn, abroad at Meridian. P.M. went to Heavytree, returned after sunset. Air mild.

12. Damp dull and raw Air. Abode within writing letters.⁴ Visited by Misses Bretland and Powell in evening. Received 2 letters from Judge S. and W.C.

13. Clear morn, sharp air, wind E.S. Dined with the worthy and respectable Mr. Towgood whom I visited in A.M., staid and drank coffee. Evening at home.

14. Clear sharp air, wind Sly. Dined with Mr. Manning. P.M. Mrs. Bretland, Daughter Sally, Miss Powell and Master Rowe drank tea with me. Passed evening at Quadrille.⁵

15. Dull, cloudy, moderate, wind as yesterday. Received a letter from Mr. Smith, London. Confined by headach all day. Dispatches from the Howes passed through the City. Contents a secret. Relieved

4. One was a seven-page letter (dated 11 March) to an unidentified addressee at Halifax (presumably Peter Frye) giving a detailed account of Curwen's travels and life since leaving America and some political gossip. The second, to John Timmins, enclosed the letter to Frye to be sent when a vessell might be available, and continued: "I am told Congress have offered to receive all delinquents, to use their language, meaning refugees who fled from their government who shall return by October, restore them to their Estates &c. Please let me know if this be so, what is thought of it, if any will avail themselves thereof, what will be a prudent part for me, and if you advise to it how it may be effected."

5. To his friend the Rev. Mr. Berry of Credition, Curwen wrote: "As much a friend as I am and a sincere and cordial friend I am to America I do from my heart reprobate an independency, for it is pregnant with too many evils not to be deprecated by every well wisher to his country's real interest and happiness."

this morn by a dose of [*1 word*] electuary from a costiveness since Wednesday last.

16. Air clear, moderate, at Meridian pleasant. On Norney with Mr. Bretland. P.M. and evening at Mr. Nations, played at piquet and quadrille. Supt, returned with a violent headach lasting all night. This being Assize week Judge Perryn and Hotham waited on by Sheriff and his officers about 2 dozen in livery, Commission received in Guildhall.⁶

17. Moderate air and clear. A.M. walk, visited Mr. Pierce, he was engaged. Drank tea at Mr. Tremlets, afterwards attended Assize at Guildhall, Baron Perryn on bench; great celerity in dispatching and great interruption by talking which Court Authority couldn't remove.

18. Air mild, faint sun, at Meridian was uncommonly bright and summerlike. A letter received advising that a treaty of commerce between America and France is made, of fatal consequence, I fear, to this and that Country. An P.M. walk to Heavytree to see an house for my friend Mr. T. Evening at home.

19. Dark foggy, mild, before Meridian dry and pleasant. Yesterday received an invitation from Berry of Crediton to dine as on this day. Rode thither and dined in a large Company, Mr. Rowe's family, and Mr. and Mrs. Rocke from whom received repeated invitations to call on them, lodged at Mr. Berry, passed evening agreeably. This town is noted for cloth working; situated in a fertile bottom amidst highly improved feilds of corn, encompassing it on all sides; is one parish, is an impropriator, a perpetual advowson, in gift Corporation, bestowed on it by Edward 6, members named Corporators in number 12, laymen all, vacancies filled by themselves, Vicar, Curate &c., pay the former 100 a year, surplice free, and parsonage house, to the latter £8 only, the parish exclusive and wealthy. Incumbent has no concern in great or lesser tithes, burthen on parishoners light, Church a quarter College. 'Tis also a manor, the Lord a Mr. ——— and an hundred.

20. Mild fine air, not clear. Returned from [*1 word*] P.M. Heard the dreaded sound war declared against France, Woe, I fear to New

6. A long unfinished letter of this date on politics bears the notation that it was not sent to Mr. G. Russell, but it is printed in Ward's edition without indication that it was not sent.

England. 'Tis reported the House of Lords almost in a tumult and that they implore King to drive from his service his Ministers and take Lord Chatham, Cambden and Shelburne, but this in a few days proved false report.⁷

21. Air mild, thin clouds, sun just visible. P.M. air damp, and drisly. Judges left City escorted out by Sheriff and his train, trumpets preceeding. Walkt on Norney. Evening Miss E. in my room.

22. Sky milky, wind S.E. at Meridian dry and mild, wind brisk. At Mint Meeting House, Mr. Hogg preached "*And this I pray, that your love may abound.*" This being 5th Sunday since I was out. P.M. Mr. Bretland preached "*redeeming the time.*" Drank tea at Mrs. Bretlands. Evening rain, at home.⁸

24. Morn sun out, at Meridian closed in and drisly. Received a letter from Mr. Timmins. Called at Mr. Pierce's house, he absent. Passed remainder at home. Last evening supt on Liver an herb growing below low watermark on the North Coast of Devonshire peculiar to it, fried with butter.⁹

25. Morn agreeable air. P.M. walkt Heavytree with Mr. Bretland. Drank tea with Miss E. at Mrs. Bretlands. Evening at home alone.¹⁰

27. Morn dark and raw, wind S.W. P.M. drank tea at Parson Manings with Company. Evening at home writing.

29. Cloudy, moderate, wind S.W. At Mint Meeting House Mr. Hogg preachd from "*And this I pray, that your love may abound &c.*" P.M. same preacher, text "*The Lord hath made all things for himself &c.*" After service at Mr. Nations drank tea with Parson and Mrs. Hogg. Eve at home tot. sol.

7. To Mr. Berry of Crediton, a letter full of distress at the reported declaration of war against France.

8. Fear as to whether his next quarter's allowance would be paid prompted Curwen to write to Isaac Smith in London asking him to call on Mr. Rowe at the Treasury to obtain the usual blank receipt for his signature.

9. A seven-page letter to Judge Sewall at Leicester Fields, dated 23 March, with facts, rumors, and opinions on the politics of the war with America and France. Curwen being by nature a pessimist could see only disaster resulting from the course of British politics.

10. Curwen wrote to George Russell trying to revive a correspondence that had, on Russell's end, been allowed to lapse; at the same time he sought a receipt of the £50 which Cabot was supposed to have remitted to Messrs. Smith Son & Russell.

30. Morn dark mild, drisly, wind S.W. To Heavytree with Mr. Bretland at Meridian. P.M. on Norney. Visited Mrs. Clarke, Eve at home.

31. Air mild, drisly, wind N.W. At Meridian attended a long dispute on American affairs between Mr. Bretland and Erving.¹¹ Did not interfere, the opponents neither convinced nor conquered, as is usual. Last night died Mr. White, of an almost singular character for probity integrity and great delicacy of mind and behaviour. P.M. drank tea with Miss E. at Mr. Thomas Pearces on Davids hill, passed Evening and supt, played quadrille, departed at 11.

April 1, 1778. Dark, moderate, wind N.W. With Mr. Cross walkt to Alphington, dined, passed P.M. and drank tea at his house. An Evening walk with him and Mr. Bretland.

2. Light clouds, mild air, N.W. wind. A short meridian walk, P.M. on Hayne bank with my friend Mr. Bretland. Eve as usual at home.¹

3. Cloudy and drisly, wind W.Sly. An A.M. walk to St. Annes Chapel without Eastgate. Mr. Erving meeting me accompanied me home abiding till dinner called. P.M. drank tea, passed Eve at Mr. Parminster's, played at quadrille, departed at 11.

4. Morn mild air, wind Nly., now and then drisle. After clouds and clear alternately. Mr. Smith brought a letter from W.C., London, advising my wife and all friends well. Strange conduct, no direct advice, some reason, I presume, for silence, if justifiable tis yet perplexing. Complaints however proved no good effect. Meridian visited by Mr. Smith and Erving, walkt with latter to Clive. In P.M. the same route with my friend Mr. Bretland, his conversation of 3 hours instructing and entertaining. Evening at home.²

11. Col. John Erving (1728-1816), Harvard 1747, merchant of Boston, married Maria, daughter of Governor William Shirley. He was a trustee of the Charity of Edward Hopkins, the oldest "foundation" in America. An addresser of Hutchinson and a mandamus councillor, he sailed for Halifax at the evacuation of Boston, then moved to England and died at Bath.

1. An urgent note to John Timmins to call on Mr. Rowe at the Treasury for a blank receipt for Curwen's quarterly allowance. He also wrote Robert Follet inquiring after Isaac Smith from whom he had not heard, though he had written to Smith.

2. To William Cabot he explained that, hearing of his illness, and not because of any distrust of Cabot, he had referred the matter of his allowance to Mr. Timmins.

5. Thin clouds, mild air, wind Wly. Evening drisle At Mint Meeting House, Mr. Hogg preached, text, "*By faith Noah, being warned of God &c.*" Communion Day, P.M. same text and preacher. After last service walkt $\frac{1}{2}$ hour till Bow Meeting was ended, our Family being of that Society.

6. Cloudy rainy all day. Within till Eve walkt with Mr. B. in Churchyard.

7. Mild air, uncommonly clear and delightful. An early walk to the Lock per me ipsum, after called out by Mr. Erving walkt together till dinner hour to Porkers Wells, his late hired house. In Eve with Mr. B. through feilds; remainder at home alone. Last friday heard of Becky Tyngs marriage with John Lowell³ of Newburyport lately.⁴

8. A very fine mild clear air. A solitary walk to St. Annes, Mr. Erving calling in my absence. Seeing St. Sidwells Church open, popped in, found one only funeral monument. Returning home, wrote to Colonel Browne at London. P.M. obliged from complaisance to yield a temporary cession of my room to Miss E., I walkt over to Mr. Pearce's Davids hill, he being out I faced about, and walkt back, intending to pass 2 hours at Mr. Nation's but his engagement abroad proved a 2d disappointment. From hence despairing of admission anywhere I strolled in Tiverton road, tired of rambling I returned and attempted at Mr. Andrew Tremlets on David's hill, who politely welcomed me in. Here I passed 2 agreeable hours with Company as follows, Parson of the parish and his Lady, Mr. Tremlet's Lady, Mrs. Pearce, Mrs. Abbot and Miss Hicks. After tea passed $\frac{1}{2}$ hour in his delightful garden. He presented me with a beautiful bouquet of a great variety of odouriferous flowers, now adorning my room. Evening at Mrs. Bretlands played quadrille. Supt on Millet pudding and excellent sausages. Invited in my absence to walk by Mr. B. and to tea by Mr. Cross.

3. John Lowell (1743-1802), Harvard 1760; prominent lawyer of Newburyport; addresser of Hutchinson; legislator and jurist; member of the Continental Congress, 1782 and 1783; a leading Federalist politician. He married as his third wife Rebecca (Russell) Tyng, widow of James Tyng of Dorchester and daughter of James and Katherine (Graves) Russell of Charleston.

4. Curwen wrote Col. Browne congratulations on the arrival of Mrs. Browne and sent him such information as he had gathered (from Mr. Timmins) on the cost and availability of houses in Exeter, expressing hope Col. Browne would turn in that direction.

9. Morn, clear and mild, wind S.W. A.M. air faintish. Mr. Erving called me out to walk, our Course Cowley bridge, he seems sensible, grave turn, not unacquainted with moral science, exceeding communicative. Old Mr. B. procured me an horse to accompany his son to Topsham. Passed by an estate kept in the male branch of a family named Suckbitch without addition or diminution ever since the Conquest, it is reported. Returned back at 6 o'clock.

10. Fine morn, fresh warm, wind S.W. Walkt with Mr. Erving and Pringle till 12 o'clock. Dined at house of former. Passed P.M. and Eve home.

11. Fine clear weather continues, wind S.W. Walkt Hayne bank alone. P.M. air hot. Being disposed to leave present lodgings, went in search of others without effect. Visited Mr. Whites invited by the Councillor to Monday dinner. P.M. accompanied by my friend Mr. and Miss Bretland rambled through Winiford Lane to Winiford and Heavytree. In one of the Buttresses of the Church grows out a Yew tree of 3 feet or more in heighth, cut into a fanciful form, has an uncommon appearance, supposed to receive its nourishment from Cement moistened by rain and dew from Heaven. Church has marks of age and decay, the outside walls beginning to bulge out. Drank tea at Mr. Parminters with Mr. Smith unexpectedly from Sidmouth, Miss Carslucks of Wishcoomb and other Company. Evening at Mrs. Bretlands. Received a letter from George Russell, Birmingham, in answer.

12. Fine weather continues. Morn clear and warmer than usual. At Mint Meeting House Mr. Smith preached from "*O how I love thy law! It is my meditation all the day.*" P.M. same preacher, text, "*Why art thou cast down, O my Soul &c.*" After service drank tea at Mr. Nations with Company. Returned at 7 o'clock. Before Evening had a long ramble with Mr. Smith through feilds.

13. Fine clear morn, air brisk, wind N.W. Mr. Smith breakfasted with me; together visited Mr. Morgan, confined by gout, Company Mr. Berry of Crediton. Dined at Mr. White, agreeable to invitation. Drank tea at Mr. Crosses. Walkt to Countess Ware bridge. Evening at home.⁵

5. With his usual impatience Curwen this day sent a follow-up letter to Timmins, lest his letter of 2 April had "mist its way on the Road."

14. Air raw, unpleasant. Within almost all day. Wrote a letter to Mr. Timmins, London.

15. Clear air, raw and chilly, wind Nly. At Motts Coffee House with Mr. Erving. After walkt over to Luccoms gardens and nursery. P.M. short walk. Memo: bought $\frac{1}{4}$ of 100 Bowdley Oysters, a large species, pleasant taste, not brackish, costing 9d. opened.

16. Clear morn and bright. Air mild, wind Nly. P.M. harsh, walkt with Mr. Bretland and young Parson Peckford to Pym hills. Miss E. supt with me on oysters.

17. Air raw and cold, wind N. P.M. with Mr. B., walkt to Alplington, caught in rain. Miss Edgecomb hemmed 2 handkerchiefs for me, the 2d instance of work done gratis since my arrival in England. Drank tea with me. Evening alone.

18. Air clear, raw, wind N. Called out by Mr. Erving, walkt with him to Heavytrees and P.M. into Bartholomew yard to view 2 or 3 houses within. Drank tea at his house. Returned home at 8 o'clock.

19. Cloudy, dull, raw, wind N.W. At Mint Meeting House, Mr. Hogg, text "*And many other signs truly, did Jesus &c.*" Between services received 2 letters, one from Mr. Timmins, the other from Ebenezer West⁶ in the Downs. P.M. same Preacher, same text. Evening at home.⁷

20. Fresh, cloudy and showry by turns. Set out, however, on horseback for Spencecomb, the seat of a Mr. Rowe near Crediton in company with Mr. and Mrs. Bretland, caught in 2 showers. Arrived at 12 o'clock, a week of festivity following Easter Sunday. Passed an agree-

6. Ebenezer West, born ca. 1750, son of William West of Salem. While at sea in his father's employ he was taken by the *Enterprise* frigate 20 July 1777 and held as a prisoner of war until exchanged by his father in 1782. He later sailed in command of the *Grand Turk* for Mr. Derby in the first voyage of an American vessel to Canton. Curwen promptly acknowledged West's letter, begging any particular he could give of Salem and offering "if there be any comforts a guinea or two can procure" to "spare them out of my small living to render in some degree happy, one that has been so nearly connected with me as you once were."

7. Having received a reply from Timmins enclosing the receipt from Mr. Rowe, Curwen wrote again to Timmins: "being deprived of the common ways and means of livelihood I cannot be wholly unemployed nor quit the hopes of some advantage from fortune's smiles, must therefore request you to purchase for me at the best established office in London seven Nos. in the present lottery each of the value of $\frac{1}{8}$ of a ticket and keep them in your hands remitting me the No. only."

able day, our Company being numerous, provisions plenty and good, welcome hearty, and Company cheerful. For supper we had a dish called junket, I fancy of Devonshire origin. Consists of curds and whey put in a deep dish, clouted cream being poured over on top and grated sugar strewed thereon. Well enough tasted; is a noted supper dish in the Country here [*1 word*] in Farmers familys. Clouted cream prepared, the raw milk set to rise in broad pans overnight, next morn put on a moderate heat till it begins to rise in blisters then taken away and skinned as with us in New England, with this butter is made and without this process none is made scarcely. I think it has a smoaky taste. Cream is much used as well as all over England as here when to be got, with fruit pyes. We were hospitably lodged being here by invitation. Our host was of the rank called Gentleman Farmers, or Landholders in Fee of Estates from one to 7 or 800 a year.

21. Weather as yesterday. Walkt with Mr. Rowe over his grounds, his house large, mud walls covered with lime mortar, whitewashed, roof thatched. Stands as usual in a bottom or vale as its final syllable denotes. He informs me 20 bushels wheat is a medium product, 30 of Barleys, in Devon, Rye a grain scarce known here. Returned from here P.M.

22. Cold raw air, 2 or 3 flights of snow, beside hail, wind N. Received a short letter from my friend W[illiam] P[ynchon] Esq. Salem, New England Feby. 10, consisting 4 lines advising of welfare of friends, his inclosed in one from W.C., London. Meridian at Ide with Mr. Erving. Wrote to my wife. P.M. at home, Eve supped at Mr. Crosses, departed at 11.⁸

23. Cloudy raw air, wind S.E. A short walk, visited Mr. Towgood; Engaged abroad, from hence to Mr. Manning whom I found just returned from Crediton and going off immediately on another excursion. Complimented me with an invitation. Passed P.M. and drank tea at Mr. Higgs, Mr. Erving's friend in an hours visit. Evening per me ipsum.⁹

8. A short letter, much crossed out, no addressee named, that appears to be to some friend in America; it contains personal news only.

9. In the margin opposite this date Curwen notes: "A medal lately hath been struck at Paris by [direction] of Monsr. Voltaire in honour of General Washington: on one side is the bust of the General with the inscription 'G. Washington Esqr. Commander of the continental army in America.' The reverse is decorated with the

24. Morn clear, air raw, wind brisk N.E. Mr. Erving calling walkt to Squire Nortmore's seat called Cleve. R. Follet brought a letter from Mr. Timmins, dined, passed p.m., drank tea at venerable Mr. Towgood's. Short visit to Mrs. Bretland's, invited to tea on morrow. Evening at home.

25. Clear, raw air, wind brisk at N. Milder air than for 10 days past. Walkt with Erving to his house. From thence to Bastey. p.m. visited and asked by Mr. and Mrs. Nortmore to tea, preingaged to Mrs. Bretland. Mr. Erving in my absence called for the same purpose. Reported that Commissioners are sailed for America, fear will prove a re infecta buisness. Evening attended at Baptist Meeting House. Sir Harry Trelawney preached from "*but if any man draw back &c.*," a very serious, ingenious discourse, lively animated style of an pleasing Countenance, kept his hand over his eyes in prayer.

26. p.m. at Bow Meeting House, Mr. Towgood preached from "*The fruit of the spirit is Love,*" an excellent serious discourse. After service walkt to New Bridge, on return invited into Mr. Crosses house to tea. After to George Meeting House, Sir Harry Trelawney preachd, text "*For God so loved the world &c.*," lively pure style, candid but replete with orthodoxy. Eve at home.

27. Clear pleasant morn, wind brisk, Sly. Mr. Erving took me out to Countess Ware bridge, dined at his house on Pease soup, passed p.m. and drank tea there. Appearance of great good nature and love in family. Evening below. Mr. B. paid me a short visit, Miss E. by request occupied my room with her gallant.

28. Cloudy dull but somewhat softened, wind S.Ely. With Mr. Erving and Sir H. Trelawney drank tea at Mr. Crosses. Passed 2 hours on [1 word] in Churchyard with Mr. Ogburn.

29. Morn moderate, wind E., rain, seasonable a.m. within reading Price on Civil Liberty. p.m. Mr. Erving drank tea with me. Evening after alone.

emblems of war, & the following—Washington reunite par une rare assemblage des talens du Guerrier, et des virtus du Sage." Curwen copied this from *The Scots Magazine*, XL (1778), 210, under the heading "Affairs in France and Spain," dateline, "Toulon, April 13," perpetuating the error "des" talens and "des" virtus for "les" talens and "les" virtus.

30. Clouds and sun alternately, air mild, wind E.Sly. Mr. Erving and I walkt to Harry Trelawney through Maudlin road. P.M. with him drank bottle port and dish tea at Mr. Pearce's on Davids Hill. Adjourned to George Meeting House, Sir Harry Trelawney preached "*The Lord knoweth how to deliver the godly &c.*," to a crouded audience. Evening at home.¹⁰

May 1. Air cool, sun and clouds alternately, wind Sly. Walkt accompanied by Mr. Erving to Mr. John Tremblets house Davids hill, supposed the scite of an old roman temple to see a lamp having Diana's emblem a crescent the points crouned with each a ball, and thought to belong to the temple of that Goddess there judged of more than 2000 years antiquity. This being May day, the milkmaids walkt in procession with their pyramid of plates as usual on this day. Eve at Mr. Parminters by invitation. Evening at home.

May 2. Drisly, moderate, wind S.E., after rain and continued all day. Dined at Mr. Parminters, passed P.M. and evening there.

3. Raw air and rainy, wind Sly. At Mint Meeting House Mr. Hogg preached from "Know ye not that the friendship of the world &c." Communion day. P.M. same preacher, text "By faith Noah being warned of God of things not yet seen &c." Drank tea at Mr. Nations with company and after paid Mr. Erving a short visit. Evening alone.

4. Thin clouds, moderate, wind S. At Meridian on Norney with Mr. Erving. P.M. headach, drank tea and passed evening at his house at Quadrille.

5. Rain, sun and clouds alternately, moderate wind W. Visited Miss White, invited to tea. Paid a second visit to Mrs. Manning left compliments, they being absent. P.M. at Miss Whites. Evening Mr. Smith with me and supt; brought me Massachusetts Exclusion bill whereby all who left New England after 19 April 1775 are forever banished and their Estates forfeited.

6. Dark, rainy, wind S. Visited by Mr. Erving. P.M. he and Mr. Berry drank tea with me.

10. A note to Timmins recounting Ebenezer West's needs and asking him to advance West 2 guineas on his account and call his name to the attention of Cabot and Col. Browne. He also wrote to West telling him of his letter to Timmins and asking for particulars he knew of Curwen's relatives and friends in Salem.

7. Cloudy and clear by turns, wind N.W. Paid off Hosier and Draper's bills. Dined and drank tea at Mr. E.s with Mr. Smith. Agreed on a journey to Tiverton with the Company am now in. An Evening walk on Norney, and after at home.

8. Air moderate, wind Sly. At 9 o'clock set out in a post Chaize with Mr. and Mrs. E., my friend Mr. Smith accompanying us on horseback, to Tiverton. Alighted at 3 Tuns Inn at 12 o'clock, passing a very excellent turnpike of 14 miles. This Town is supported by serge making of which formerly it was noted, now believed to be on decline. Some houses in good taste, has two dissenting and an anabaptist congregation. Episcopal church is a venerable old pile, low, outside greatly ornamented, Tower lofty, the inside contains many funeral monuments, some of ancient date; pews not passing to heirs are in a paltry shameful state of decadency. Here is a noted School called Blandetts, famous in the West, sends off yearly some students to Oxford and Cambridge, its numbers about 4 score. Masters possess plentiful livings, say ample. Besides here is an Academy for dissenters Children kept by a Mr. Kiddle a dissenting parson and one for young lads. Has abundance of shops. In the Inn we dined and drank tea, part of time passed in rambling about the Churchyard adjoining church, is a lofty situation, commanding an extensive and pleasing view of the neighbouring vale through which the pike runs, bounded by a long range of moderately high hills improved and inclosed to Summit. Departed at 6 o'clock and at 8 arrived at home. Eve alone, busied in packing up in order to depart tomorrow, if practicable.

9. Fine pleasant day, air clear, wind N.W. P.M. rode with Mr. Cross to Sharcross, at the mouth of river Exe opposite Exmouth, lying on larbord hand, almost 2 miles within the bar, from which to Topsham is a bay about 4 or 5 miles deep and 2 miles broad. The road is defended from winds blowing on the coast by a long sandy beach, narrowing the entrance to $\frac{1}{2}$ mile, called the Warren. Here the coals wherewith Exeter and the neighbourhood is supplied are unloaded, and carried up in barges. Vessells coming in and going out here anchor and deliver. Returned and dined at Mr. Parminers on saltfish and excellent madeira, supped and departed at 11.

10. Clear agreeable air. At Mint Meeting House, Mr. Smith preached, text "*better is the poor that walketh in his uprightness &c.,*" in P.M. same preacher, text "*Again the Kingdom of heaven was like a*

net &c." Drank tea at Mr. Nations, Mr. Smith, Bretland and 3 young Ladies. Evening supt at Mr. Crosses, returned at 11 o'clock.

11. Day pleasant, settled and paid off bills &c. Dined at Mrs. Bretlands my former Landlady, and having bid a welcome adieu to my unpleasing Landlady whose name was Handleigh, [and] maidens, advanced in years, the elder a mild moderate temper and inoffensive behaviour, the younger a compound of pert, prattling, affected, bombast, ignorant, positive, conceited, both selfish and unobliging, their treatment peculiarly disgusting. Took an affectionate leave of Mr. Bretland, Towgood and Cross and mounting a Rosinante sent me from Sidmouth departed being accompanied by my friend Smith having ordered the messengers on with my baggage. Taking the road through Topsham we staged at Ebford the seat of the Widow Lee, a wealthy hospitable dissenting Lady. Here we alighted and drank tea. The family having withdrawn to the house in the wood called the Hermitage to divert themselves at a game of quadrille, that our coming interrupted, notwithstanding repeated desires to the contrary. The family consists of an elderly Lady, Dauter and her husband, a Mr. Yates, and young parson Jarvis the dissenting Minister of Limestone from which we departed passing through Woodberry and the common denominated therefrom, Otterton and across Peak hill alighting about 8 o'clock at Robert Follets my designed lodgings, wherein I had twice before resided.

12. Clear air, wind brisk at E. An A.M. walk with Mr. Smith. P.M. raw, abode within.

13. Cloudy, raw, wind boisterous at W. P.M. unpleasant walk on beach.

14. Cloudy, fairish, rainy &c. alternately and suddenly wind S., brisk. Rode to Wishcoomb in company with Mr. Carsluck and 2 young Ladies, by the name of Upjohn of Exeter. Dined. P.M. at cards, drank tea, departed between 7 and 8 o'clock.¹

15. Cloudy, raw and unpleasant, wind S. All day within.

1. A long, friendly, though trifling, letter to Sally Bretland. Curwen also wrote a long letter to Judge Sewall addressed at No. 1 Orchard Street, College Green, Bristol, telling him that his move to Sidmouth "amounts since my arrival in England to just the number of Mother Rowlandson's removes, of which having taken minutes will, I fancy, not fail under the earnest hand of a judicious friend to make a suitable

16. Clear, brisk air, wind S.W. P.M. cloudy, windy and foggy. A.M. on beach. P.M. on bowling green.

17. Morn close, rainy. Meridian fresh wind S. A.M. indisposed. P.M. at Meeting House Mr. Smith preached, text "This commandment have we from him." At 5 o'clock cleared up. Evening at home.

18. Rainy and fair by turns, wind fresh S.W. A.M. within. P.M. visited by three Ladies whom Mr. Smith and I accompanied to Mr. William Carslucks, drank tea, passed time till 10 o'clock at quadrille.

19. Clearish, brisk air, wind N.W. Meridian walk on beach, P.M. and evening at Mrs. Dukes by invitation, tea and cards.

20. Pleasant mild day.

21. Clear mild air. Rode to Taunton, passing through Honiton and black down, Inned at White heart. Visited Mr. Welman and Parson Ward, drank tea with the latter and accompanied by former passed evening and supt at Mr. Toulmins the Baptist Minister. Lodged at the Inn, breakfasted at Mr. Toulmins. From hence departed for Poundisford the seat of a Mr. Hawker of the dissenting persuasion, a worthy Gentleman of fortune. Passed an agreeable day, dined, supt and lodged.

22-23. At 11 o'clock departed from hence in Company with Mr. Hawker, parting in the road we shaped our course for Chard to which we arrived about 2 o'clock. Between our two stages on a lofty ridge is the remains of an old Castle in the country dialect *Laratch*, supposed but I know not for what reason to have been of Roman construction. In our way also lies a village called Coomb St. Nicholas or St. Nicholas Church in a Vale for that is the meaning. Here dwells a Mr. Pike known by Mr. Smith where we proposed to stop and dine, unluckily, all the family were absent from home. *Chard* where we arrived about 2 o'clock is a manufacturing Town, its lifeless appear-

appendix in the next edition of that curious performance, unless you think the following under the title of the perils and peregrinations of a [tory?] or [refugee?] in quest of civil liberty, which the Author fondly imagined was to be enjoyed in higher perfection in the land he travelled through than in that he precipitately abandoned without money to support, friends to advise or wisdom to guide him; but this inter nos, being loth to exhibit a ridiculous picture of the writer to any one who does not affect him of whom I know many." The balance of the letter was a description of the route from Bristol to Exeter.

ance but too justly confirms the general opinion that it's trade is in a consumptive state; its buildings hardly above the village style, one wide commodious street, paved, having several reputable houses in it, one episcopal Church and 2 or 3 dissenters Meeting Houses, the manufacturing towns generally abound in persons of that persuasion. At 5 o'clock we took ourselves off from an extravagant Inn, passing through or over an excellent turnpike road, entered Axminster distant 7 miles, without alighting, and proceeded on to Scalton where we in vain attempted to find the remains, if any, of the old Roman post said to be establishel here, but it was hic labor, hoc opus. Turning our backs to the English Channel we rode to Churchyard which we found filled with grave stones ornamented with the labours of the stonecutter and poet or as the monthly reviewers style them Epitaph grinders, none, we thought worth taking off, and from hence proceeded to Mr. Slades at Collyton. Here taking up our rest for two nights, the Doctor supplying this pulpit in exchange with Mr. C. the minister who did his duty at Sidmouth.

Sunday 24. Mr. Smith preached, text and subjects forgotten. Entertained by conversation of the youngest dauter of the family named Nancy excelling the common standard in state of understanding, knowledge and good breeding as much as her heighth and size which not a little exceeds the common. After tea with Mrs. Slade, the 2 dauters, the gallant of the Elder and Mr. Smith we took a feild walk and to the top an hill commanding a view of a finely improved Country all around, including the whole vale from mouth of the Axe to Axeminster.

25. Fine clear, air mild. At Meridian we sett off proceeding to Baldash, the Estate of a Mr. Hook, where we abode till I had struck a bargain for an horse proposing that exercise in lieu of walking, to be sent me at an agreed time. From hence departed for Wishcoomb, dined, passed p.m. and evening at cards with Mr. John Carsluck his sister Miss Carsluck and a Mrs. Snell very agreeably, pressed to lodge but Mr. Smith withstood their entreaties and carried me off reluctantly enough at 9 o'clock.

26. Clear fine air, wind N.E. Meridian walk on beach. p.m. at Bowling green and Mr. Smith. Received an invitation for next Friday at Mrs. Duke's to tea and cards.

27. Dark, cloudy, sprinkling. At Sidbury with Robert Follet, situated on summit of a lofty hill incompassed with an earth wall, leaving a ditch without, Contents about $1\frac{1}{2}$ Acre, commands a view of Sidvale under excellent improvement, the adjacent lands to Sidbury and the English Channel. P.M. at home.

28. Morn clear and fine, wind fresh N. A 2d invitation to Mrs. Dukes, Mr. Ervings arrival with Mrs. and Miss Erving prevented. After tea walkt on beach, walkt up Salcomb hill with Mr. E. and Smith, from whence is a most extended prospect in a fine day from Portland to the Start within these two headlands distant 15 leagues, the bay is called Carnarvon.

29. Fairish, wind brisk, Nly. P.M. at Mrs. Duke's, repeated for Monday P.M. and evening, which we accepted. A pleasant walk after 9 o'clock in broad daylight.

30. Fair, mild morn, wind S. My new horse brought. P.M. air raw, cloudy. Within all day.

31. Clear fine day, wind brisk N.W. At Meeting House Mr. Smith preached, text "*Let us search and try our ways and turn again to the Lord.*" After service, walkt up Peak hill. P.M. same preacher, same text.

June 1. Fine morn, at Meridian cloudy, appearance of rain. P.M. delightfully pleasant. Dined at Mr. Carsluck's with bowling green Club. P.M. at Mrs. Duke's at cards till 9 o'clock, after, a walk.

2. Cloudy, wind W., brisk. After breakfast departed on horseback for Exeter with Mr. Smith, lodged at Mrs. Bretlands, he at Mr. Pearces.

3. Fair, pleasant. Ordination of Mr. Manning at George Meeting House who according to custom of dissenters in England accepted the Churchs invitation about 6 or 8 months since to the pastoral office and charge over them. The persons concerned and duty assigned are as follows: Vizt. Mr. Bartlet of Topsham began with a prayer and read a portion of Scripture, then a Psalm was sung, a 2d prayer by Sir Harry Trelawney, a Psalm, a Sermon by Dr. Harris of London, text "Do all things without murmuring and disputing, that ye may be blameless

and harmless &c.," being ended a Psalm followed. Then Mr. Tozier of Bow Meeting made the ordination prayer so called, accompanied by impression of hands, then a Psalm, then the charge in the form of a Sermon by the venerable Mr. Micajah Towgood, not so full as with us. The whole concluded by a prayer by Mr. Hogg of the Mint, length of service about 3 ½ hours. Dined by invitation at the Ervings, passed P.M. and evening at Cards till 12 o'clock.

4. Morn cloudy, brisk air. A.M. at Mr. E.'s house. Mr. Smith and O[gburn] joyned us. Visited some friends, walkt on Haynebank, dined at Mr. Hogg's, drank tea at Miss Whites. Evening at Hotel with Mr. Ogburn and Burgess of London.

5. Dark and rainy, wind boisterous at S. Mr. Smith and self on horses thoroughly soaked in riding to Sidmouth. Mr. O. and B[urgess] snug in a post chaise. Rambled about Sidmouth with our 2 Companions before dinner. Leaving my Company I went to Mrs. Duke's agreeable to an invitation last Monday, passed P.M. and evening till 8 o'clock at Cards and tea.

6. Clear and cloudy alternately, wind brisk at S. but pleasant. An A.M. and P.M. ramble with Mr. O. about town and Peak hill.

7. Clear and cloudy by turns, air mild, rode to Sidbury with Mr. Smith, he preached to a thin Audience, text "*God sent not his Son into the world, to condemn the world &c.*" Returned home to dinner. P.M. at Sidmouth same preacher, text "*How shall we escape if we neglect to get salvation &c.*" After service a short walk on beach.

8. Cloudy mild, wind fresh S. Antisinticula walk on beach lengthened by encompassing Salcomb hill almost walking under the Cliffs to the intersection used by the Smugglers which we from thence ascended. P.M. showry, Evening walkt to Syd with Mr. Smith.

9. Cloudy and clear as usual, air mild, wind N.W. Mr. Smith gone to Bridport to an association of Dissenting Ministers of the liberal class of Somerset. Meridian walk to the Arch near Otterton, prevented passing it by heighth of the tide. P.M. rode over to Budley Salterton Fair. Finding it consisted only of 3 or 4 tents raised before the chief

Inn and 3 or 400 persons eating, drinking and singing in the Commencement style, 3 or 4 boats laden with Country folks having music, others on shore impatiently waiting there to go off to sea as they called it, after sitting on my horse on the ground gazing and being gazed at left them to enjoy their pleasures and returned home by the way I came. Evening at home.

10. Mild air, wind S.W. Mr. O. accompanying repeated yesterdays walk to the Arches, passed them, being a rock under which the water passes, width about 20 feet, heighth 40, having earth, shrubbs and grass growing on the top, running out 2 or 300 feet into the bay. Proceeding on we ascended hill in intersection of the Cliffs, passed Peak hill. P.M. cloudy and unpleasant, abode within.

11. Dull, cloudy, wind S.E. A.M. walk, P.M. within.

12. Mild air, wind S.E. Rose early, drank a pint of salt water, operation favourable. Walkt on beach, our female fellow borders left us. Between 5 and 6 o'clock rode with my 2 fellow boarders to Ottery beacon, commanding a prospect of Ottery vale as far as Sir George Youngs Seat in the neiborhood of Honiton. Continued ride over the ridge till Honiton appeared in view. Returned in a mist through Sidbury, Sidford &c, in a moist plight, at 8 o'clock dismounted.¹

13. Clear mild air, wind N.W. On Peak hill, a large fleet appeared in offing near 30 Capital ships judged to be Keppells. Invited by Mr. Skaddon to a sight of the Cane King Charles I had in his hand at his trial from whence the gold head dropped off in Court, interpreted by the credulous as an *ill omen*. 'Tis a beautiful stick, and finely shaded. I suppose as much revered by his infatuated admirers as Aaron's rod that budded was by the debout Isralites, that for a very good, this for no reason but party madness. He also possesses the Duke of Northumberland's Golden Key as Lord Chamberlain which when the bearer or wearer is acting in that capacity is fastened, as I am told, to his pocket flap. Also King Charles 2 Cabinet and some fine old royal porcelain, all which he estimates as precious particles of infinite value. Afterwards past a couple of hours in Bowling green.

1. The usual letter this day to Timmins to send him the blank receipt for his next quarterly allowance.

14. Clear mild air. Mr. Cornish preached in our Meeting House his text "*Jesus sent the multitude away &c.*," being no American Church service. 'Twas a full assembly, that biggoted son of [Vites?] or Carem's the Vicar whose name was Sanders, being gone to supply a distant pulpit. P.M. same preacher, text "*Unto you therefore which believe, he is precious.*" Received a self inviting note from S.B. at Ottery, answered.

15. Air mild and clear, wind N.W. An early ride to Bulverton and Peak hill. Horizon uncommonly clear, had a distinct sight of Portland and about Abbotsbury. Took a 2d ride, at returning found a card of invitation from Mrs. Duke to dine at 2, her usual hour; accepted and went, company large, Dr. and Mrs. Robinson of Honiton, a Mrs. Lee and Miss Ward of Otterton, Mr. B. Hodge, Mr. Smith and myself, dinner of 3 courses. Passed P.M. and evening at cards till 11 o'clock a very late hour for that Lady's house. Dr. H. joyned in evening.

16. Clear morn, brisk air, coolish, wind variable. A.M. walk alone to Bulverton hill, a pleasant view of the vale through which the Otter runs from Sir George Young's on one hand to Mr. Waters Obelisk on the other. Having before sent off my horse and an attendant to S.B. who arrived at 10 o'clock accompanied him to Peak hill.

17. Morn clear, air brisk, sea calm. Soon sky became overcast with appearance of rain, wind at all points. Walk antisinticular on beach.

18. Air brisk and pleasant, wind N.W. Accompanied S.B. who was mounted on Friend Smith's horse to Exeter. Dined at Mr. Parminters, eat potted char, excellent Madeira wine. Passed a cheerful hour with a Mr. Luxmore of Tavistock, invited to his house. P.M. and evening at Mr. Ervings, drank tea and supt, departed at 12. Lodged at Mrs. Bretlands.

19. Morn clear and pleasant. Breakfasted at Mr. Nations on yester-days invitation. Mr. E. calling took me out to walk, visited my late acquaintance, dined with him, calling on Mr. Cross was detained to tea. From hence to Valiant Soldier Inn meeting an Otterton man there, joyned company and rode home his way, alighted on 2 ½ hours from departure.

20. Light clouds, air mild. P.M. warm, wind S.W. Early walk on beach. P.M. on bowling green.²

21. Mild air, blue sky, an immense appearance, wind E. At Meeting House, Mr. Smith preached, text "*The most High ruleth in the kingdom of Man &c.*" After service on horseback, P.M. at Church, the Vicar preached, text "*Marvel not at this, for the hour is coming &c.*," an indifferent discourse, indifferently delivered.

22. Fine clear air, warm. Rode with Mr. O. to Woodbury castle, so called. Remains of a Danish fort standing on edge of a lofty range of hills called Woodbury common from the little town of same name in its neighborhood, wherein the name of Langdon is very numerous, commanding a most extensive prospect, namely Sidmouth, Budly, river Exe, Topsham Hall down, Belvidere of Lord Courtney, Lord Lisburne Obelisk, Hayter rocks on Dartmore, Irish Channel and on the North even into Somerset, Quantock hills, and almost to North Channel, the ramparts of earth and ditches still remain; place of arms contains about 5 acres, on highest spot stands an house built by neighboring Gentleman for a retreat in hunting, tea and rural amusement in the warm season, lower part improved by porters family, upper is noble square room, dedicated to festivity. Roof projects in front and is supported by 4 pillars in truly rustic order, the natural bark yet remaining unstript. From hence to Exmouth alighting at Globe Tavern, where we dined. This is a bathing town lying as its name denotes at mouth of river Exe, round about it lye flatts to a great extent. The bathing place lies on seaside to which is made a long walk and grand over beach and sands under the cliffs, upon them is a walk through 7 feilds with seats &c. to accomodate the Company who one would think by these conveniences resort hither in great numbers, and indeed I was told 375 strangers have been numbered here at one time. There are some well finished handsome houses and more in number than at Sidmouth. By accident met here 2 Exeter young Ladies with whom held $\frac{1}{2}$ hour's conversation. At 5 o'clock remounting our horses, de-

2. A letter to Col. Browne at Cowbridge, Wales, confirmed that the houses Curwen had mentioned previously were not furnished "but furniture is to be obtained at 15 percentum for beds and other articles at 12." Then at the request of Mr. Erving, who was anxious to move from Exeter, Curwen asked Browne about Abergavenny in Monmouthshire; "What is the price of Butchers meat, poultry and fish, are ready furnished houses to be hired and at what rate, are the people hospitable, social and disposed to form an unceremonious acquaintance, are they expensive in dress and diversions?"

parted, passing through Budly, arriving at lodgings at 8 o'clock. In absence some Collyton friends called.

23. Clear warm air, wind S.W. Weather for 6 or 8 days past remarkably favourable for haymaking. Usual walk on beach. Town filling with miners to be concerned in tomorrows solemnities, Mr. Smith being to be ordained over this small flock.

24. A Fine delightful clear air, wind at N.W., warm. This day Mr. Smith was ordained to the pastoral office over the little congregation of dissenters here. Solemnities began by prayer and reading a portion of Scripture by Mr. Bartlet of Topsham, followed by singing, after this another prayer by Mr. Berry of Crediton, who also gave out a psalm. Then Mr. Wright ascended the desk and preached his text "*And we beseech you Brethren, to know them which labour among you, and to esteem them very highly in love &c.*" This was followed by another psalm. Then Mr. Ward of Taunton read a long address to the Candidate and people of a mixed kind, advice, remonstrance, praise &c. which being finisht, Mr. Smith arose and read his reasons for entering into the Ministry particularly dissenters professt. Mr. Ward then came down from the Desk (which by the way are all of the small size and fit only for holding one) and came into the pew, where he began the Ordination prayer as it is called, accompanied, at the first, by a momentary imposition of hands, of himself, Mr. Berry, Mr. Hogg of Exeter, Mr. Bartlet and Mr. Toulmin which last mentioned, after, ascended and delivered a most excellent and approved charge, pathetically delivered; this was followed by singing, the whole concluded by a prayer of Mr. Hogg who also gave the blessing. The Ministers present beside were, Mr. Jillard of Taunton, Mr. Morgan, late of Leskard Cornwall, Mr. Waters of Bridport, Mr. Jarvis of Limestone, Mr. Cornish of Collyton, Mr. Rokford late of Honiton, and Mr. Finnamore, unsettled, the assembly respectable and large. A Member of the Episcopal persuasion, whose curiosity prompted him to attend continually through the whole service in the Yard, expresst great delight and approbation of the performance, and an high opinion of the regularity, solemnity and propriety of the whole. Pity, that the narrowness of policy keep asunder and divide in affection men engaged in the same worthy design, and servants of the same kind beneficent Master whose Chief Command is Mutual Love and good will.

Passed evening with Mr. Thomas Pearce, Samuel Cross and Andrew Tremlet, Exeter acquaintance. Indisposed.

25. Morn close air, at Meridian sun shone with unusual heat and brightness. Accompanied and breakfasted with 3 aforesaid friends at Woodbury castle, alighting there at 8 o'clock, taking leave I returned home at 12. P.M. at home.³

26. Cloudy, light rain, P.M. light clouds. Rode to Ottry through Harford woods, appearance American. Drank tea at Kings Arms, returned back in a dark mist, wind E. Reported that Admiral Keppell's fleet had taken 3 french frigates which had shattered the Arethusa almost to pieces.

27. Morn, raw, cloudy and rainy, wind E. P.M. Sly. Wind. Rode through Bulverton, through Biston, through Mr. Waters park, a circle of 8 miles.

28. Morn air moderate, light clouds, wind S.Wly. P.M. air stagnant and suffocating. Mr. Castle of Hatherly preached at our Meeting House, text "*Who by [1 word] do believe in God that raised &c.*," walked on Syd river. P.M. same preacher, same text, full assembly. Mr. Burgwins⁴ a North Carolina Gentleman called in his way to Falmouth, going in a packet to America encouraged by the assembly who resolved to admit all refugees applying by October.

29. Clear, air warm, wind S.Wly., faint. Early walk on beach. Engaged in Conversation with a Captain Wynne of Dragoons, out of service, averse to Government measures; Mr. Parminster called on me and dined, took a walk on beach with him, and after on bowling green; with Mr. Smith after tea walkt through feilds to Sidford, on our return were bewildered.

30. Cloudy, foggy, moderate, air calm at S. News of Friday confirmed, P.M. walkt on beach.

July 1, 1778. Cloudy dark morn, wind Boisterous, sea roars. With my 2 fellow boarders rode to Honiton to see annual performance of

3. A note to Erving advising that he had written to Col. Browne as requested.

4. John Burgwyn (1731-1803), of North Carolina. The Commission of the District of Wilmington, N.C., consented to a sale of his property in order to test the legality of the Confiscation Act.

Lacemakers, alighted at Golden Lion and was soon called out and invited to dine at a Mrs. Yount's whose daughter is the president of this board, Company or Society of which there are some honorary members, the others are workers at the trade. The number exceeds an 100. The annual festival and procession is on this day of the Year. They are comprised of Churchmen and Dissenters, have an P.M. sermon, alternating in the Church and Meeting House. After service they walk in following order—first at the head walks the President alone, holding in her hand a rod or wand adorned with flowers of all kinds in the season preceded by 4 little maidens of 8 or 9 years old carrying large bouquets, which, once for all, everyone in the procession has, and each carries a basket of flowers, walking between 2 arches adorned with great variety of flowers. Then follow The honorary members or Patronesses of the Society, each having a white rod, the top made up of flowers, then follows the Standard bearer, behind whom goes a dozen Couples having a standard bearer attending them which closes the [procession?]. On one is depicted a ship with a motto or inscription in a scrawl forgotten, the device and motto on the other was never within my knowledge. In this order they paraded the different streets and then adjourn to the Golden Lion Inn to take their tea and pass the evening in dancing and festivity. To this we were invited by a ticket for which paid 1/ each but my occasions calling me to Exeter and want of relish for such promiscuous confused noisy mirth concurred to send me off the ground before the street parade was over, leaving my Companions to return home by Moonlight which it not my choice to do. Arriving at Exeter by 8 o'clock I walkt to Mr. Erving's house whom I found had left the City with his Wife and one Daughter, being in pursuit of a less expensive (hardly to be procured) way of life and less mortifying. Mrs. Bretlands house being full, I was forced to take up lodgings this night in Valiant Soldier Inn.¹

2. Fine pleasant morn, clear. Arrived at Sidmouth from Exeter at 12 o'clock. Mr. and Mrs. Bretland dined at our house, she to remain with us some weeks to whom I've resigned my room she being mother of my worthy friend whom I greatly value and esteem. Moved over to Molly's, a Mr. Upjohn of London native of Exeter is also become one

1. To William Cabot at "Hodleston, Herts," he wrote that he found himself "banished perpetually from my native Country," but that Capt. Thomas Poynton and Cabot were "not within the exclusion bill."

of our family. Evening on beach with my 2 New England Companions.

3. Cloudy, dull unpleasant Morn, Wind W. and fresh. P.M. on beach, and through feilds.

4. Brisk air, light clouds, wind. On beach A.M., bowling green P.M.

5. Cloudy but moderate. Mr. Bretland visited his mother, returned back after service. At Meeting House Mr. Smith preached, text "In whom ye also trusted, after that ye had heard the word &c." A walk in Interval. P.M. same preacher, text "My little Children of whom I travel in birth &c."

6. Air brisk pleasant, wind E. Within till Meridian. P.M. in Bowling green. Evening, walk.

7. Fine clear morn, air soft and pleasant, wind S. Morn walk on beach.

8. Clear warm morn. Rose early and rode to Halldown to see Exeter races, being in the down at 11, three betts only. The Cup with 200 Guineas won by a Mr. Wildman's horse Lubin, sport indifferent, race ground so, dust and heat intolerable. Numbers present supposed 10 thousand. Dined in a tent on Chicken ham and excellent bottle cyder with Mr. A. Tremlit and Thomas Pearce in company with whom I rode to Exeter, and drank tea with former. Evening at Mr. Parminers, drank his last bottle of excellent Madeira wine, lodged at Mrs. Bretlands.

9. Air through the whole day Sultry. Breakfasted at Mr. Pearces, dined, drank tea at Mr. Parminers, in the course of Day visited all my friends and acquaintances. At my return back to Sidmouth found Judge S., Lady and kinsman Samuel, passed an hour with them.

10. Fine clear warm Morn. A.M. Judge S. visited us. P.M. walkt with him to Peak hill, evening indisposed.

11. Warm, pleasant Morn. On beach, at 10 rode out to Corehill. Mrs. D[ukes] having sent invitations to drink tea and cards in Pavilion.

After, sent to request she would pass P.M. at Spring Gardens. I availed myself of this opportunity to excuse myself being indisposed.

12. Fine clear warm Morn. Rose early being seized with a violent cholic pain in bowells. Confined at home all day.²

13. Fair warm Morn, as Sun rises heat increases. Rode out, came back by way of Sidford, returning was overtook by Mr. Pearce who designs to reside with us a few weeks. My pain abated P.M. took a 2d ride out along Syd, returned through Sidford bridge.³

14. Warm clear air, light breeze. Walk on the beach. Received a letter from P[eter] F[rye] without mention of time or place. After tea, rode out with Mr. Smith and P[earce] to Corehill.

15. Clear Morn, very Warm. Early walk on beach. Went off with Mr. Withers in his Phaeton, accompanied by Mr. Smith, Pearce, Jarvis⁴ and Meservale to Beer, dined at Kings head, P.M. was rowed a league out, the air Sultry, no wind, Continued on the water 2 or 3 hours and returned by Bovey, my Companions by Branscomb.

16. Warm, clear Morn, weather in day varies as is common. Early walk on beach. Our yesterday's Company dined with us this day. Mr. Smith and I drank tea at Judge S.

17. Very warm Morn. Set off alone on an excursion to the West at 9 o'clock crossing over Peak hill, through Otterton and over West-

2. This day he acknowledged to Timmins receipt of the blank receipt for his allowance and gave complicated instructions about the purchase of fractions of various lottery tickets. He also listed as at Sidmouth, Judge and Mrs. Sewall, Samuel Sewall, Mr. Isaac Smith, and Mr. Ogburn; and at Exeter Col. John Erving and his family, Col. John Vassall, Mr. Thomas Lechmere, "and late Lieutenant Governor Oliver soon to be there."

3. A long letter to George Russell at Birmingham, recording his own health and expressing concern about that of Mrs. Russell. He also reported receipt of gloomy letters from Halifax, adding, "The Sun of Britain is past the meridian and declining fast to the west and America is forever emancipated from the legislative authority of this once potent Empire, alas no more so; the prophetic falling off of the best Jewell from our unhappy King's crown, whilst on his head, on his coronation day is now accomplished by the loss of America which I consider irrecoverably gone."

4. John Jervis (1752-1820), younger brother of Thomas Jervis (1748-1833); succeeded his brother from 1773 to 1820 as minister in charge of the Presbyterian congregation at Lymestone, Devonshire; a fellow of the Linnean Society and a mineralogist.

bury common, my first stage at Mr. Withers, Limestone, intentionally to persuade him to accompany me to Teignmouth agreeable to a vague promise from him the preceding day. He being gone to Exeter his sister invited me to stay and refresh which the air being sultry and having no prospect of a proper stage in due time I accepted and eat a piece of bread and cheese, drinking a draft of cool ale and after $\frac{1}{2}$ hour's rest resumed and proceeded through Ebford to Countess Ware Bridge Inn, a miserable dirty hut.

Whilst my horse was baiting I went and seeing the Landlady frying Eels about the bigness of my little finger, I called for $\frac{1}{2}$ dozen and drinking a draft of tolerable ale took my departure and descended to the Bridge and was by following the Toll receiver's wrong information turned some miles out of my right road, passing through Sharcross and Dawlish Sands, being a skirt of the town that lyes a little further within land. Here is a pleasant beach in a small cove or indent of the shore on which stood the only bathing machine, a few persons only resorting hither. On the Cliffs on the other or Western side of the beach is an extensive Sea and land view, from hence is about 4 miles to Teignmouth where I arrived about 6 o'clock putting up at Globe Inn facing the sands and beach.

This town lies at the mouth of the river Teing as its name denotes and is partly within and partly without the river on its northern bank. It is a bathing Town and resorted to by men and Company of a much higher rank than Sidmouth can boast. 'Tis irregularly built, but the houses much more [*1 word*] and of incomparably better appearance. The beach for bathing lies at some distance from the town without the mouth of the river on which account tis exposed to rough water when the wind rises, its length greatly exceeds ours, its sands harder nor to be come to as with us over loose pebbles. Here are some well filled shops and a face of success and industry. Some few topsail vessells in the river.

At my first arrival in the Inn intended to have rested here for this night having ordered a broiled chicken and a pot of best ale, chosen my chamber and disposed of my effects, circuited the Town, returned to the Inn with design for repairing to rest finding at my 2d entering the house in a bustle the servants too much employed to attend to a single Gentleman on horseback without servants, thought it most for my Comfort to depart hence, to that purpose having ordered my horse out my baggs down and paid off my hostess departed to the passage over the mouth of the river to Shoaldam a Village lying on the

opposite shore but the restiveness of my beast who could not be forced into the boat forced me back to the Inn where I was again received and accomodated with just the same chamber &c. before engaged. After a little ramble to beguile an idle hour reentered and hasted to my repose.

18. Rose early but no fire being kindled the house servants not risen, I ordered Mr. Hostler who appeared, to bring forth my Rosinante, paying the bill I mounted taking the road to Newton Bushell distant about 6 miles for two or three of which the road runs on the side of a long ridge having the river in Sight for the most part of the way. This river is not navigable but for small craft the water being shallow, large beds of sand stretching out from both shores and also in middle distance, the channells between, extremely shallow. At $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles distance from the town, lying a little out of the road on the right hand is a town called Bishop Stanton, passing a road of a very doubtful aspect, some time apprehending myself in a wrong track, and again half persuaded, from its direction, nearly according to the course of the river, that it might be right and in event it proved so.

Meeting a market woman returning home received information that I was in the right road to Newton Bushell and a mile distant from Kings Stanton lying in the road to the former, where about 9 o'clock I arrived and innd at the London Inn Newton Abbott, the 2 clusters of houses on different sides of the river Lemon being called by different names the former lying on the further side in the parish of Whulverton and the other on the hither side of said River in the parish of Highwick called Newton Bushell. Those two towns, for in the former is a market, are under different regulations, and for distinctions sake called sometimes by these different names, though usually Newton only. They contain together 300 houses, are decently built, shops of almost every kind I found and trades, streets are paved, have 2 episcopal Churches and one presbyterian Church.

Breakfasted and soon sett off, passing at $\frac{1}{2}$ miles distance an old fashioned seat called Ford belonging to Lord Courtenay, in whose manor this town lies. The road from hence to Dartmouth lying at 16 miles distance is all turnpike and very agreeable, the land in the approaches thereto more hilly and uneven, all improved to their summits.

At 3 o'clock alighted at a Mrs. Quicks, in a place called Kingsware, leaving my horse. This is a cluster of houses 50 or 60 in number on the hither side River Dart, where the harbour pilots dwell, situated like that on side of an hill but not so high nor steep an ascent, has one

episcopal Church. Ferried over, much the width of Charlestown ferry, about $\frac{1}{2}$ mile within extremity of Harbour. By recommendation put up at Castle Inn on Quay, dined on roast chicken. Shaved and rambled through Town.

On the Quay seeing a Gentleman loitering and solitary, I joyned him, and finding him not averse, entered in talk, a favour not always to be obtained of these shy proud Islanders. Taking leave I walkt forward towards the Castle, after ascending to the 3d range of streets, being soon overtaken by him, he again joyned and told me he had been at Bowling green to introduce me there, but found it not open, and continued walking with me to the Castle standing in an eminence commanding the mouth of the harbour, which it overlooked. Tis a detached platform of 16 or 18 g's. On the outer angle stands a round Tower or Magazine having a platform for 6 or 8 g's, Diameter 18 or 20 feet it stands on a point, on townside of Harbour at its mouth a little more than $\frac{1}{4}$ mile in width. Situation of Town on slope of an hill of quick ascent, consists of 3 principal streets lying one above other to the height of Chimneys and some places more, to ascend you must climb a craggy paved way, tedious and unpleasant. 'Tis irregularly built, houses mostly old and ill repaired, though are some excellent ones at head of the Cove, making a very grand appearance. Its trade, Newfoundland and Greenland, abounds in Merchants, the Coffee house the resort of Merchants and ship Masters. The Harbour is safe and commodious, capable of holding 300 sail of largest ships, going in safe but requires pilotage.

My informant and companion, I found was a Mr. Holdsworth Newman, Brother to Lidstone Newman the acquaintance and partner of J[ames] R[ussell]. Returning he invited me to see his oil store &c., going through the hanging gardens descending therefrom by 5 flights of steps of at least an 110 each. On each flight is a landing or flat supported by a wall, improved in fruits, flowers herbs trees &c. Having examined his butts Kittley &c., in which he affected to show, we departed and accompanying each other to door of Inn I entered and he passed on.

The houses are generally of white stone, some wooden frames filled in having sides and top of narrow slate abounding hereabouts. For extent and numbers it seems to be about half bigness of Exeter, is a Corporation, governed by Maior, the present a Mr. Holdsworth. In the harbour there are vessells of all burthen and sorts 22, principally from Wales laden with culm and small coals, for burning lime, being

great plenty of stone in these parts used for building and manure. Passed Evening at Inn and at 10 returned to rest and forgetfulness.

19. Mild air, thin clouds. At Meeting House Mr. Adams the minister preached of a singular gesture and an Enunciation ill understood, text "*To us a Son is given.*" Communion day here. This house was that wherein the famous Mr. Flavel preached. Dined with Mr. Lidstone Newman who visited me in the morning and invited me to his table. In P.M. accompanied my Host to Church. A young preacher named Kennicot preached, tis said this was the first discourse he ever delivered. Church large and well filled in respect of numbers and dress. Drank tea at House I dined. After tea took leave and passed an hour in rambling from whence returned to Inn and soon betook myself to my bed.

20. Close rainy morn. wind N.E. At 11 rain abated, at 12 paid bill and departed, by 1¼ hour alighted at George Inn Brixholm, a fishing town on western shore of Torbay, lying about a mile within Borney head being westernmost point of the bay and about 5 miles distance from Dartmouth. Tis a straggling town, uneven, houses low and to the greater part of a slovenly appearance, among them, however, are intersperst a few decent ones, and some handsome structures. The town just adjoining to Quay is entirely occupied by those whose dependence is on the hook and line, here being no fewer than four score boats daily employed in that service; they being all in afforded me an opportunity of counting them. They are all furnisht with mast and sail and from 2 to 4 and 5 tons burthen. They supply Exeter about 30 miles distant but even Bath and Bristol quite across the Country nearly 100 miles North from there. The boats being just arrived the shore was filled with buyers each having a small horse or ass with paniers who were busily employed in lading their cattle to carry off into the Country and distant markets there. The Quay wherein the boats lie and discharge their loading is a circular wall or line of stone fronting a small Cove, whereby the Craft is defended from the S.W. wind to which it would be otherwise exposed. The Species of fish taken here are the whiting, turbot, gurnet, plaice flounder, sole, John Dory, Mullet, mackrel &c. The ground wherein this town stands is craggy and uneven and is divided into 2 parts called the Church or upper and the lower town, the former from its containing the Church and is much better built than the other.

Dined at George Inn. After an hours conversation with an hardware seller whose name was Gresham, I took leave of Brixholm, passing the improved grounds of a Squire Hinde who is reported to be the richest man in the neighbourhood. The road lies for 4 or 5 miles along the bottom of the bay at some but unequal distances often near enough to be seen. Keeping the Penton and Torkey road as far as the Turnpike called Gapenwarbur where they part, the latter inclining to the left hand a bay the former keeping its direction for 2 miles when 4 roads meet, the directions to each by a 4 square stone pillar having the initials of Newton, Penton and Totness standing on the center of the roads. From hence at the distance of 3 miles is Berry Pomeroy an estate so called belonging to Duke of Somerset, the house is large but avenues lye in a careless neglected state, magnificent edifices and expansive pleasant grounds seem not to be this Duke's taste or a scanty purse restrains it. The View delayed my progress till a falling shower reminded of a mile to be rode short of my stage. My curiosity was ill repaid, suffering the inconvenience of a thorough drench, or in the Sailors language, having a wet jacket. Passing through the Town from a different quarter from that I had entered it once before was at a loss to account for the different appearance it now made and which I did not recollect till I had begun to descend from the top of the hill on the further end of the Town, when the objects seen in the same view from where I had received the first impression revived the ideas or images before confused. Throwing the bridle over my horses back he followed like a dog, the uncommonness of the sight brought forth gazers who look with wonder and surprize. Having proceeded in this manner till prevented by the rain now beginning a 2d time to fall in plenteous drops obliging me to take shelter in an Inn which proved the Prince Eugene's head, it being an indispensable custom for all travellers to be hungry and thirsty I called for a dish of tea though very needless and after swallowing a couple of dishes ordered tea equipment away and pen and ink to be brought filled up a small portion of time in writing and to get rid of any importunity for supper pretending fatigue retired to my bed chamber though the daylight was hardly shut in. In the meantime a cataract's shower falling soon swelled the gutters sweeping all before it reminding me of Swifts [cities sewer?] carrying along dead cats, turnip tops and all afloat on the dirty stream, the town for a mile lying on a descent to the river Dart on which it is bounded. On the hither side lies a cluster of houses equal, I suppose, to $\frac{1}{2}$ the town and is called Bridgetown, contained in

the parish of Berry Pomeroy and part of the manor of same name within which also as I was told, Totness lands, the Duke deriving from his Estate here £2 thousand pounds yearly.

21. Morn cloudy and dark, at times rainy. At 10 it abated. Arising at 7 o'clock [*1 word*] my attention was raised by an alarm in the street which on looking out I perceived was filled with crouds, a bull being turned and followed by a large Dog baiting him, which is here called a Bull baiting and serves to amuse and divert the Spectators.

Paying my bill, I ordered out my horse and mounting took leave of my Hostess whose deportment had been civil. Stopt for a few moments at the door of a Mr. Windcat on Bridgeton side, this family I had known before marriage by the name of Sophia Reed at Exeter. Declining to alight, though invited, I took leave, the sky denouncing more than a Scotch mist that in event proved only a drisle, and at the end of 8 or 9 miles passed in 1½ hours, alighted at same Inn at Newton before used.

At dinner taking up Herman Boaz's advertisement of his surprizing slight of hand on Cards &c., called Caperomce, to be exhibited this evening in the School room, and finding myself to loiter and having no object in view ahead, I determined to abide in this place for one night, and in order to beguile the hours till evening, as I had no acquaintance here I e'en betook myself to foot labour and strolled about. My first course was on the bank or rather road running near, thereto, of the little river Lemon, emptying itself after a course of about 1½ miles into the Teing, on the bank near to its outlet is landed the coal for firing, which almost all England uses instead of wood. Taking a fishing rod out of a boys hand I soon caught a little fish called a miller's thumb, about as big as a large minnum, this exploit being performed I delivered back the boy his rod, and walkt off. On the main branch of the Teing a little above the outlet of the Lemon is a ware for taking salmon &c.; from the unevenness of this Country the rains in 36 hours had swelled the river to a heighth of 5 feet carrying away all before it, nor was ware free from its violence and was then repairing. As all the streams are within manors, this belongs to Lord Courtenay of whom the right is purchased at a yearly rent of 50 £. In my walk the sun broke out and shone favour and benefactions.

The hour for the Evening amusement approaching I turned my stepps thitherward, and entering the room found Mr. Boaz preparing for the Company. He soon put into my hand a letter sealed inclosing,

as it afterward appeared a card desiring me to keep it safe in my pocket, which I took and put therein till 2 hours after he desired me to deliver it to him saying before the whole Company that the letter contained the card a young Lady to whom he just been delivering pack of cards to had thought of among all the cards in the pack, she after pitching on one delivered them back to him and after shuffling them he redelivered them to her to see if the Card she had thought on was there and on saying no says he tis in the letter I delivered that Gentleman pointing to me 2 hours since, which on braking the seal and displaying open the letter she declared the inclosed card to be the same she had thought on. 2. After shuffling the cards containing the whole pack he offered to each person to take out as many or as few as each should choose from any part of the pack till all were taken, and asking the first how many he had, he then began and without seeing them they being delivered back up, he told each person the cards and order wherein they received them. 3. Having recovered the cards and shuffled them to the Company's satisfaction dealt them into 13 parcels, containing 4 in a parcel their backs up, he then told [what] each parcel contained being pair royals or 4 of a sort in each parcel. 4. Taking the pack in his hands he delivered them to a Lady desiring her to think of one without telling him, then taking the pack delivered them to a Man directing him to hold them fast between his thumb and forefinger, the backs being uppermost. He then gave them a stroke with his knuckles, every card fell out of the mans hand except that card which the Lady declared was the one she thought on and that card appeared face uppermost being the 2 of diamonds. 5. Then taking the pack and delivering them to another Lady, desired her to think of a card, having turned them over and pitched on one she redelivered them to him, after shuffling them once or twice over in open presence of the Company he returned them back to her to see if the card she thought on unknown to all the Company and one would have judged to him also was therein, she answering NO, he replied that card is inclosed in that Egg lying on the plate on the Table and going to it takes it and before the Company breaking the Egg there was in the center of the yolk a rumped paper which being unfolded and displayed proved to be the 5 of Clubbs the card thought on by the Lady. 6. Having received a Gentleman's ring being a large Mocha stone set in gold, and a guinea having a particular mark minutely viewed by myself among many others, he put them into a persons hand in sight of all the Company. The person was standing at the further end of a table of a considerable bigness. Says he put them one into each hand which he did,

the trickster all the time of operation, after delivering out of his own stood at distance of the table. Addressing the person he had him show them to the Company, twas done, put one into each hand, twas done, he was then ordered to show them to the Company, he did; Change each into the other hand, he did. This he was ordered to do twice. Are you sure you have them? I am, replied the other. At the opposite end of the Table stood a man to whom H. Boaz delivered a box at the time the ring and guinea was delivered to the other, whom he ordered to keep it fast, be sure that nothing should be slipt in. After the 3d order to the former to hold the ring and guinea fast in his hand and be sure that he had them, he then address the man holding the box, say after me the following words *virtute genie* and some other latin words I've forgotten, he then directed him to repeat this *locum frignentur mutare* which being said he declared the ring and guinea were both in the box you have in your hand addressing the man who held the box in his hands, open it, which he did and to the number of 10 one within another the last being a small one of silver, lockt, the key on information was found hanging to a button of the man's coat who held the box, on shaking this box as ordered somewhat was perceived to be contained therein, and on opening the very ring and guinea taken and delivered to the person. How they were taken out of the persons hands he professed he could not tell, for after pronouncing the latin words he thought, he said, he felt a vacancy in his hands, though they continued clincht, nor did he feel any force nor did any one approach him. He performed with equal slight many equally unaccountable tricks to the astonishment of the Spectators for which entertainment of 3 hours was paid each a shilling.

22. Air lively but mild. Arose at 7 o'clock, breakfasted, and at 8 departed, intentionally for Chudleigh, but missing the road, and afterwards either by misunderstanding my directions or misinformed I took the road over Halldown leading to Dawlish and arrived at Exeter just at 1 o'clock. Mr. Erving happening to be in sight at my alighting urged my dining with him where I passed P.M. and evening, supt and returned at 11 o'clock taking up my lodgings for that night at Mrs. Bretlands.

23. Dined at Mr. Crosses agreeable to an invitation yesterday received. During my being at table a card from Mr. E[rving] was brought pressing my dining with him, after dinner going there to

explain and take leave they detained me and forced my consent to stay dinner tomorrow at Mr. Pringles who for that day was Mr. E[rring]'s guest. Returned after 12 o'clock, Mrs. B[retland]'s house being shut was glad to take my lodgings at Globe Tavern in the Churchyard.

24. Rainy morn and dull, at Meridian abated. P.M. Fair. Dined at Mr. Pringle's our Company himself, Sister Neice, Mr. E. and C[urwen]. Took leave and departed for Sidmouth about 5 and arrived at 8 o'clock.

25. Rainy most of day. At home chiefly.

26. Cloudy and fair alternately. By accident met a Mr. George Evelith,⁵ a Gentleman of South Carolina, educated both at School and College at Cambridge New England whom I remember to have been a school boy whilst I was a Student at College, now father of 5 grown up children all marriagable though two only are in that predicament, meeting him at Church door, service not begun with Minister and Lady walked round the field back of Church. Mr. Pickford preached, text "having therefore obtained help of God &c." P.M. the same Preacher, text "Behold now is the accepted time." After service drank tea at Mr. Merevails, in Evening took a long [walk] up Peak hill with him and Lady, an amiable worthy Couple, an uncommon instance of reciprocal love and happiness, dear to each other and respected by all.⁶

27. Blustering windy day, Sea rough. Breakfasted with Mr. Merevail, whom I met on beach, drank tea, spent evening at Judge Sewalls.

28. Showry all day, wind as for some days at S.W. My friend Mr. Bretland from Exeter to pass a fortnight. Received a letter from Mr. T., London, inclosing bank bill. Yesterday at Meridian rode to Beer to pay Mr. Hooks order for the horse I had bought of him, having borrowed part, my bill coming one day too late.⁷

29. Cloudy showry morn, wind brisk, S.W. Accompanied Mr. Smith to Wishcomb to visit Mr. I.C. confined by illness, dined, passed

5. Curwen is referring to George Eveleigh of South Carolina (see Sept. 1776, n. 2, above).

6. A brief note to Mr. Timmins to remit £36 as soon as possible.

7. A letter to Mr. Timmins concerning his finances and lottery tickets, with a request for any late American news.

P.M. at quadrille with Miss C., Mrs. Snell, drank tea, departed at 7 o'clock, arrived at 8.

30. Cloudy dull morn. Short walk on beach. P.M. Company from Exeter invited us, after walkt on beach.

31. Fine clear morn, brisk mild air, wind W. Rose early, and walkt with Company on beach. Rode out with Mr. Smith to Sidbury. Returned through Harford wood making a circuit of 9 or more miles. P.M. at home. Evening on beach with Mr. Bretland.

78 August 1. Fine, clear, mild air, wind Nly. Rose early, walkt alone, *none risen*, to Peak hill, in climbing being opposed to direct rays of the Sun found them strike intense. Rode out in A.M. with Mrs. Weymouth and Dauter Betsey over Peak Hill and all its length from Newton poplar hill, agreeable. Passed part of P.M. with Mr. Bretland in examining a discourse to be delivered on morrow in our Meeting House he being to stand for the Month. Advice: word of Keppell's return with grand fleet to Plymouth.¹

2. Morn mild, light clouds. Arose at 8 o'clock, took a short walk on beach, attended at Meeting House, Mr. Bretland preached an excellent discourse from "*For in Christ Jesus neither circumcision nor uncircumcision availeth anything &c.*" P.M. same preacher, same text, a full assembly.

3. Cloudy damp, mild morn. Early walk on beach. After breakfast another with Mr. Bretland and Mr. Merevail. Evening on same. Headach all day.

4. Fair mild morn. Waked with nervous head ach. Early walk on beach. Company with us from Exeter at dinner. Finished this day by 2 hour walk on beach.²

1. Admiral Augustus Keppel was returning from the Battle of Ushant, fought against the French fleet under Admiral Louis d'Orvilliers on 27–28 Aug. The victory was Keppel's but his fleet was badly damaged. Out of the action grew his dispute with Admiral Sir Hugh Palliser on whose charges Keppel was court-martialed but acquitted and feted by the London mob—indeed, throughout England. See entry for 15 Feb. 1779.

2. To Charles Russell at St. Johns, Antigua, a long letter reporting the miscarriage of many of his letters, his disappointment, by reason of his distance from London, at not being able "to make an acquaintance with a person of Mr. Duche's respectability" (the meeting apparently having been recommended by Russell), and continued worry about the peril to which he believed England subject.

5. Milky sky, air brisk but mild, wind N.W. P.M. and evening at Mrs. D[ukes] as usual at tea and Cards. After on beach for an hour with Mr. Smith and Merevail.

6. Warm, close morn, milky clouds. This day the following accident happened. A young Gentleman by the name of Rodes being with company in the shed all on a sudden, without any apparent reason, threw himself down at his full length on the pavement in the shed, and in the most lamentable tone pronounced himself to be in a state of damnation and seeming to be in an agony of distress, pathetically and earnestly warned all present of the dangerous influence of vicious indulgences, exhorting them their loose pleasurable pursuits to abandon and fatal indifference to futurity. The ladies became extremely frightened and the company was thrown into disorder thereby. Judge S. yesterday departing from Sidmouth intending for Bristol via Exeter, Mr. Smith, myself &c. proposed to accompany him thither, our horses not being brought in time we followed at an invisible distance and sometime after his arrival met him and Mrs. S. at Hotel. Attended them to Cathedral, Castle, Sudney &c. on the latter was holding Lammis Fair of which this day was the last. It had in his, as in our eye, very much the look of a New England Cambridge Commencement on the common. After dining together we took leave as they took coach and departed. Visited Mr. Ervings family and after Mr. Weymouth's where we drank tea, passed evening and lodged by pressing invitation, being put into a pair of dampest sheets I ever been lodged in and that after most pompous and express declaration of his extraordinary care in that respect.

7. Air mild, drisly and clear alternately. Early walk abroad at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 11 departed and at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 2 arrived at home. Various and inconsistent accounts by letters about the effect of American Commissioners there.

8. Air mild, light thin clouds. Early on beach, in A.M. in a Farmer's cornfield to amuse with seeing reepers about 18 or 20 at labour. P.M. repeated the same amusement. Eve at Mrs. Bretlands lodgings.

9. Air &c. as yesterday. At Meeting House, Mr. Hogg preached, text "*Therefore, now hear this, Thou that art given to pleasures &c.*" After tea took a ramble with our fellow boarders through fields for a couple of hours.

10. Morn light clouds, air cold and pleasant. Early walk on beach. P.M. the same. Mr. Pringle left us, received a letter from G. R[ussell], Birmingham.

11. Mild air, cloudy. Antisinticular walk on beach, past an hour with my friend Bretland confined by a sore eye. Drank tea at Mr. Eveleigh's, and after walk with the 3 Ladies through the fields along-side river Syd.

12. Cloudy sky, mild air, on beach before breakfast. Drank tea and played cards at Mrs. D[ukes]'s with Mr. Smith. Supt at Mr. Merevailes, Mr. Bretland, Mrs. and Miss W. left us.

13. Morn pleasant. Early on the walk. After breakfast rambled to Sidford through feilds and back on town side of river. P.M. drank coffee at home, after walkt to Peak Hill returning joyned Misses Eveleigh. Evening at tredille.³

14. Dull cloudy morn, in the shed before breakfast, in my room till dinner. Wrote answer to G.R. of Birmingham. Received news in Coffee house, drank tea at Mr. Watson's, after, on Syd side.

15. Morn pleasant, on beach early. A.M. rode to Sidford, stopt at lodgings of a townswoman married at Boston to a man, born in these [parts] whom she accompanied or followed hither, but for some years had abandoned and without the means of support which of late she has procured by her needle and keeping school for young children. Her name was originally Benson dauter of Francis Benson of Salem, her present name is Critchard. She has by him a little son about 7 years old. Drank tea and passed 2 or 3 hours after to dinner at Mr. Evelith's.

16. Fresh clear morn, at Meeting House, Mr. Smith preached from "*I have set the Lord always before me, because &c.*" Newspapers this day received information that the Congress have rejected any treaty with British Commissioners as might easily have been and were, I believe, fully imagined by all the world would be rejected at this late period without an express specific acknowledgment of their independency. P.M. at same place, same preacher, text "*They are not of*

3. Four pages to George Russell of local and political news, mostly repetitions of previous letters.

the world, even as I am not of the world." A full assembly. Evening at home.

17. Fine clear fresh morn; wind brisk. Set off on horseback with 4 persons, at Collyton dropt 3 and with the other one proceeded to Axminster, passing through the villages of Whitford, Kilmanton &c. At 2 alighted and dined at Green Dragon Inn and after paid a visit in order to deliver my Companion's letter of introduction to the Vicar of the Church, by name Domat, uncle to the young Domat late of and from Boston, and from whom this letter was received. After a decent abode with him he accompanying us we proceeded to Whitty carpet manufacture before noted, well known to the curious and wealthy by the name of the Axminster carpet; beside the one peculiar to himself he imitates the turkey to greatest perfection beside the elegance of the figure and shades they are closer and much more substantial and are to the bigness required all wove together without seam as all others are. The price of best Wilton as told us by the young Whitty in our ride to Lyme together, to be 8/ per yard, of his fathers 24/. At 5 o'clock we set off together and at 2 hours end arrived at Golden Lion Inn coffee Street Lyme regis. After a little rest, we 3 rambled to Long room where we passed unnoticed not being introduced our late host Domat young family diverting them at their Card tables; from hence after gazing about some time we bent our course to the Cobb, being a long circular wall or pier running out into the Sea for more than a 1000 feet, of 30 feet in heighth on a medium, and of same breadth, on the inner side is a walk rising to about half its heighth from the beach for the convenience of going to the Quay enlarged to considerable breadth at the end, and accomodated with crane and stores and I think 2 or 3 dwelling houses. Here we saw a prize Scooner, of 75 tons burthen so very much resembling a fishing schooner that I think her to have been of New England mold and make. She was captured within 5 miles of Havre de grace being then designed for defence, 12 3 pounders and 12 Swivels. The Captors impatient to obtain a condemnation not yet granted and it seems less to be feared. It seems there is another prize of same privateer at Weymouth worth £20,000 under some doubtful judicament; on former we were aboard for some time. Returning back to Inn we drank tea, our Companion bidding us God bweye. We passed out and continued rambling till our friend Smith from Collyton joyned us about 9 o'clock, repairing to our room we supt, went a full hour and about 11 each retired to his separate bed.

18. Morn as yesterday. To gratify our Companions now having 2 took a 2d walk on beach and Cobb; this being a bathing Town 7 bathing machines were standing on beach, they dragged into the water by an horse to each, this being some what necessary the beach is soft and on that score inconvenient. The Alcove and ball room of a Southern aspect, large, and much more respectable than at Sidmouth, indeed, tis resorted to by persons of high condition.

At 9 paying off our bill, we ordered our horses, and mounting them we sallied forth, designing for Pinny, an estate belonging to a Mr. Oakes, a Gentleman of dissenting persuasion and wealthy. Here we soon arrived lying only $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile from the town, and on the Channel. Here is perhaps the most romantic spot on the island, called the Cliffs, which the owner politely attended us to, ordering a servant to take our horses. We walkt on foot about 50 rodts, to the bottom of terrace, so called, that from hence we began to ascend. This a narrow levelled walk, of near $\frac{1}{2}$ a thousand feet in length, lying on the side of a lofty ridge, a little below its summit and runs almost in a line with the shore. At the farther end is a broken cliff of white rock, in the gap or center is a level spot of 8 or 9 feet square, the Cliffs all sides surrounding it rises in rude Majesty, is called *White Chappell*. The descent thereto is about 100 feet, is some times undertaken though not without difficulty and, I think, some danger. The vale below is of unequal widths, and of an inconvenient surface consisting of rifts of rocks, small hillocks, heathy spots, low narrow vales and levels rich in soil, intersperst with lofty and small trees, wild and fruit bushes, shrubbs, the trees single, in rows, or clumps. The discent from the walk in some places practical, others too quick to be undertaken. From the spot in the walk just above White Chappell the trees in the Vale beneath of 4 score feet in heighth had the appearance of Shrubbs, being the greatest deception I had ever remembered. The Owner told us the heighth of the summit above the water was 600 feet, and the bottom of the Vale below in a line with the summit of the water Cliffs 200; a boat then in the offing at about $\frac{1}{2}$ mile distant from the shore with several men in it looked not bigger than a large bird. From hence is a prospect towards the sea, on the E. bounded by Weymouth, Abbotsbury and Portland. On the Cliffs of the shore tending Eastward, on the bottom of a small curve or bending in of the land stands a detached hill called *Gilden cup*, having the form of one, and from the bright golden colour reflected from thence when the rays of the

Meridian Sun are shining on it, which we saw in full lustre. To the Westward the shore is seen as far as the outward part of Beer, and in a clean air as far as the Start. From hence returning back, *modo pedestri*, to the walk, that leads from the House to the low uneven vallons grounds, lying between the upper or inland summit, planted on each side with a single row of trees towards the point adjoining the Vale, crossed it and entering a feild remounted horses brought there by order. At our first departing from the house, avenues proceeded in a narrow path through a wilderness of trees wild and apple, irregularly intermixed, the latter one of an uncommon large size and almost all free from a moss that fruit trees are throughout Devonshire subject to, when far into the Land singularly of this appearance; struck one too forcibly not to be observed. The same remark the Gentleman said was rightly made. Whilst we were on the heighth, a number of friends of Lord Romney's family were surveying below, and as we came down they retired seeming solicitous to avoid encounters hasting as chance brought us in sight to an invisible quarter, but that was needless, for though we did not study to avoid them we were not ambitious nor desirous to join. After rambling or rather walking on horseback hither and thither for a considerable [time] through this truly romantic spot, proceeded to an intersection of the Cliffs, entering an estate called Wheatlands to take a further view of the coast from a small stone summerhouse standing on summit of a lofty cliff lying on coast and at roughly the same distance as at Pinny, the grounds of the same nature quality and appearance, answered our purpose in coming hither, we proceeded on together through the land to main road, paying compliments to Mr. Oakes for his civility and politeness and receiving his invitation to a dinner next friday week, being himself this day engaged, we took leave of each other and made the best of our way home, where we arrived at 3 o'clock having circuitously rode a distance of 35 miles, no ill event or disagreeable circumstance happening to dash our cup of pleasure during our absence from home. At 6 o'clock rode as far as Newton poplar turnpike with Mr. Smith and Jarvis of Limson to accompany the latter, having called, dined and drank tea with him.

19. Fair pleasant morn. On walk early. Put my horse into Shaw's livery stable for cure of a cold and cough. Declined Mrs. Dukes invitation. At 6 o'clock walkt to Sidford to make further enquiries about boarding at a farmer's house for some reasons, partly engaged

by Mrs. Critchard, being too late deferred further treaty till another time. Returned back via Syd.

20. Fair and pleasant, sky came on clouded. Short walk, sudden seizure of nervous head ach, After a few hours in bed, pains abated. Eve walk.

21. Fine moderate morn. Walk on beach before breakfast. Sleepless night from headach, continuing all day, at Farm house to settle about lodgings, appearance discouraging.

22. Remarkably clear and hot morn. On beach before breakfast, headach, P.M. at Mrs. Eveleighs, drank tea; Evening supt and cards, returned at 12 o'clock.

23. Morn cloudy, meridian close air, sun out. At Meeting House, Mr. Smith preached, text "*One thing have I required of the Lord.*" P.M. same preacher, text "*Not knowing that the goodness of God leadeth thee to repentance.*" After service with Mr. Eveleigh on beach.

24. Clear Morn, air hot, at Meridian changed. On beach 2 hours with Mr. Eveleigh. P.M. at bowling green, after on beach with Misses Eveleighs, walkt to their house, supt at home.

25. Clear, warm all day. Rode to Exeter, returned at 6, drank tea, passed evening till 12 at cards with Mr. Smith.

26. Morn dry and warm, after, fresh and overcast alternately, with Misses Eveleigh to Bulverton and at Meridian rode with Nancy and Miss Meggot. Returned at 3, dined, drank tea, supt and passed evening till 12 at cards.

27. Fresh clear morn, wind fresh, somewhat raw. Mr. E.'s family removed to Exeter. With my 2 Countrymen and fellow boarders rode to Mrs. Dukes at Pinny agreeable to an invitation some 8 days since where we dined and past a few hours agreeably and sociably. At about 6 departed after having received my pressing invitation to stay all night on complaining of a fatigue and soreness occasioned by my horse, which declining I set off with my Companions and at 9 alighted at lodgings.

28. Clear and fresh, wind boisterous at E., as for 3 days past. Walkt to cliffs below Peak hill. P.M. and evening a long walk per me ipsum.

29. Clear pleasant morn, sea rough and boisterous. A.M. walk, P.M. at blue ball Inn Sidford. Drank tea there with a Bristolian named Watson and a countryman. Returned on foot.

30. Fresh clear morn. Sunday Mr. Smith preached, text "*Great peace have all they that love thy law &c.*" P.M. text "*Why art thou cast down O my soul &c.*" After service a Mr. Sampson late Consul at Algiers and Teheran visited us, affording us an amusing and entertaining relation of his consulship, dangers, characters of the late and present Emperors of Morocco, the state whereof the cruelties of the late Tyrants was reduced from four to 1 million of inhabitants and from a flourishing to a forlorn condition. He is [of] a thin meager look and body, lives on vegetables only, has confirmed health and fine spirits. Evening walk.

31. Clear morn, air bracing at Meridian. Walk on beach before breakfast; on bowling green. Evening walk with fellow boarders.⁴

September 1. Cloudy raw morn. P.M. at home, evening walk, after at Mr. William Carslucks with Smith and O[gburn].

2. Cloudy, Sun peeps out now and then. Rode to Exeter, dined at Mrs. Bretlands, P.M. at Mr. Ervings with him alone. Evening at Mr. Eveleigh.

3. Clear morn. Breakfast with Mr. Pearce; walkt and dined with Mr. Erving; drank tea at Mr. Pringles. Evening walk with Mr. Erving, lodged at Bearn Inn.

4. Appearance of rain, dined with Mrs. Weymouth's, P.M. and evening at Mr. Eveleighs, departing at 12 was at a loss for lodging,

4. To Mr. Timmins, after lottery ticket instructions, he wrote, "The dangerous, distressful situation the nation is in makes me tremble for the next news from abroad. I pray God, it may not be the surrender of the fleet and army at New York; the loss of Gibraltar and the defeat of Admiral Keppell, indeed either, especially the former, would shake the government to its center. I know of no point in the annals of this Country in which England stood on a narrower point, not 1588, 1688 nor even when the Scotch rebels had penetrated as far as Derby in 1745. The designs of Providence are inscrutable."

houses shut and streets empty; at length obtained a bed in Globe tavern, Churchyard.

5. Cloudy, wind E. Dined at Mr. Crosses and drank tea. Visited Miss White at Meridian. Evening walk with 3 dissenting ministers to Clive after in churchyard with Mr. Ogburn a sensible Quaker, lodged at Globe Tavern.

6. Sunday Mint Meeting House, Mr. Hogg preached, text "Now our Lord Jesus Christ himself, and God our own Father, which hath &c." Communion. P.M. same preacher, place and text. Drank tea at Mrs. Bretlands, evening at Mr. Bretlands.

7. Pleasant morn, clouds thin. Rode to Sidmouth accompanied rather attended by Mr. Long of whom I hired my horse, arrived at 11. P.M. at home, evening walk to Sidford.

8. Mild air, thin clouds all day. Early on walk. P.M. on Peak hill, evening at home playing Cribbage.

9. Air moderate, thin clouds. Walk under the Cliffs with a Countryman of mine. Evening at home.

10. Clear pleasant morn with a Mr. Jenkins of Shepton on beach. P.M. at home, Mr. Smith and O. at Exeter. Evening at Mr. Watsons lodgings.

11. Morn clear, air fresh, rawish. Early on the walk, the impatience of credulity affords opportunity for the wanton to raise incredible reports which are greatly catcht at and believed for a while but their intrinsic falsehood and improbability sinks as soon into oblivion. Keppells and Byrons fleets are the sources of much business to street and tavern politicians. Wind for these 10 days has been chiefly from N.E. to S.E. great calms between. This is an important crisis should both the Sea Commanders be defeated, none knows the Consequences, fatal ones may be justly apprehended. This Country was perhaps never in a more perilous situation. At home A.M.

12. Moderate, light clouds, wind N.W. Walkt to Sidford with a Companion. At home P.M. and evening.

13. Milk sky, air coolish. Sunday, Mr. Vickory preached, text "He hath shewed thee, O Man, what is good." Evening at home with Company.

14. Clear air, blue sky, cool and pleasant, wind N.W. A Meridian walk on beach and through the feilds, evening at home.

15. Fine clear Morn, wind S.W. A.M. walk on beach. Drank tea at Mr. Watsons, evening at home with Company at cards.

16. Cold sour wind. A.M. at home. P.M. walkt with Company to Sidford.

17. At home with nervous headach all day except a short walk, by persuasion, to Turnpike.

18. Same as yesterday.

19. Cloudy raw air, within till 4 o'clock, headach somewhat abated. P.M. and evening at Mrs. D., drank tea and cards.

20. Fine clear Morn and mild, wind E. Sunday. Mr. Smith preached, text "And enter not into judgment, O Lord with thy servant &c." Dined with Company at Mrs. Dukes on haunch of venison. P.M. at Church, Vicar named Sanders preached, text "That ye might walk worthy of the Lord &c." Evening on the walk, retired to rest early.

21. Clear morn, air brisk, wind E. Early on walk, declined invitation to Mrs. D.'s. This being the day of our $\frac{1}{2}$ yearly Fair, great numbers from neiborhood came in, passing their time on beach to view the Sea, going off in boats, eating drinking and buying in the sheds and booths erected in the lower parts of the streets and filled with confectionary, toys, hard ware ribbons &c. Evening at home with Company.

22. Clear brisk air, wind E. Sea breaks rough on shore. Evening walk, remainder at home, cards.¹

23. Fair clear day. Mr. W[atson] and O. left Sidmouth early dinner. Rode to Exeter in evening at Phoenix Inn to see Herman Boaz sur-

1. A note to Joseph Waldo to purchase tickets in the Irish lottery.

prizing dexterous tricks on Cards &c. Mr. Smith and I lodged in same rooms at White Hart Inn.²

24. Cloudy raw morn. An early walk to Succom's gardens, among other curious products saw serpentine melon of 5 feet in length of a green colour, in shape of a snake and dimension, and a pumpkin of the size of an $\frac{1}{2}$ barrel. Dined at Mr. Crosses, returned to Sidmouth by way of Limson. Staged at Mr. Withers and drank tea, passing Woodbury common in an Evening as dark as Satans abode described by Milton; where there is no light but rather "darkness risith." Arrived however safe home at 9 o'clock. Found a card of invitation for tomorrow from Mrs. Duke that we thought best to decline.

25. Morn fresh, wind S. early walk on beach with Mr. Smith.

26. Air mild, Meridian wind S. Morn on beach, at Meridian saw Portland from Fort feild from uncommon clearness of Horizon. A 2 invitation following we accepted and passed P.M. and evening at Mrs. D.'s.

27. Evening preceding small rain. Morn light clouds, sun visible, wind W. Sunday Mr. Smith preached, text "Let us walk honestly as in day; not in rioting &c." P.M. text "All that the Father giveth me shall come unto me &c." Evening at home.

28. Morn pleasant, wind N. Having settled accounts, paid off my board and lodgings at Mr. R. Follets and removed the baggage to a Mr. Godfreys, departed from Sidmouth on horseback, accompanied by Mr. Smith on an intended ramble to Weymouth and Portland.

First stage of 9 miles was The Dolphin Inn Collyton, where we dined, thereafter paid a short visit to Mr. Slade's family to whose hospitality we had been more than once indebted. After usual salutations Miss Nancy entered and soon informed us of the pleasure she had been taking with a little visitor as she called it being a robbin red breast whom she had brought to defend from its airy recess to perch on her head, shoulders, breast or lap, and eat out of her hand. Having often heard of the familiarity and acquaintance with the human

2. Curwen wrote to William Cabot at Lambeth asking him to call on Mr. Rowe at the Treasury and get and forward to him a blank receipt for his quarter's allowance.

species, if the latter term may be here used, to which this little half domestic bird may be brought, was glad to see an instance which having expressed to her she readily afforded, and taking a few crumbs in her hand, returned back into the Garden with us. Seating herself down on the roler, calling out a few times Bob, bob, her little garden Companion and ward hearing her well known voice, soon appeared, and percht on her shoulder, thence down on her lap; she then placing her open hand with a few crumbs therein he hopt thereon and remained picking the crumbs whilst she waved it backward and forward several times and even put her tother hand over, it discovering no more concern than if it had been sure of liberty again and protection, which it had of her experienced to fear, nay so confident was the harmless innocent guest that even on our near approach it didnt attempt to depart till ordered by the well known sign of raising the hand with a quick motion to a considerable heighth. She told us that it would often fly to the sill of her chamber window that lookt into the Garden, and if open venture into the Chamber.

Taking leave we remounted and departed, passing through the great turnpike road abreast of Lyme about 1 mile distant on our right; crossing the Country we entered a rough unpleasant road about a mile long leading to the turnpike at a mile on this side *Charmouth* a stragley town that extends from the top to the bottom of a long hill and contains one street of, perhaps 100 houses, few of repute. Here the Western Coach inns or stages. Passing through we arrived at a village called *Dunchiddiock* lying at 2 miles distance from the former, is part of the Manor of Earl of Arundel a roman Catholic peer, of which persuasion most of the inhabitants on his Lordships estate here are. The next Cluster of houses in road was *Morkums lake* which with the former scarce make up 100 houses. Our next and last stage for this day Bridport. At the Bull Inn we supt and lodged, having arrived about 7 o'clock. At the invitation of my Companion two of his acquaintance here passed evening and supt with us. Of their conversation I had but a small share. "Tired nature's sweet Restorer, balmy Sleep" soon after supper lockt up my senses rendering me insensible to pain or pleasure.

29. Air mild, light clouds, wind N. Having arose, breakfasted, paid bill, and ordered out horses, departed from Inn steering course for Abbotsbury, on seashore at 10 miles distance from this, passed in 2½ hours, through dirty roads, deep rutts and stony ways for the first 5

miles, and for the remainder through sands and small gravel above the horses fetlocks; all lying along seashore, the Land within reach of eye, naked, desert, and forlorn, so thoroughly robbed of its natal right and ornament, trees, that not so much as one tree, shrubb or bush was to be seen, nor even an house except one dirty village of about a score of houses nor an object to entertain the eye except one Church tower just peeping over the naked barrin hills at a great distance.

In our approach to a large house called *Castle*, and to perpetuate the name of the Lord's family, *Strangeway*, we ascended into higher grounds, under improvement, but in the Dorset taste, uninclosed. This house is built in Fortification style having battlements all round atop, its angles secured by towers with apertures in the mode of those times before cannon were used; Fronts the sea lying but at small distance therefrom, and commands a most extended view of british channel, Portland and a western view to Sunset and an open Country behind the swash or Channel between Portland and the main Island at the head of which it stands; was built by Dowager Lady Illchester on whose manor Abbotsbury and all the neiborhood here lies, designed for a summer retreat, this manor being her own family Estate. From hence to the town is one mile. Soon after leaving the avenues, on the town side there is an appearance of human residence, the grounds inclosed having trees on it and houses, no little relief in my mind, fatigued with such a continued prospect of nothingness. I am told this is a fine hunting Country, and to those that delight in cruelties and fatigue I most willingly assign it, wishing never more to travel through an open uninhabited naked spot of earth. May my future travels be where there are human faces and marks of human labor to be seen.

Abbotsbury wherein I now am at Lord Illchester's arms Inn lies in This Ladys manor and is her or her heirs property lying at a miles distance from the Castle. Whilst breakfast was getting ready we rambled about the town having a paltry dirty look. The houses almost all small, and in point of architecture not above the Village style, in number perhaps 150, including 22 lately burnt down in the center of the town that from what remains seem to have been the best. This town however unpromising in its appearance has a manufacture of Cotton checks, plains and stockers to not inconsiderable amount, has one episcopal Church, we found in decent repair, are some remains of a religious house, in the days of monkish superstition and tyranny, I fancy is in no small repute as its name seems also to denote, and its present remains indicate, the barn still standing, affords no mean pros-

pect, its size is no less than 250 feet, built of stone and strengthened by enormous buttresses, indeed if I was rightly informed, one of the largest size was wanted for the tithes of 5 miles round us lodged here so plentifully were these miscalled servants of the most high provided for, nor did they want for Squabb pigeons if those I saw on the roof of this enormous [barn] were the descendants of those in the Monkish Days for a flock in number of many thousands were alighted, alighting and wheeling aloft in midair in my sight at once. These remains carrying mark of great age, countenances the report. At a mile distant from the Seat townwards stands on a detached hill lofty a building used in Popish times as a chappel, now serving only as an object.

This town will be long remembered for the story of Eliza Canning³ and the old Gipsey Mary Squires. Here the Vicar and Church wardens swore that the latter was dancing with the people of her own Company and Complexion the very night the former swore she was robbed by them and carried to Enfeild wash at 8 or 9 miles to this side London and 140 miles distant from this place. The credit and testimony of these witnesses turned the scales, rescued the Gipsey from the gallows to which she had been condemned, a new trial having been ordered, Eliza Canning sent into banishment and the arms of a Connecticut husband with 500 £ furnished to her as a portion by the force of pity. The story is still fresh on the minds of some of its inhabitants now living who do verify the Vicars evidence. This last I had from a female attendant on us at the Inn being the wife of the Innkeepers son, who said she could attest to the fact, being there herself in the gipseys Company that very night at a merry meeting there of dancing, singing, playing antic tricks &c.; their common practice when assembled was not very [unfrequent?] this being their resort out of way, retired situation rendering it no improper rendezvous for such gentry. This woman mentioned many corroborating circumstances I think needless to insert.

Having breakfasted and looked about for an hour we took leave of Gipseys town never designing to return hither again. Meeting a young Gentleman bound to Weymouth we joyned Company; though we didn't join issue in our opinion concerning Dorset, he charmed [3 words] this part of road presents a different face from that on the other side Abbotsbury, not however to my liking, the land too much

3. Elizabeth Canning (1734-1773), the malefactor whose trial in 1753-1754 created such a stir and occasioned the writing of so many pamphlets, for example, Henry Fielding's *A Clear State of the Case of Elizabeth Canning* (London, 1753).

deprived of its greatest beauty derived from verdure of trees and hedges, a rare sight in this part of the Country but in neighborhood of Towns and villages that this part of Dorset doesn't abound in. By our Companions recommendation passed through Waymouth to Melcomb Regis over bridge laid across Wye so called, being a small arm of Sea, dividing 2 towns though under different regulations and possessing distinct rights and privileges is frequently or almost always in common talk called by the name of former; the latter lying on the land side is a neck formed by the bend, almost at right angles, of river Wye and is the place wherein the beach lies and the Company reside, has a market, is larger, more numerous, better supplied with all both necessities and conveniences than former. For accommodation of Company resorting here to bathe, there is a range of brick buildings in number 12 or 14, tasty and commodious, facing the beach and but a small distance above it. At the end is a large Elegant assembly room, at a small distance are Shops of every kind of arts proper for the use of genteel people, as Milliners, Toyshops, Coffee houses and Circulating Libraries. The beach furnisht with 22 Machines, of an octagonal form of a [1 word] construction and finished in higher taste than any I had before seen, the beach for hardness, length, width, convenience of situation and every circumstance that can render it safe, comfortable and agreeable, not to be paralleld, at least by 5 or 6 bathing Towns I had seen. This town like Weymouth is concerned in shipping, its Quay lying at end of Town and on river Wye opposite Weymouth, is long enough for 50 or 60 Vessells, not $\frac{1}{2}$ that number were then in, the size generally not exceeding 150 tons, some scarcely 80. It has 2 Churches episcopal and I think one dissenting Meeting House, the streets paved.

Weymouth is on outer or South Side of river, consisting principally if not wholly of one street, exceedingly well paved, cleanly but narrow, being in the [shape of] a long bow. Houses of respectable appearance, some few above that character. Its situation under an hill, ascent is by 100 steps, from whence a fine prospect of 2 towns below, bay formed by point whereon town stands, and St. Albans point, and a very considerable extent of Country, that an eager Sportsman would be delighted to view. On front of the town is a quay facing Melcomb; filled as that is with vessells of same burthen and kind.

After dining we again sallied forth. Finding nothing further to entertain us soon returned, paying scot and ordering forth horses, took our departure and turned towards Portland, the last and furthest stage.

The passage to it is over a water called *fleet*, separating beach of 7 miles in length, from the Continent or Great Island, reaching from Portland to Lady Illichesters Castle Strangeway. By this beach Portland is joyned to this island but the [passage] is scarce ever attempted as a way, it being made of small loose Stones or deep sand, so that an horse would sink down half leg deep. The approach to the Island that way must therefore be too tedious to be much, if ever, used. The road to island is over a lofty plain of a mile in length, from hence descent is to an hard gravel beach of another mile, at this or hither end, and opposite side, stands an old edifice in ruins styled a Castle, having, however, more look of an old Mansion house deserted by its owner, nor should I wonder, its solitary bleak site rendering it an uncomfortable residence. We soon measured beach and were wafted over passage in what is called in New England dialect a rope Ferry, but the beach on Portland side of $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile required a more leisurely pace. The first village on island of Portland is called Chissell, of about 100 houses of a more reputable aspect than, one instance except, is to be seen on great Island. Its situation low, on plain of beach, seemingly lower, lying under towering Cliffs whose lofty heads, seen from beach seem to rise into region of clouds, the edge of those opposed to Continent being first object in view are skirted with white fragments taken out of neighbouring quarries, resemble the venerable ruins of an ancient city. From hence by an easy ascent of $\frac{1}{2}$ mile we came to 2 Villages, named Fortunes Well, about midway up to Cliffs, road lined on both sides with stragling houses, giving it appearance of former villa continued and on each side lay huge blocks of stone, hewn and ready to be transported, of all sizes from 3 and 400 to as many tons weight, the labourers being at work as we passed, it raised my wonder to behold with what incredible ease and readiness they managed largest bolders, but being for ages accustomed, they execute with wonderful ease—"Use as Proverb says makes perfect." In this village are 2 houses of entertainment, viz. Duke of Portlands arms and Hotel, at latter we Innd, here we saw some large Whiting going to be sent off to Earl of Pembrokes at Wilton, where King and Queens are to be entertained on following day. Here resort the Company from Weymouth in bathing season in great numbers, sometimes to the amount of 30 or 40 in a day. In this house we supt and lodged.

30. Light clouds, dull atmosphere, wind excessive at S.W. Walkt out before breakfast. Climbed up to the lofty plain rendered tedious

by its height and fury of wind that blew with violence, and at length arrived at spot flag staff is erected over being the Northern most summit, having the Castle, situate at Northern extremity, about $\frac{1}{2}$ mile below it. From this spot appearing the highest on the whole island may be seen at one view as far into English Channell as Eye can reach, on either hand to [Start?] point in West to Isle of Wight in East and to North a vast extent of Country. The whole island being under our eye appeared a plain with scarce any inequalls, bounded by lofty cliffs, almost perpendicular, in many places reaching to waters edge, thereby rendering it, except in few landing places, or coves, or small indentations of shore inaccessible. Its length about 5 miles, breadth 2, on land side 'tis defended by a Castle beforementioned, at North point a low situation, on all sides by lofty cliffs almost perpendicular, some 100 feet high; on South Cliffs are 2 light houses for safety of Navigation. The few inequalls on surface deserve not name of hills.

Retiring back to Inn we breakfasted, and then mounting horses proceeded onward, intending to encompass the whole Island and every part thereof, which, however, in event the violence of wind prevented, it blowing as the Sailors say *afret* the whole time of our abode on it, and is I fancy, for I am informed, liable to frequent hard winds laying out in Channell and is very lofty rising high above the surface of the water. Our course lay in the middle road, the first Village that met us was called Riffon, its situation central, and contained only Church in Island of a moderate size. Modern style, and almost new, with tower and spire, encompassed by stone wall inclosing an acre or more of yard, its gravestones very numerous and exceedingly ornamented with emblematical figures, nor was one scarce without an epitaph inscription in hobbling rhyme, and under the last line T. Crowder fecit, which wether the Stone Cutter or Epitaph grinder, as Monthly reviewers express themselves I don't know. A few of them I copied, but the excessive blusterous violence of Eurys didnt suffer me to continue long here. Having recovered our horses, removed on through village containing about 30 or 40 houses, in a better style than 2 former, we had just left. With difficulty we rode to within $\frac{1}{2}$ mile of light houses on South extremity of [island] wind continuing to rage, and as Sailors phrase it, right in our teeth, rendering further progress in that direction too tedious, indeed my Companion frequently attacked me on score of my obstinacy, as he miscalled it, before we altered our course, and now having our backs to the wind, stood for *Southwell*, a Village lying lower and more out

of wind. Situation is, as its name denotes on Southern coast also, contains about 40 houses, having a more dirty appearance, and seems as if, dwelt in by persons of lower condition, than either of 3 former villages. Lands about under improvement and what is rare, here, within fences of stone; in truth the houses and few people I saw hereabouts had more complexion and cast of villagers in England than any of rest of these islanders, who seem better lodged, and more comfortably accomodated than some classes there.

From hence in an inclosed road to a miles distance on East coast, having seen almost every foot of way in sight, arrived at Wykeham, a Village so called, for number of houses and quality of buildings above rest. Here, is largest quarry I saw, lying close to seashore in bason of a small cove makes a convenient landing the quarry being high resembles in a distant view, ruins of huge piles of stately edifices. On one of cliffs at a little distance stands the remains of a deserted Castle, also of 2 Churches, one called Old Church, disused, and the other called parsonage, and employed as such. From hence proceeded to New Church, passing through Village called Eison meaning Easton or Eastown; directly opposed on west side of road is another, by name of Weston, or Westown, but a little removed from it, being remarkable for nothing didnt raise our Curiosity to visit. These both seem of equal bigness, this is most populous quarter of whole island, lands hereabouts within stone wall, the only fence used, but without one bush, shrubb or hedge; giving it in my eye a most forlorn and uncomfortable face. In some quarters are some Cornfields, lying in Common. General appearance barren, nor did I see one spot of luxuriant vegetation; surface everywhere appears covered almost with shells and small bits of stones of same kind as that within its bowells, containing an uniform stratum of stone from a depth not yet arrived at to 2 feet of surface, and which Nature seems to have prepared for use they are applied to. Quarries being divided by horizontal lines into strata just of size that different blocks are wanted and but little labour being needed to fit them for transportation.

From Church at Riffon we returned by same road we went, and stopt at Inn, discharged our hostess's bill and departed, recrossing the rope ferry by which we came to the Island, and at 1 o'clock alighted at Crown Inn, *Melcomb* where taking a cold repast, departed passing through a village called ——— the 2d village that lay in our way or rather sight of a travellers for it is not through it that we pass, being a little on the left, on westerly side of the river called [*1 word*] is sit-

uated in a fertile vale, abounding in trees and hedges, all around almost as far as Eye can reach on that side; the verdure of which standing in an unbounded extent of open Country affords a pleasing contrast, and being seen from a gradual ascent presents a very handsome picture bothways for the houses are all of a white stone, and in style elegant and even noble, this being chosen as a summer retreat by neighbouring Country, for which it was very proper. On the summit of a circular range bounding the horizon at 4 or 5 miles distance, encircling nearly $\frac{3}{4}$ of horizon appeared a multitude of burrows or tumuli, being little artificial mounts about 10 to 15 feet in height from 30 to 40 feet length and perhaps 15 to 20 broad, and being in neighbourhood of the Romans western encampment 'tis probable they are rather burying spots of roman than Druid original.

The next Village lying a little out of our way is *Winterborne Monkton*, the latter epithet, I suppose, denotes for what it was remarkable. Through this village we passed to *Maiden Castle*, a famous encampment of roman construction supposed to have been built by them soon after their first invasion of Island. In their times Dorchester at 2 miles distance was their Winter, as this spot was their Summer residence. Tis said to be the earliest remains of the kind in Great Britain; form oval, contains within inner intrenchment many acres, Camden says large enough to hold 18,000 men, or 3 Legions. Intrenchments entire 4 without the other at each end, 2 on each side or flank, encompassing whole depth 30 or more feet. It has a stupendous appearance, and looks like work of a people capable of any undertaking, however great or difficult.

No sooner had I reached Castle than a furious storm of wind and rain attackt me on all quarters, and soon drove me out of Works. My Companion, however, resolutely persevered, and passing out at an opposite quarter hastened on towards Dorchester. As for myself I returned back as I entered, passing into Village, there waited for an abatement of rain, and thereafter set forward, meeting my Companion who not seeing me on plain was returning to the village at $\frac{1}{2}$ mile distant; encountering each other, from thence in a drisle jogged on to Dorchester which we entered and inned at Kings Arms being the capital inn here, and for that reason to be avoided, for though such are not always dearest they prove most expensive, unless one is willing to be treated with mortifying neglect, and can easily pocket insult from Mr. Mrs. and servants. This was in some measure the case here, though we spent generously; the charges were high, and treatment not re-

spectable enough to give me content. Should occasion call me hereafter to this town, enter not again the doors of this Inn. The charges were equal to those on Bath road judged the highest in England.

1778 October 1—Cloudy and at times drisly all day. Having taken our breakfast we rambled over Town, here are assize and Sessions, house, Prison and Bridewell it being the Shire town of Dorset; the houses of decent appearance, none elegant or grand, streets paved. Most kind of trades are here. Western stages here inn; number of inhabitants from the houses I judge about 12,500. Avenues to the Town from all quarters very pleasant, being lined with a row of trees on each hand for 2 miles. From hence at 9 o'clock we departed shaping our course towards the remains of roman antiquity, the occasion of coming hither.

At $\frac{1}{2}$ mile from hence we arrived at the amphitheatre which we had seen day before. 'Tis entirely of earth, the form whereon the benches were laid for spectators are yet entire. The outer line an oval, the earth thrown up in manner of an incampment and if I remember right, about 20 feet high encompassing the whole. The area or space wherein spectacles were exhibited measures between 40 or 50 yards, longest diameter 2 rows of benches judged spacious enough to hold 2000 Spectators, distant from Town about $\frac{1}{2}$ mile.

Having satisfied curiosity with regard to this object, proceeded on through Feilds for the castle lying on a lofty Ridge about $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles further. No sooner had we entered this airy region than the windows of heaven were a 2d time opened, from whence fell a cataract of rain accompanied by furious blasts of wind, so extreemly cold that in a few minutes the whole atmosphere around and over us was charged with hail stones not less than top of ones finger that came rushing down on our heads &c. that it seemed as if the Prince of the power of the air, "who ruleth over the children of disobedience" had opened his whole train of artillery upon us. The foregoing attack through good luck, continued not more than $\frac{1}{4}$ hour but between both left us sadly mauled and thoroughly drenched, in short we should hardly have suffered more had we survived a general storm of the Castle if taken by force, but the said battles being stopt and Boreas or some other wind Deity for I don't know from what quarter it blew—perhaps they all combined or formed a kind of Bourbon alliance or family compact both mischievous and dangerous, or may be at war between themselves but storm being over we courageously issued out from our un-

covered retreat at bottom of one of ditches, on least exposed quarter we could obtain, though to very little purpose as our comfortless condition convinced us.

Mounting glacis or slope of inner intrenchment, entered on esplanade or space for Pretorium, place of arms, stores and camps containing perhaps 30 or 40 acres; of an oval form the opposing sides exactly answering to each other, defended or secured all around by 2 ditches, having a double glacis or slope to each; length of line from bottom of ditch to top of intrenchment 30 or 40 feet of quick ascent making an angle with plain or horizontal line, of the bottom $\frac{2}{3}$ of a right one of 60 degrees. The axis or longest line of the oval secured by 2 additional ditches of same shape and depth as the other. Distance from foot of glacis, at one extremity to the outer part of the other, in longest line, appearing to me little less, than $\frac{1}{2}$ mile. On one of sides, in the plain or encampment, earth was hollowed or scooped out in a perfect round 16 or 18 feet depth, decreasing in its descent till it ends in bigness of a well, having no seeming depth, or water. Use I pretend not to guess. The lines, ditches and intrenchments in as good order and is entire as if of later origin. They are kept so by design, I am told. The Conoscenti or Knowing Gentry in these matters pretend [the] pretorium is still to be seen, by certain distinguishing marks, and from thence determine it to be indisputably a roman work. For my own part, unskilled as I am I saw nothing to direct my judgment. The undertaking, however, is immense, its situation is lofty, and commands a most extensive prospect, as all *encampments*, in this island are, variously denominated Castles, Forts, or encampments, of Danish, British or Roman construction whereof they are not a few. I was told, lines round are 7 miles in length, and perhaps it means the amount of length of all lines, not merely outer line.

Having finished our hasty survey, and amused ourselves with the prospects, we descended by another quarter to fields and inclosures adjoining hereto crossing which, at length reached turnpike at village called Martinstown, from hence to Winterborn Steepleton denominated from the Steeple on its Church tower, and from hence to Winterborn Clouston. Here we met the Great London road to Plymouth and West, glad once again to salute it and forsake the cross roads that are but indifferent at best and some execrable. In this we kept till arrival at first and last stage of this day alighting in about 2 hours at Bull Inn, *Bridport* distance from Dorchester 17 miles and one hour after midday, a decent comfortable repast was provided, which

being discharged under my Companion's guidance visited an acquaintance of his named Anstis by whose pressing solicitation, consented to abide here for this night.

To fill up time our Companion conducted us to what's here called Harbor, being a bason of a circular form 200 feet over or in diameter, lying on a stream called here a river, by name of Bur from whence Town has its name being Burport or Bridport as you please running into meadow grounds for a length of about one mile distant of harbor from Town that being ———. This bason is within 150 or few more yards of Channel to which it communicates by River. Its bed here being somewhat widened and deepened, from hence lined or fortified by a stone pier or quay on one side, and stakes driven into earth on other. At mouth of said stream or river lies a bank of sand, nearly up to high water mark, which is carried off when a passage into Channel from harbor is wanted by opening flood gates of same kind as those used in mills to carry the great wheel. The rapidity of stream when they are open removes all obstructions and leaves a channel both wide and deep enough for vessells of 200 Tons to pass out. This sand bank lying on an exposed coast soon fills up to its usual heighth and this expedient therefore is used as often as wanted to go out or in, and always answers purpose. There was whilst I was there 6 of Vessells of the burthen of 200 to 150 Tons on stocks for privateering chiefly, their principal business being carried on this way, of which here a considerable show, to be mentioned by and by, and all their supply of coals, salt and other heavy arts, which this town needs and the neiboring places too; the business for which this town is famed and carrys on to great extent is in sail cloth and white cordage which being heavy bulky arts couldnt be so conveniently and cheaply carried to market as by water. It is for size but little inferior to any in Dorset, contains a market, one episcopal and 3 or 4 dissenting Churches, being principally inhabited by people of that persuasion. Government of Town is in their hands, Corporation made up of them, 2 Bailiffs, the Chief Magistrates are such. 'Tis said there are more freeholders than are to be found elsewhere, most of the householders' being such; 'tis a parliamentary borough, and sends a member. The town consists of one long and a few cross streets at right angles, the main of an uncommon width. The Great Western stages inn here. Houses are in middling decent style, some very grand and spacious ones. Here, is kept an academy for educating youth in rigidest orthodoxy or calvinism overstrained, the Master a Mr. Rooker well, too well, known through

neighboring Counties for rigid, uncandid sour grim complexion of his principles, refusing all women even with most rigid trinitarians who don't come to his standard. This I take from a letter of his own to a late pupil read to me, wherein he avowed that principle.

Returned by way we past and drank tea at our Companion's lodgings. Mr. Waters Dissenting parson on the more liberal plan joyned us. It being his weekly evening lecture, my friend Smith was privailed on to stand forth on this occasion, his text "Whose fan is in his hand, and he'll thoroughly purge his floor, &c." Passed remainder of evening and supt at Mr. Anstis lodgings, at 10 retiring to our own at the Bull, leaving Mr. Smith remaining with his friend.

2. Dull cloudy morn, wind Sly. Breakfasted at Mr. Waters, taking leave of our friends and departed, passing through great road as far as Yarmouth, thence turning great turnpike to Axminster, no sooner had we ascended lofty summit beyond last named town, to my amazement I beheld all northern and eastern quarters involved in one dark cloud of a most tremendous threatening aspect, discharging itself in impetuous cataracts that rendered impervious to human sight the hills and country. At same time, wind blew freshly from west, strong enough, one would have thought to have rent clouds asunder, dissipated them or hurried them to the opposite quarter. On contrary they rose fast against wind, and soon overspread whole hemisphere. The fury of storm was suspended, as if intentionally to deceive us on to the uninhabited plain, midway of which we had no sooner reacht, being 2 miles distant from any covers of houses, barn, shed, trees or &c. that it came on attended with double rage of wind and hail from all quarters lasting till our arrival at an Inn called Humbers lodge, at 2 miles distance from our designed stage and just as much from place of our first attack. Immediately on our alighting it ceased and in 8 or 10 minutes a fine blue sky appeared.

Our first order was to enlarge a sod fire to dry us thoroughly drenched, and warm our inside with a glass of gin toddy that the hail had chilled sufficiently enough to give us a high relish for. Till 5 minutes before departure the blue sky continued and was then hid by watry clouds which in a drisle accompanied us the remaining 2 miles to Axminster. After dining at Green Dragon Inn and resting a couple of hours we remounted our rosinantes, and proceeded to next stage Honiton. From Inn walkt to Mrs. [Yonatts?] an acquaintance of my Companion and drank tea, and taking leave departed for Wishcomb, Mr. John Carslucks Farm and Seat where lodged.

3. Morn fair and cloudy alternately. After breakfast bid adieu, and in one hour alighted at new lodging house in Sidmouth, a Mr. Godfreys. P.M. within, Mr. Smith drank tea with me.

4. Sunday. Morn cloudy, air raw. Mr. Lamport of Honiton preached from "*Wherefore, henceforth Know we no Man &c.*" P.M. same preacher, "*Who hath abolished Death, and brought &c.*" Assembly uncommonly full, there being no Meeting at Sidford.

5. Cloudy. P.M. and evening at Mrs. Dukes.¹

6. A.M. within. Meridian on beach, P.M. within.

7. Rainy, drank tea with Mr. Smith. Evening at home.

8. Same as yesterday.

9. Same. Took a lonely walk.

10. Dull, cloudy, drisly at times all day. Drank tea with Mrs. Milford and past part evening. Memo. Spirit [of] privateering against French surprisingly raised. Success incredible, almost, 3 East India Ships homeward bound taken, and 36 St. Domingo and Martineco ships and a multitude of others [*1 word*] capturing, their coasts lined with our privateers.

11. Morn and A.M. fair, uncommonly so, sky mild and continued all day, Sunday. Mr. Smith preached from "*Come unto me all ye that labour and are heavy laden &c.*" In P.M. "*Rejoyce evermore.*" Drank tea and passed evening with Mr. Smith.

12. Clear air, wind cold and brisk, W. On beach before breakfast. Meridian ramble with Mr. Smith through Feilds. He drank tea with me.

1. Domestic problems occupied some of Curwen's time. This day he wrote to Elias Ball, "Taylor," at Exeter: "This day I received a waistcoat inclosed in Mr. Smith's bundle, but I presume sent down to me through mistake, it is not the piece delivered to you in my presence at Mr. Davis's shop, that being a black stripe and this dark brown which we all agreed not to be so proper for me: shall be glad of an explanation, not caring to put it on 'till I know your reason for sending down this colour in preference to what I had chosen [and ordered?] delivered to you, and which Mr. Smith remembers to have been black when shown to him at Mrs Bullard's house."

13. Fresh dry air, more moderate than yesterday; wind E. brisk. Early on beach, meridian walk. Declined Mrs. D. invitation to tea and cards. P.M. and evening at home.

[14. *Curwen omitted this day.*]

15. Sky milky, air cold, dim Sun, wind fresh at E. My Dear friend,² From this time till it shall please God to restore me to you, my friends, and my native Country, if ever, I shall write you as often as opportunities shall offer, on a subject of no concern or importance to public, though I flatter myself not altogether indifferent to you or them, meaning myself and my small circle of action of which however trifling and unconcerning to Strangers, and surely they must be so, they may not fail of being acceptable to one connected by such tender ties as we are. I shall make no apology, for I'm sure none will be thought needful for incorrectness of style or order; intending to put things just as they shall arise, or as fancy, convenience, health, or judgment shall direct, permit or suggest. You may expect a miscellany of what occurs in reading, conversation or rambling, or from suggestions of my own mind, reflections moral and humorous, a general sign of weather, whats natural and moral, discriptions, news political or civil, anecdotes, tales, epitaphs, epigrams, in prose, or rhyme, in short whatever may prove instructive or amusing, though by very far the greatest part will be a series of dull insipid narration, but candid undissembled friendship views failings and weakness of a friend in a favorable light. In confidence therefore of safety I now begin my new plan of correspondence. My present situation not favouring a longer abode in this place, and the winter approaching I think it high time to remove to my old winter quarters and for that purpose having borrowed my friend's Rosinante [3 words] and pushed forward to Exeter, in order to explore a boarding house, my enquiries at length proved successful, having 3 houses under consideration, 1, a Mr. Pearce's in Church yard Lodging room 2 pair stairs and front lower parlour at 7/ a week, can dine at Mrs. Bretlands my old Landlady at 5/ a week. The 2d is a Miss Broadmead, Milliners opposite Guildhall, Front dining room and chamber over, genteel, at £30 a year. 3. A Mr. Brailsford, Hosier, opposite St. Stephens near East gate, terms not agreed but I presume

2. This entry continues as though a letter but there is no counterpart in Curwen's letter books or any indication other than that this is a sort of personal remark to the reader.

much like former. Drank tea at Mr. Eveleighs, lodged at White Hart Inn.

16. Wind and weather as yesterday. Returned back to Sidmouth, alighted at 5 o'clock. Mr. Smith drank tea with me and passed evening.

17. Air brisk, cool, wind S.E. With Mr. Smith took a Meridian walk, drank tea with him.

18. Cool clear air, blue sky all day, wind N.E. Sunday. Mr. Smith preached, text "I entreated thy favour with my whole heart." P.M. "Labour not for the meat that perisheth &c." Mr. Smith dined with me.

19. Dull cloudy day, air raw, wind S.E. blustering, sea uncommonly rough, a Meridian and post meridian walk. Landlord and Landlady drank tea with me.

20. Dull morn. Rainy at times all day, wind N.W. Within till 7 o'clock, stept over to Mr. Smith just returned from Exeter with letter from London enclosing blank receipt.³

21. Weather same as yesterday, within all day, declined an invitation to Collyton with Mr. Smith and Jarvis and also to Mrs. D., her party is become unagreeable of late. Evening at home.

22. Dull cloudy, rainy at times all day. Meridian walk by seaside, part of P.M. and evening with Mr. Smith, evening at home. Wind N.W.

3. A note to Cabot acknowledging the blank receipt for Curwen's quarter's allowance and continuing: "Though the disappointment of the french by DE-staing's miscarriage at Rhode Island preceded by his missing Lord Howe in the Delaware which his own ill judged delay at Chesapeake bay occasioned, ought to be considered as of the greatest importance to the views of the King and Ministry, nothing less than the hopes of the Government retaining any further power or authority in America absolutely depending on the ill success and defeat of [the united?] plans of Congress and France; yet such has been the sanguine expectation of people here of late that the last gazette intelligence appears to be a mountains bringing forth a mouse. To tell you my own opinion I think it equal to what ought or could be expected nor do I doubt Lord Howe will give D'Estaing and his ministers sufficient reason to repent this American expedition if he will give him leave to meet him at sea or approach within reach of his cannon but this I think not likely, being safely anchored in Boston Harbour (which I presume Lord Howe cannot enter) unless our intelligence is false."

23. Cloudy rainy morn, wind S.W. Rode on Mr. Smith's horse, having disposed of my own, to Exeter. Drank tea and passed evening at Quadrille at Mr. Parminers house in company with his Brother the Counsellor.

24. Cloudy and at times drisly, wind S.W. fresh. Rode to Exeter, concluded bargain with Mrs. Brailsford, a lodging room and parlour to myself [*1 word*] at rate of £28 a year. Arrived at home by 4 o'clock, P.M. Mr. Smith drank tea with me. Evening alone.

25. Cloudy dull, moderate. Sunday, Mr. Smith preached, text "Wherefore he is able also to save them." Wind S.W. all day.

26. Clear morn, air mild and pleasant, meridian dim sun, air raw. Accompanied Mr. Smith to Mr. William Lloyds at *Bulverton*, a substantial farmer, drank tea and passed part of evening. Conversation on different ranks of mankind and different consequential modes of living. My Companion told us following tale from an irish Landlady. A Young Country woman of hers wisht she might be Queen for a month for then says she I would have bacon with my broth, to which our Hostess added one of the like kind, a young Lad of Cornwall wished He might be King, for then he said he I would ride on gates and eat fat bacon with my broth. The demands of nature are few and easily satisfied, 'tis education and use that increase our appetites and render them troublesome. Wind at E., fresh.

27. Air raw, wind fresh at E.S., rainy all day within alone. Evening visited by Mr. Smith, our sentiments on toleration unlike, he holds that every subject in a state has an absolute right to unlimited toleration be his principles what they may. On contrary it appears to me, That though no Man should be persecuted in any degree for opinions sake, He has no right to complain of any disabilities he may be under, whose avowed persuasion is, that faith is not to be kept with those whose religious tenets are different from his own, whose religion absolves him from most soleumn engagements, nay thinks himself in conscience bound to violate promises, vows and oaths. Nay further Mr. [Smith] thinks its highly meritorious to disturb peace and overthrow the very Government from which he is protected and which he has most solemnly sworn to support, when his priest directs and opportunity presents. Opinions, merely such, the Magistrate ought by no means to

concern himself with, nor be subject to his control, and therefore every peaceable Man has an equal claim to protection in his person [and] property.

28. Cloudy morn, and till Evening from AM fresh then rainy, wind mild, fresh at S.E. Early walk, at home remainder of day, Mr. Mitford and Mr. Smith drank tea with me.

29. Cloudy, at times drisly, air mild, wind S.W. Meridian walk. By late rains, river Syd, by rapidity of its stream occasioned by late rains has opened itself a mouth into the Channell through a bank of small stones of 12 or 14 feet in heighth, this run of water with us in New England would rightly merit more than the name of a brook, its waters stopt by the Sea bank of stones forms a pool of 25 or 30 feet over and 12 or 15 feet deep, its kept to almost same heighth by the water filtrating or transending through the bank of stones in many small underbank channels into the sea. Mr. Smith paid me an Evening visit.

30. Thin, clouds, mild air, sun out and in, wind N.W. Meridian walk. P.M. rode out Mr. Smith's horse, and drank tea with him. Here is now building in this town of Sidmouth a large Vessell burthen about 220 Tons, length of Keel strait rabbit 78 feet, width $26\frac{1}{2}$, depth in hold 10 feet. Its construction uncommon strange to me, wether peculiar to these parts or not I do not know. Being before unseen by me occasions the following relation; First, Keel is laid, then Sternpost raised, after the bow, then follows planking, first streak, series at [*word*] is nailed into Keel, lower edge let into a rabbit or shoulder, other streaks successively clapt on, one upon the other, like clapboards on sides of our houses, fastened to each other by stout $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. nails and riveted within, planks of Elm or Ash, 2 of equal thickness, 6 or 7 streaks being laid, the floor timbers are fitted or fayed into them, 6 or 7 more streaks being laid in like manner several timbers are fayed to them, and then is Vessell first planked and then timbered till Hull is finished, the timbers being fashioned by trunnels drove into them. Thus the plank serves to combine or connect whole together. The keel I saw laid and the daily progress in her building till up to her lower gunwhale, wether designed for smuggling or privateering seems not determined, I should judge her fitter for the former, designed for running, as she [*'s*] sharp, I cant think overstout.

31. Stormy wind, rough sea. P.M. cleared up, moderate, wind fresh, W. Within all day save a short run to beach to view the tempestuous ocean. Mr. Smith drank tea with me. Head ach since yesterday.

1778 November 1. Sunday and Communion. Mr. Smith preached and officiated, text, "Whosoever shall confess me &c." P.M. at Church Mr. Sanders, Vicar preached, text "Remember them who have rule over you &c." Air clear and brisk at W. Received a letter from W. Cabot, London, inclosing bill. Mr. Smith paid short evening visit.

2. Thin clouds, sun in and out, air mild, wind E. Confined all day by severe cold, 3d. day since its seizure.

3. Milky sky, moderate air, at Meridian sprinkling, P.M. rainy, wind S. or Wly. Mr. Mitford drank tea with me. Mr. Smith paid a short visit evening.

4. Thin clouds, air moderate, wind N.W. A Meridian walk with Mr. Smith and Mr. Mitford, former dined with me. P.M. and evening at home. Having in times past frequently reviewed some of the many dangers I've escaped, and principal evils through the course of my past life, especially those markt with strongest characters; I think it not improper to commit those of them to writing that aren't beyond reach of my memory: that being thus laid before my eyes, they may impress more deeply on my mind remembrance of those dispensations; and in order to excite proper sentiments and feelings that such kind of Events are wisely and for valuable purposes calculated to inspire. Here follows the Catalogue and to begin.

First before 2d year of my life was completed, it pleased God to take away a kind and tender father by death, an insupportable loss, a loss I've severely felt in the course of my life, a loss I momentarily and mournfully reject. I hope and trust with due resignation to God's overruling sovereign will. Nor was this melancholy visit single and unattended: one great misfortune, 'tis observed rarely comes alone. Before the revolution of one year, Death that unrelenting evening of mankind made such havoc among my relations, having laid in cold and [filt?] grave four out of six of remains of my family. My grandmother died in July, in August my grandfather, in September my then only Brother and in beginning of December in less than 13 months from my father's departure followed my mother who lived to her 27th

year leaving 3 children, 2 of which have followed in room of their ancestors. Her death at that time closed the mournful tragedy and left 2 helpless and nearly relationless orphans my said posthumous brother and myself less than 3 years old. We were the only remains of a late very numerous family.

Second. In course of next year I fell into fire, but through good pleasure of Him who ordreth all events, I carry no other mark of this accident but a contraction of little finger on my left hand.

Third. From earliest infancy to 10th year of my age I was periodically seized, spring and fall with a quinzey, sometimes attended with bladders in my throat; occasioning such a difficulty of breathing, that every respiration was heard in rooms below; and to so severe a degree has disorder been, that not seldom, for days together has life been despaired of.

Fourth. Twice or thrice in my youth have I been in great danger of drowning by falling into water.

Fifth. About 12th year of my life I fell down from limb of a walnut tree 18 feet high, within a foot of an heap of stones and must unavoidably dashed out brains had fall been on them. By this I was confined a fortnight, my breath affected by wrench my body suffered, and was contorted out of its natural shape before remarkably straight and erect to that form in which it now appears.

Sixth. The next year being in an upper chamber in my guardian's house with children of family about my age I had like to have tumbled out of window 25 feet from pavement below, by carelessly straining body out beyond its poize or centre of gravity, a person standing by reasonably laid hold on me then past recovery drew me back and saved from instant death.

Seventh. About [2 digits illegible] years of my age, I carelessly swallowed a pin; the first perceivable effect was a stoppage in my breath the night following, being suddenly awaked out of sleeping by a most distressful difficulty in breathing; the symptoms were so fearful that they being alarmed stood around my bed as of one seized with death. Doctor being summoned administered medicine that afforded temporary relief; at times they still continued to return not, however, to so great a degree, leaving me in a languishment that lasted for years, nor has my lungs been perfectly sound, nor my breast free from tightness, oppression and shortness of breath ever since, and for some years to so great a degree that on occasion of wind to E. point though in a room having no communication but the chimney I've found it

difficult to draw a breath, and to this day an overfull meal, especially at night reduces me to a distress for want of breath.

Eighth. About 22 of my age riding a tall horse on full speed through the streets in Salem, a hog of an enormous size running out from a yard, across the street, clapped his nose directly under horses feet, providentially caused him only to bend, being strong and active, he recovered himself. Had he fallen, which twas a miracle he had not, I should have been thrown at half a rod, the force in that case would probably have beaten the breath out of my body.

Ninth. In a passage from America to Falmouth in old England in Brigantine Adventure, steering about N.E. and being as Captain supposed about abreast of Western Island of Scilly by reckoning, having 7 or 8 hours before left St. Ives highland which by the unskilfulness of our crew and the indraft of St. George's Channell we were horst into, the wind blowing at very heavy gale at S.W. attended with squalls of rain, the evening close and dark, about 11 o'clock the Mate came running over hastily into the Cabin and in a surprise alarmed us with, for God's sake Master come up, I hear the rock of the shore, where-upon the Master and myself being just turned with Cabbin, hastily arose, and having had a few moments only to satisfy himself gave immediate orders, put Ship about; this was scarcely done than a glin in sailor's language from E. to N.W. discovered the perilous condition we were in being almost in bottom of Mount Bay a coast sufficiently known for its danger by the multitude of shipwrecks yearly happening there, the shore lined with dangerous rocks lying off at a distance from shore. 'Tis a miracle that life should be saved if ship be lost by being wreckt on rocks or stranded, Barberous inhabitants never failing to plunder and destroy what the less merciless waves sometimes spare, we had scarcely seen our danger but Wind, as if by divine command instantly shifted round to N. Westward almost the opposite point to what had hurried us almost in very brink of destruction, blowing directly from shore, and continuing till after day breack when we had providentially gained a safe offing without the Lizard point, bearing then about N. a little E. and Lands end about N.W., Nly., the bay lying between them full open to our view which we very gladly saw. Of this providential interposition I can't fail remarking, had either of those 3 circumstances failed to have happened we must have without doubt have been buried in a watry grave the preceding night.

Tenth. Being in a chamber in Mr. Barrow's English merchant at Bilboa, Robert Turner a Townsman and Shipmate taking down from

a peg on which it hung a loaded pistol, presented it at my body saying Curwin I will shoot you, just going to pull the trigger, when the owner a Mr. Beando in seeing his madness, snatched it out of his hand saying, do you know what you're about, they are loaded with a brace of balls, when he without the least surprize or sense of the danger he was prevented from doing stupidly replied with a grin of folly, *Lord I had like to have killed you, Curwin.*

Eleventh. That same Mr. Beando having causelessly taken offence and during remaining part of time I resided at Bilboa treated me with neglect producing a coldness on my part, at taking leave of family being less particular to him than the rest, his pride, it seems, was wounded to such a degree, that he was determined to take ample revenge for the imagined affront, and for that purpose posted down to Alivago, at mouth of Bilboa river where our vessells lay with others waiting for a bar; coming alongside he demanded where I was, his design being known to Master was forbid coming on board and by that prohibition my life was spared.

Twelfth. Being engaged in a water frolic a few hours before hour of setting off, being strongly impresst with an unaccountable persuasion that something would happen in course of day of which I could assign no cause, I communicated my impression to a friend who taught me out of my weakness, as he termed it. I reluctantly forced my self to join, nor give way to such whims; perhaps the event shows it was not fancy but a friendly intimation de super. Soon after departure from wharff being under sail in harbour, a vessell larger than ours, by an unjustifiable and unaccountable piece of misconduct in one or both the Crews run right athwart ours and laid her on her beams; her gunwale just down to water's edge. Our boat being open, or without a deck was in the utmost danger of filling and sinking. The Company for greater part had time to crawl up to higher gunwale and from thence into larger vessell, but myself being entangled among ropes aloft, endeavouring to clear myself was carried overboard; the boat pressing on me so that with all my strength I could but just keep my chin above water resting it on lower gunwale, just down to water's edge. Had that under gunwale been 2 or 3 inches lower, she must [have] unavoidably sunk, and carried me, irresistably down to bottom along with her. In that condition I remained, my whole body being under water, the boat pressing on me for space of 7 or 8 minutes.

Thirteenth. It being my practise daily to instruct those [members?] of my Company at Louisburg who dwelt in same house with me, one

day having entered into my antichamber, twas my custom to question them if their pistols were drawn to which they answering in affirmative I took over, and having gone through the exercise as far as we had prest, to my astonishment the pistol I had in my hand went off and discharged a bullet, it being happily turned from the men towards window, past through into yard, though against thoroughfare by a kind providence none happened to be that instant passing.

Fourteenth. Being at divine service in Citadel Chappell at Louisburg in the month of October 1745 on a Sunday P.M. just before close of Sermon, I perceived an uncommon sensation in head, seemingly a snapping, accompanied by a small and scarce perceivable sound, and a momentary loss; first seizure was slight, hardly observed though of a different and unusual kind. Being repeated twice or thrice with an increase of symptoms, in hour lessening, first of 7 or 8 minutes, 2 still less, 3d less. I couldn't fail of being alarmed fearing for consequences. They seemed of the apoplectic kind and I gave myself up for lost. Being desirous of dying decently at my own house, was impatient to hasten out of Church as soon as sermon was finished and therefore quickened my pace, but symptoms increased faster upon me, than even my pace which I quickened into a full speed. This attracted notice of my fellow worshipers but I was soon stopt in midcareer, for a fit seized me with great violence and in the agonies or [*1 word*] of nature, I gave a spring or leap 3 feet in air and fell down breathless at my length on ground, entirely senseless and to appearance dead, as I was after told by Colonel Frie, then a [*1 word*] in garrison who with 2 or 3 men assisted to carry me into my room which was 4 or 500 yards distance. In this Condition, it seems, I lay for $\frac{3}{4}$ hours. A leach whose name was Peirce of Piscataqua was summoned and attended. After several attempts brought away some blood from my arm, indicating a return to life. My first perception was sounds, indistinctly heard, not understood—speech—then sight, at first imperfect, last of all memory, though extremely shortened, unable for a time to recollect house, people, day, place, where I'd been, last 4 circumstances for many hours, nor ever since, what happened from leaving Citadel gate. This blow to my frame never has, nor probably ever will be thoroughly repaired, whilst I abide in this earthly house of Clay.

Fifteenth. Having been sitting with my neighbour Nutting in my own store playing at game of back gammon, for some time and on arising finding myself stiff I stretched out my arms and as not unusual for me, gave a leap of 6 or 8 inches high; my right foot giving way I perceived

a small degree of weakness; hereon casting myself on my backside and taking my said right foot up in my hand, perceiving it bend said my leg was broken. This my 2 companions denied but on hearing the bones grate and seeing its direction found it was so. 'Tis hard to account for so considerable fracture as this proved from so slight a cause; the smaller shin bone fractured in 2 places, the great one, splintered 7 inches in length, the ancle bone split through midst and 3 bones displaced in instep. This accident confined me in bed 19 days, at the end of which [callous?] was formed.

Sixteenth. Riding with my aforesaid neighbour Nutting through streets in year 1753—former happened 1749—The Whiffletree of Chair gave way and falling under horses legs, shafts dropt out of tuggs to ground canting me athwart bottom of chair, my legs entangled between cross peices, my neck just under one of the wheels, which, had Horse removed 2 or 3 steps must irrecoverably have broken my neck and strangled me in an instant, but by the all disposing will of him, in whose hands our times are, my days weren't yet numbered and ended; to what I am reserved is known only to him.

Seventeenth. In year 1754. Being far gone in an hectic extremely weakened with profusest night sweats and many other dangerous symptoms I was reduced almost to a skeleton, but by continuing medicines and diet, regular constant exercise and moderate with great and ceaseless attention I was by divine favour in course of 9 months restored to my usual state.

Eighteenth. Riding through Lyn in summer of 1765 with my wife in my own Chaize, that was hung high, above Axletree, and so near a ballance that a light weight behind would tilt it up, overtaking a sailor on foot, who perhaps being tired by walking was inclined to relieve himself by resting on our carriage behind; his weight tilted up Chaize, and canted my wife and me back by which I lost all government of reins. This the fellow seeing, what was begun designed for ease was now become a matter of sport and diversion, he continuing to press it down with his whole weight though it afforded him no support, Horse finding a difference in weight and began to caper and kick which the more he did the more he promoted tilt taking a turn towards the brow of ground which from road declined considerably, a stone near to it gave the chaize a tip turning it upside down to a distance of 12 or 14 feet, driving my head through bonnet, then down into soft mud, almost up to my chin, and my wife to her eyes, our heads striking within inches of a great stone that lay midway between,

had we or either struck out of the direction it had it must unavoidably have dasht one or both our brains out, and tis next to a miracle we did not here meet our fate. The fellow seeing the mischief he had committed, ran off as fast as his legs could carry him. This wrench rendered me unable for that night to move arm, leg or even any part of my body though twice bled, confined me a fortnight, and reduced me to the necessity of wearing [*word omitted*] round my body for 2 or 3 years. Nor yet am without sensation of having frequent flying pains, straitness at breast and an increast difficulty of breathing to this hour.

Nineteenth. Walking with the Elder Mr. Ben Faneuil on Cambridge Common from Church on Sunday Meridian March 1774 being engaged in talk with him, a water-horsewoman, notorious, and I after learnt, for driving fiercely and carelessly among crouds of people drove one horse chair so suddenly, as allowed us no time for stepping out of her way aiming directly against us, canting me aside, and had it not been for my quick catching hold of one of the shafts, would have at first onset thrown me under his heels; keeping hold for some time; but she would not slacken her pace, thought she saw condition I was in, being dragged along, till my strength failing, I was forced to quit and falling directly under horses heels, my body in a line with his, he past over me but how he avoided treading on me is inconceivable to myself and 3 gentlemen, who were with me, and saw the whole passage, the wheel passing as near as to graze my ear, had its direction been 2 inches nearer me it must have gone directly over my head. Its consequences are obvious. 'Tis to me some powerful hand that has hitherto guided and preserved me that it did not prove a fatal event.

Twentieth. In a passage from Philadelphia to London in Scooner Lively Holton Johnson Master I experienced a most extraordinary and almost miraculous preservation, when distruction was impending and seemed unavoidable, having been driven on the ocean for 20 days without scarce a favourable wind for 6 hours together, as far as 36 degrees of Latitude and not more than 20 of easting or Longitude, having about last day of May or first of June¹ arrived at 42d. degree of Latitude about that of my own home I was pleasing myself with thought that we were so far to Northward and now in my imagination out of range of waterspouts, an object of no small terror to me, while on ocean, but so little does blind man see the distressful scenes lying hid in futurity that await him, that pleasing reverie was scarcely begun

1. This event is briefly described above, under date of 2 June 1775.

to be indulged, that this very day had like to have been the last to me for future pleasure or pain, the fanciful dreams of safety and I know not what, had like to have ended in a watry catastrophe to our whole Crew. Morn being pleasant at Meridian, wind before moderate, suddenly increast keeping its old corner S.W., the rain came pouring down, increasing the quantity and pace till almost 1 o'clock, the heavens presented from windward granted a truly terrifying appearance, an immense body of water raised, seemingly, into region of clouds, whirled, and carried aloft in every direction, came forward with an amazing velocity towards us from that windward quarter denouncing instant destruction, and which must inevitably have overwhelmed us hadn't the interposing power of him who holdeth the clouds in hollow of his hand, who repels raging of Seas, and at whose command wind and storms are obedient, been pleased to give winds which now seemed to bring unavoidable death along with them, another direction; they shifting about almost in an instant with a furious and increasing blast from Southward, and thereby broke column when within 50 or 60 yards from us, falling with a most impetuous force and producing a swell and ripling not unlike the making of 2 rapid tides in a strait, as between Dover and Calais, in midchannel. The rush and Velocity it came on with was so great, that our people had but just time to trim sails; had they been standing perhaps scarce a rag had been left to boltropes, if no worse. Wind for a few seconds was outrageous, and water came over in such cataracts that belly of sails as they lay on deck held hogsheads of water. The Vessell at moment of wind had a heel as if from a monstrous overgrown Sea, though otherwise 'twas not long. Thus have I again been delivered from imminent destruction by a critical interposition reminding me of Psalmists expressions, "They that go down to Sea in ships, See the works of Lord and his wonder in deep, for he commandeth and raiseth stormy winds, which lifteth up waves thereof, they mount up to heaven, they go down against depths, then because of trouble &c." These water spouts are terrible columns of water raised by vorticose drafts or veins of wind suspended in air, and drawn forward frequently in contrary direction to great distances, when being broken by their gravity or meeting opposite winds or any resistance if a vessell should unhaply be in their course, they fall with a force, that by immense quantity of water contained in them would crush into 10,000 peices the largest vessell that ever swam an ocean.

Twentyfirst. About 12 July 1775, few days after my arrival in Lon-

don, having a curiosity in common with multitudes to see King review some troops on Blackheath, I took an hackney Coach with 3 or 4 Companions; at turnpike gate there was a meeting of carriages that occasioned a delay for a considerable time, each being obliged to stop and pay toll. My fellow travelers impatience of delay being desirous of pushing forward saw then they should be waiting for quarter hour turn being pretty far back, proposed to jump out and foot it rest of way almost $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles from hence. Weakly submitting to their indecent proposal I quitted carriage, passing through midst of many ranges to edges of road which in both sides was bounded by foul ditches of a considerable width, and rendering our proceeding on foot impractical the road being compleatly filled up beyond reach of eye backward and forward. Finding my embarrassment I determined to recover, if possible, our Coach; in order to effect this I was forced to pass through many ranges to ours at some distance in midst of a wide road. By the time we entered among them the whole body began to move. Think my condition amidst scene during helter skelter and not a single part of clear road left for me to escape, lucky perhaps to be able to find, and perhaps if found, perhaps refused to be again admitted having once quitted, at length through the merest chance we found it having escaped being rode over a score of times and by greatest good luck the Coachman willing to receive me in; glad to be released from danger I seated my [self] and blest my stars for my good luck promising never to abandon a safe seat in a Carriage for a precarious walk in a throng of coaches again. One of my partners followed me sharing my dangers and fortune. As to my partners, they made their way as well as they could and escaped very imminent dangers before they arrived at the ground. Sight of this doughty mock skirmish ill repaid me for my fatigue and Danger.

Twenty Second. Walking with a young female through Exeter streets as we were passing under a ladder on which stood a man putting new slate on an old roof, one of 9 or 10 inches square of weight of 1 lb. or $1\frac{1}{2}$ lb. dropping out of his hand fell endways from the eaves of House 25 feet at least before it touched the brim of my hat; had the line of decadence been 3 inches nearer the house it would have fallen on crown of my head, its consequence, I no doubt might have been fatal.

Twentythird. Going from Collyton to Axminster with my friend Mr. Smith, we were accompanied by a Mr. Cornish, the dissenting Minister here, on foot, to a ford over River Axe, called Nineford

water, being about $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Collyton; having arrived at Water and taking his directions, I just entered Stream, keeping near plank bridge for use only of foot passengers, when, Lo! on a sudden I found Horse plunged up to head, and myself above waist in water, flowing with some degree of rapidity. The force with which he sunk, and of current carried his hinder parts and myself under bridge among spiles but he recovered ground with his forefeet and being a stout strong horse and giving a plunge recovered the ground and brought me safe ashore pretty thoroughly drench up breasthigh. My feet not being disengaged from the stirrups had he made a false step and by current forced among spiles under bridge or failed to recover his foothold on solid bottom but forced down stream, the consequence might have been fatal [*2 words*] rider as my feet couldn't be disengaged from stirrups. By the all disposing will of him in whose hands is breath of every living thing, I am yet continued a living monument of divine mercy and forbearance. May a grateful sense of repeated instances of preservation in these dangers now remembered make a lasting impression on my mind, and produce proper effects.

November 5. Cloudy, now and then sprinkling, wind S.Wly. P.M. and evening rainy. Observed as a thanksgiving in respect to going to Church at Meridian and Mr. Smith preached at Meeting House, text, "*and I say unto thee, thou art Peter &c.*" Dined at Mr. William Carslucks with bowling green Club. P.M. and Eve at Mrs. Mirfords at Loo till 1 o'clock.

6. Rainy, wind Wly., visited by Mr. Smith.²

7. Cloudy and fresh morn, till Meridian wind brisk. P.M. fair, and N.W., pleasant. Informed by Mr. Smith of an opportunity wrote letter to my [*word omitted*] inclosed in his packet forwarded to London.³ A Mr. Knight an attorney from Taunton, this day took up his abode for short space at our house.

8. Weather till Meridian doubtful, P.M. sun out and pleasant, wind N.W. Sunday, Mr. Jarvis of Limson preached, text, "All these things

2. A note to Joseph Waldo sending him a copy of Curwen's letter to him of 22 Sept. which he feared had miscarried.

3. A long letter to a friend in Salem, whose name has been obliterated, complaining of Curwen's having been neglected by his friends at home and having received few letters and summarizing his past few months' activity and future prospects.

are against me." An excellent discourse on our aptness to be discontented at afflictive evils in divine dispensations, from whence he took occasion to inculcate submission and resignation, from consideration of wisdom and goodness of God, and happy consequences sometimes arising from evils most perplexing and distressful. P.M. text, "For we must all appear before the judgment seat of Christ &c." An high wrot, figurative, full of strong imagery, subject serious and awesome. Drank tea with preacher at Mrs. Mitfords.

9. Cloudy and dark, rainy at times all day, wind S. fresh, abode within. Mr. Smith evening with me. G. R[ussell] of Birmingham acquaints me by letter of death of his amiable consort. Her death I lament.

10. Morn very pleasant, air mild, Meridian Wind brisk at N. On beach early, P.M. at home, drank coffee at London Tavern with Mr. Jarvis and Yates at their invitation, past part Evening there.

11. Preceeding night sleepless, want not inconvenient following day. At Mr. Darleys [*1 word*] at London Inn, part of Evening at home.

12. Fine clear day, Morn Wind S., at Meridian N.W. Rode to Mr. William Lees at Slade and dined. P.M. and drank tea at Mrs. Lacy's at home by 7.

13. Cloudy, wind N.W. Within all day. Mr. Smith dined with me. P.M. and eve alone.

14. Dark rainy Morn, Wind S.E. P.M. S.W., brisk. Drank tea with Mr. Smith.

15. Dark, cloudy, raining by fitts all day. Wind S.W., brisk, Sea rough. Sunday, Mr. Smith preached, text, "*To patience godliness.*" P.M. same text. A public baptism in England among protestant dissenters not usual. It was introduced by a sett discourse on nature, duty and utility of this ordinance, accompanied by a serious admonition to parents. After sermon on beach with young Mitford and his Mother, with whom I drank tea. Mr. Smith with evening.

16. Cloudy, fairish, changeable, wind S. all day, Sea rough. Meridian walk with Mr. Smith on beach. P.M. and evening at home reading and writing.⁴

17. Morn mild air and pleasant. Fair, cloudy, sun and small rain. Rode to Beer with Mr. Smith, dined at the New Inn, drank tea with Mr. and Mrs. Cott, visited the Vicar of Seaton and Beer, a character truly original, a great humorist and punster, not unlike Mather Byles of Boston in that line. An enormous hulk, confined by gout, he told us was 3d attack resembling in his own language a furnace heater 7 times hotter than the former. Compared himself in the midst of excruciating pains to his holiness seated to receive adoration on his sanctified rump; treated us hospitably and was very facetious. Advice of A. C. Follet's⁵ death at New York, arrived in letter to Mr. Smith from Mr. Hogg of Exeter. He was the only son of family, a promising youth of 23 years of age, 6 feet in height, good disposition solid turn and serious rather, well inclined and qualified for business, delight hopes, and almost stay and staff of family. May it please Father of Spirits to afford all needful comfort to the mourners under this awful and bereaving stroke.

18. Clear mild morn. Rose early, A.M. at home. P.M. visited bereaved family, passed P.M. and evening at Mrs. Mitfords.

19. Moderate, cloudy, wind S.E., yesterday N.W. At home all day overlooking baggage and taking [inventory] as customary on removing. Mr. Smith and Mitford drank tea with me.

20. Fine clear, moderate morn, weather in course of day changeable, Wind N.W. Drank tea at Mr. Smith, evening at Mr. Mitfords.

21. Cloudy, drisly, wind Sly. Confined within by nervous headache, preventing to removing to Exeter, this being the intended day.

22. Cloudy, evening rainy, wind S. Confined by Barber's neglect. Sunday P.M. Mr. Hogg preached, text "For whatsoever things were written aforetime &c."

4. To Mrs. Hay in London, Curwen wrote a letter welcoming her on her "safe landing on an Island where plenty and freedom yet reigns from a Country once the happy region of every desirable blessing under heaven, now alas the seat of misery, discord and I fear every evil" and begging her to write to him the latest news from Salem and Boston.

5. Son of Robbin Follet, dissenting minister of Sidmouth.

23. Cloudy and dull, sky threatning aspect. Took leave of Sidmouth, my residence for approaching winter to be at Exeter. Entering Shaws post chaize with one Companion passed road in 2 ½ hours and was set down at new lodgings in Forestreet near East Gate. Business of Family hosiery; Couple well bred, room genteelst I have been in, board at £28 a year rate of. Hope will prove an agreeable house in issue, but frequent disappointments teach me not to depend on appearances. Evening alone in room.

Exeter, Tuesday 24. Dull and cloudy, drisly by fitts, wind Sly., in preceeding night boisterous. Visited Mr. Eveleigh's family. Evening played quadrille at home with Landlady and 2 females of her acquaintance.⁶

25. Cloudy, mild. Drank tea and passed evening at Mr. E.'s by invitation.

26. Fine mild morn. Rode with Mr. Smith to Newton Abbot to visit a Captain Hendley returned from Newfoundland, taken by a Captain Babson, and carried into Boston, where and at Cape Ann he had resided 6 weeks. No intelligence about my own or Russell family. Reports the Country is in a distresst condition, wanting scarce less than every comfort. No trade but privateering, some hereby raised from nothing to affluence. Says inhabitants embittered against French who have engrost all the trade from whom they dont in return receive any advantage of labor or supplies but their own goods at an exorbitant price. Current prices at time he left them and growing worse were vizt: paper Dollars at 1/6 sterling each, beef 2/6 pd.; Veal 1/6d, Mutton same, butter 6/a pound, green pease 9 dollars a bushel, rum from 6 to 10 dollars a gallon, molasses 2 and 2 ½, brown Sugar 10/a pound, Leaf ditto 15/, Botea 7 Dollars a pound, green tea in proportion, Coffee 5 or 6 dollars a pound, Irish pork 60 dollars a barrel, Lemons 3/a piece, wood 20 dollars a cord, Ordinary french cloth 20 to 23 dollars a yard, shoes 9 to 10 dollars a pair, labour 6/a day. Wretched effects of civil discord, how deplorable is situation, how wretched prospects of that once happy region, where security peace and plenty late abounded. May it please God to order [his] destroying Angel to sheath [his] bloody sword, and restore their former singular blessings. Drank tea at Captain Hendley's and at 5 o'clock took leave, and

6. A brief letter to Cabot about the lottery.

departed in a drisle, which truly proved as inconvenient a Scotch mist being thoroughly drencht scarce having a dry thread when I alighted at my lodgings at 8 o'clock.

27. Moderate, at times fresh and cloudy, wind at W.N. A.M. within, P.M. and evening at Mr. Eveleighs.⁷

28. Fair morn, whole day pleasant, wind N.W. On Norney with Mr. Bretland, evening at Swan Inn, Book auction.

29. Clear mild morn, at Meridian cloudy, raw. Sunday, Mr. Hogg preached, text "And he shall not look to [*1 word*] the work of his hands &c." P.M. Mr. Peckford preached, text, "Arise ye and depart for this is not your rest &c." Drank tea at Mrs. Bretland's evening at home.⁸

30. Cool A.M., wind W. brisk. Drank coffee at Molls ditto house. Visited Mr. Cross, evening at Book auction Swan Inn.

December 1, 1778. Clear and fresh, coldest air this season. Wind brisk N.W., visited Miss White. P.M. at Molls Coffee House. Wrote I[saac] S[mith], Bristol.¹ In Churchyard with Mr. Bretland, evening at home.

2. Fresh and fair morn, wind S.W. At home till tea time. Passed remainder and evening at Mr. Ebenezer.

3. Drisly, wind Sly.; P.M. wind S.E. and rain. Drank tea and passed evening with Mr. and Mrs. Nations.

7. A curiously illegible letter this day to George Russell at Birmingham, which seems to contain only personal intelligence.

8. To Ebenezer West "on board the Medway at Spithead," Curwen wrote a friendly letter regretting that Mr. Timmins had been unable to find him to deliver him the two guineas he had offered. He renewed the offer this time to be accomplished through William Cabot.

1. A letter to Isaac Smith reported receipt of American news by way of Capt. Hendley "just returned from Newfoundland," reporting on conditions in Boston, "that provisions were plenty enough but extream dear of which the following is a proof: Beef at 2/6, Veal 2/ to 1/6, Mutton and Lamb the same, Butter 6/ per [*1 word*] green pease 9 dollars a buz [bushel?], Rum 6 to 10 dollars a gallon, Molasses 2 to 2½, brown Sugar 10/ a pound, abf. Ditto 15/ ditto, bohea tea 7 dollars a pound, green tea in proportion, Coffee 5 to 6 dollars, [*1 word*], wood 20 dollars a cord, ordinary french cloth 20 to 23 dollars a yard, hose 9 dollars a pair, labor 6/ a day."

4. Fresh and clear, wind N.W. sharp. Visited worthy and venerable Mr. Towgood who kindly said, more frequent my visits, more welcome. He's one of very few to whose respectful and undissembled welcome I am not a little indebted. To whom my grateful acknowledgements are due. Dined at my W[oolen] Draper Mr. Davis, being to take the Craftsman this day received first, containing weeks debates in Parliament. River Exe by late rains has swelled beyond the memory of 40 years, considerable damage. Its stream is narrow and bed shallow, its course long and running through or among lofty lands. In rainy seasons many small rivulets entering these streams causes in greater stream a very considerable river. The Bunny and Sholly overflown, one lying above the bridge, the other below.

5. Wind N.W., weather as yesterday; A.M. visited Mr. E. family. P.M. drank tea at Mr. Weymouths.

6. Clear, raw, pinching air, wind S.W. Sunday and Communion. Mr. Hogg preached, text "For worthy judgments are in earth." P.M. "unless thy law had been my delight." Drank tea with Mr. and Mrs. Brailsford and 2 ladies.²

7. Clear enough, pleasant. Wind N.W. fresh. Seized with a spasmodic in breast directly under left pap, continued some hours without intermission or abatement, affected my breath. By Mr. Pitfields advice I opened a vein in my arm, applied a liniment to breast and took a draft. After some hours was relieved. Wether by apothecary's assistance or from natures conquest I cant say. Declined Mr. Eveleigh's invitation on score of indisposition. Mrs. Bretland came to bedside and kindly offered any assistance in her or family's power.

8. Cold, blustery air, cloudy, wind W. St Nicholas Fair begins this day, disorder perceptably abated. Mr. Bretland came in to enquire. Mr. E. and family sent to enquire also, and P.M. apothecary called in. Evening alone.

9. Fine clear air, dry, moderate. Molly Follet brought a letter from Mr. Smith. Visited by Mr. E. and apothecary. Mr. and Mrs. Bretland drank tea with me. Evening alone.

2. A note to Joseph Waldo at Bristol to send Curwen his trunk "by the waggon to this place, . . . having occasion for some things in it."

10. Fair, clear and moderate, wind S. A.M. Apothecary called in. P.M. E. and Bretland, towards evening received a letter from Mrs. Hay in answer containing a pleasing account of family and friends.

11. Mild cloudy, wind S.W., Wly. Received a letter and wrote answer to Mr. Smith Sidmouth.³ A.M. Apothecary called in. P.M. Mr. E.

12. Dark, drisly, wind S. Past this day in examining letters and papers. P.M. Mr. E. visited me. 6th day in bed indisposed, severe costiveness attends.

13. Weather changeable, clear and cloudy by turns, wind from W.N. to W.S. Still confined, symptoms abating. Apothecary called.

14. Cloudy, at times sprinkling, wind S. Still confined. P.M. Apothecary called, in Evening visited by Sally Bretland.

15. Mild air, walkt out for first time 10 days since. Called at Mr. E.'s from thence through Bunny and Sholly, 2 level low islands lying within banks of river Exe over against City whereon are tacks for drying woolen cloth that is dyed and presst in the City. From thence through Bartholomew yard. P.M. and evening at home.

16. Fine pleasant air and mild. Attend for first time Ardens course of lectures in experimental philosophy, being his second in course, held in chamber in Castle, subject ———. Company more than 3 score, continued 2 hours. P.M. visited by Mr. E., declined his invitation on account of Evening air.

17. Mild air, attended 3d lecture, subject electricity, entertaining. Evening at Mr. E.

18. Still mild. Visited Mr. Towgood whose invitation to dine ill

3. A long letter to Isaac Smith, describing his illness: "a sudden spasmodic affection of my breast under my left pip, hurting my breath, rendering respiration difficult, and not without great pain," and repeating Mrs. Hay's account of the report spread abroad "on tother side the water that I'm become a Whig, which being told my wife in company with her friends at Boston occasioned her to cry out with indignation, I don't believe it, I don't believe it, I'm sure he's not turned fool by Living in England."

health forced me to decline. Mr. E. visited me in P.M. Evening alone, writing to Wife &c.

19. Cloudy, dull, moderate, wind N.W. On Norney at Meridian with Mr. Bretland and Morgan. At 7 o'clock attended 4th lecture.

20. Sky milky, moderate, wind N.W., pleasant. Confined by an aperient draft. Received a letter and sent off an answer to J[onathan] R[ussell] London.

21. Cleanish mild air, wind N.W. Attended 5th lecture. A.M. walk to visit Mr. Pearce, P.M. and part evening at Mr. Crosses. Received a letter from Judge S., full, as usual of humour and hopes.⁴

22. Wind and weather as yesterday. Attended 6th lecture on *Magnetism* and use of the globes. P.M. and evening at Mr. E. By this family's thoughtfulness I'm treated with a cup of Chocolate, having by physician's advice, renounced T.C. and Sn. Memo: First lecture is on *chymical attraction*; Second on *electricity*; Third on *same*; Fourth on *Mechanics*.

23. Fine mild air. Attended 7th lecture, on Solar system. A.M. and P.M. long walk each time on Hayne bank, and in evening in Church yard with Mr. Bretland.

24. Mild air, wind N.W. An early walk, attended Arden's 8th lecture on *hydrostaticks*. Drank tea and past evening at Mr. Nations at cards.

December 25. Cloudy, raw air, wind E.S. Attended in Cathedral, Chancellor Connington preached, text "But unto you that fast [in] my name shall Son of righteousness arise &c." Maior, alderman and Chamberlain attended to church by swordbearer in his proper habiliments. P.M. at St. Stephens, a small Church, no Organ, Preacher Mr. Simmons, liturgically orthodox, laudably serious, Text, "For the grace

4. A note to Cabot about Ebenezer West's two guineas and the usual blank receipt from the Treasury, another to Richard Ward with pleasure at having heard good news from home, and one to Mrs. Hay at London expressing appreciation for news from America. This same day Curwen also wrote to "Jemmy" Russell, giving him local news and stressing his hope to see him, and a short political review to an unnamed addressee, possibly Isaac Smith.

of God that bringeth Salvation both appeared &c." Psalms sung both old and new version.

26. Clear air, somewhat cool, wind N.W. Took a cold in sitting before my own fire without gaiters and knees open. P.M. walkt to Heavytree solus. Evening short visit to Mr. E.'s family.⁵

27. Mild air, wind N. cloudy, Confined by cold I took.

28. Cloudy and rain, and N.W. Still confined. This day I am arrived at my grand Climacteric, having just compleated my 63 year, with more propriety than old Jacob may I say, few and evil have been the days of the years of my life. To what I am reserved is known to God only. Many have been my deliverances, many the deaths I've been reserved from. May the remaining days which the great Author of our beings, and the generous preserver shall see fit still to allot to me, be employed to more valuable purposes, more to his acceptance, and my own real honour and advantage, temporal and eternal. Visited by Mr. George E. with whom and family I've an agreeable acquaintance. Tis by his desire I insert the following; that he was one of first Couple my grand old friend Mr. McGilchrist married in South Carolina, the Ceremony performed at Wands in Christ Church parish. He was educated at Harvard College, at School in Cambridge whilst I was a Student at College; he boarded at President Wadsworth's, at first sight of me at Bristol 2 years since he recognized my name and person.

29. Sun in and out, air raw and brisk, wind from W. to N.W. Attended Mr. Ardens 8th lecture, subject *Pneumatics*. Evening short walk, after at home.

30. Raw, wind W. Attended 9th lecture same. Grossly affronted by Counsellor Short who seeing me sit nearer the fire than 2 Ladies to whom I had before made an apology which they complaisantly received, having on me then the remains of a very severe cold, which they perceiving excused my taking. Ladies said the *Clown*, I hope you

5. A long letter to William Browne at Cowbridge, Wales, full of Hendley's account of the conditions at Boston, for example: "The houses in Boston and all along the coast are stript of every article of furniture and valuable effects save what is absolutely necessary for instant use, the inhabitants being in continual dread of a descent on their coast in [*1 word*] indeed, they have but too probable grounds to apprehend."

are warmed through that Gentleman casting a look of ineffable contempt on me at same time. Passed P.M. and evening at Mr. Parminter's.

31. Moderate and fair and foul by turns, wind N., brisk gale, blustery. Dined, past P.M. and part evening there (Crosses), in my absence received a message from Mr. E.

Overleaf: *A plan of the cities of London,
Westminster, and the borough
of Southwark.*

PLAN of the CITIES of LONDON, WESTMINSTER



BOROUGH of SOUTHWARK; 1791.



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The journal of Samuel Curwen, loyalist.

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